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THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

BY

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AND APPENDICES BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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PREFACE

HISTORY well written is a source of much satisfaction to all who take pleasure in the reading thereof, especially when the idea formed of the things described is aided by pictorial representation; for this reason, in reading the works of Cosmographers, it is difficult to find either delight or profit without the use of maps.

Now, wishing in this book to collect the voyages made in the New-found-land and the great river of Canada, both by Captain Jacques Cartier and recently by Samuel Champlain (for they cover the same ground), and also the discoveries and voyages made under the direction of Monsieur de Monts; considering that the descriptions given by the said Captain Cartier and by Champlain relate to the islands, havens, capes, rivers, and districts which they have seen, the great number of which would rather be unpalatable to the reader than whet his appetite, having often myself in a similar way left unread the descriptions of the provinces given by Pliny in Books III., IV., V., and VI. of his *Natural History*; which I should not have done had I had the map before me; I have thought it fitting to add to the text a map both of these New-found-lands, and of the aforesaid river of Canada as far as the first rapid, an extent of country of some four or five hundred leagues, with the names of the chief places, in order that as he proceeds the reader may see the route followed by our Frenchmen in their discoveries. This I have done to the best of my ability, and have set down each place in its proper position and latitude; wherein all have

gone astray who up to the present have busied themselves therewith.

In regard to the history itself, I had at first intended to abridge it, but have thought that this would be to do wrong to those most interested, nay even to seafaring men, who from a complete narrative may learn to know the points of danger, and to beware of them.

Moreover Pliny and other geographers do not deem it beyond their province to write in this manner, going so far as to detail the distances between places and provinces. I have therefore left unabridged the two voyages of Captain Jacques Cartier, the first of which was printed; but the second I have copied from the original manuscript which was presented to the King, bound in blue satin.¹ Between these two I find in one thing a discrepancy, which is that in the first voyage it is said that Cartier did not go farther than fifteen leagues beyond Cape Montmorency; whereas, in the account of the second voyage, he says that he brought back the two savages carried off in the previous year to the land of Canada, which lies to the north of the island of Orleans, more than six score leagues beyond Cape Mont-

¹ King Francis I. (1515-47). Cartier's first voyage originally appeared in an Italian translation in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Venice, 1554-56); of this a French translation was published at Rouen in 1598 by Raphael du Petit Val, and this it was which Lescarbot reproduced with more or less fidelity. In 1867 a manuscript copy of Cartier's first voyage was discovered in Paris at the Bibliothèque Impériale, and published in the same year by MM. Michelant and Ramé. Of this a facsimile and a translation are given in James Phinney Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier* (New York, 1906). Whether it is the manuscript used by Ramusio is doubtful. Consult also H. P. Biggar, *The French Hakluyt: Marc Lescarbot of Vervins* (*American Historical Review*, July, 1901).

The second voyage had already been printed at Paris in 1545, but of this Lescarbot does not seem to have known, his account being taken from what is now MS. No. 5589 at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

For further information as to the various editions and translations of Cartier, I must refer to Dr. Baxter's *Memoir*, in which a complete list is given. Though I have ventured on occasion to disagree with it, I here once for all acknowledge my extensive obligations to this work.

morency.¹ I have therefore placed at the beginning of this third book the map of the great river and gulf of Canada, with the countries and islands which surround it, whereunto the reader will in imagination be carried when he sees thereon the places marked by their names.²

Furthermore having found at the head of the first voyage of Captain Jacques Cartier, some French verses which seem to me daintily turned, I have not wished to disappoint the author by their omission, and would also have given his name, had it been possible to discover it.³

¹ Cf. chap. v. p. 53 and chap. xii. p. 97. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is that the two Indians captured by Cartier at Gaspé had come on a fishing expedition from near Quebec.

² In the edition of 1609, after "les lieux designez par leurs noms," there follows :—

"Au regard de la côte de dehors qui va à la Floride, il s'en faut cent ou six vingts lieues que nôtre navigation entière y soit. Ce que j'eusse bien désiré représenter ici, mais la chose estant de trop grande haleine, le graveur a beaucoup fait de m'avoirourny ce peu de tableaux qui sont ici depeints. Si ce livre retourne souz la presse il y aura moyen de satisfaire à ce défaut. Et ce-pendant les esprits curieux jouïront de ceci, et le prendront, s'il leur plait, de bonne part."

"On the sea-coast which extends toward Florida, one hundred or six score leagues are wanting to show our whole voyage. These I would fain have represented here, but to do so would have taken too long, and the engraver has done well to provide me with the small number of maps here given. If my book reaches a second edition this defect can be remedied. In the meantime those interested have the advantage of this one, and of their courtesies will take it in good part."

The map of 1609 was, however, reproduced unchanged in the editions of 1611-12, and 1617-18.

³ The verses are given in the French text. I have not endeavoured to translate them.

TO THE READER

MY friend the reader, unable as I am in so little space fitly to dispose so many havens, islands, capes, gulfs or bays, straits and rivers, whereof mention is made in the voyages which I am now to lay before you in this third book, I have thought it better and neater to indicate them by figures, and have laden the map which I offer you merely with the names of those which are the best known in the New-found-land and the great river of Canada.

1. *Cape Welcome, where Captain Jacques Cartier first made land.*
2. *The port of St. Catherine.*
3. *Bird Island, in which there is such quantity of birds that all the ships of France could be laden therewith and no difference be seen. So says Captain Jacques Cartier ; and I well believe it, having myself seen others not unlike.*
4. *The gulf of Castles.*
5. *The port of Carpunt.*
6. *Cape Razé, where is a harbour named Rougueusi.*
7. *The cape and port of Degrad.*
8. *The island of St. Catherine, and in the same place the port of Castles.*
9. *The port of Gutte.*
10. *The port of Balances.*
11. *The port of White Sand.*
12. *The island of Brest.*
13. *The port of the Islets.*
14. *The port of Brest.*
15. *Port St. Anthony.*
16. *Port St. Servan.*
17. *The river of Saint James and port Jacques Cartier.*
18. *Cape Tiennot.*
19. *Port St. Nicholas.*

20. *Cape Rabast.*
21. *St. Lawrence Bay.*
22. *The isles of St. William.*
23. *The isle of St. Martha.*
24. *The isle of St. Germain.*
25. *The Seven Islands.*
26. *The river named Chishedec, wherein are many water-horses named Hippopotami.*
27. *The island of Assumption, also called Anticosti, which is about thirty leagues in length, and is at the mouth of the great river of Canada.*
28. *St. Peter's Strait.*

Having thus identified the places of the New-found-land which look eastward, and those along the northern shore of the mainland, let us turn back and complete the circuit of the New-found-land. But I must point out that there are two main entrances into the great gulf of Canada. Jacques Cartier in his two voyages entered by the more northerly; to-day to avoid the ice and to shorten the voyage many take the southerly between Cape Breton and Cape Ray. And as this route was followed by Champlain, his landfall was at—

29. *Cape St. Mary.*
30. *The isles of St. Peter.*
31. *Port of the Holy Ghost.*
32. *Cape Lorraine.*
33. *Cape St. Paul.*
34. *Cape Ray, which I think is the Pointed Cape of Jacques Cartier.*
35. *The Hut Mountains.*
36. *Cape Double.*

Let us now cross over toward Cape St. Lawrence on the other shore. This shore might well be called the island of Bacaillos, or Codfish (much in the position in which Postel set it down), to give it a separate name, though in truth the whole extent of the Gulf of Canada might be so named; for as far as Gaspé this kind of fishing may be carried on in every port, and indeed even in those beyond the gulf facing southward, such as

English Harbour, Canso, and Port Savalet. Now beginning at the strait between Cape Ray and Cape St. Lawrence, which is eighteen leagues in width, one finds—

37. *The islands of St. Paul.*
38. *Cape St. Lawrence.*
39. *Cape St. Peter.*
40. *Cape Dauphin.*
41. *Cape St. John.*
42. *Cape Royal.*
43. *Gulf of St. Julian.*
44. *The passage or strait of Canso Bay, which separates the island of Bacaillos from the mainland.*

For many years past this strait has been but little known, and yet it serves greatly to shorten the journey to the great river of Canada, or at least will do so in the future, when New France becomes populated. We saw it last year when at the port of Canso, whither we had gone in search of a stream to supply us with water before our return. We found a small one which I have marked on the map at the foot of the said Bay of Canso, a spot to which many come to fish for cod.

Now in thinking over the route of Jacques Cartier on his first voyage, I find the greatest possible obscurity, through his not having remarked this passage. For our mariners generally employ the names given by the savages, such as Tadousac, Anticosti, Gaspé, Tracadie, Miramichi, Canso, Quebec, Batiscan, Saguenay, Chischedec, Matane and so on. In this confusion, I have decided that what he calls the Dove Islands are really the numerous group called Pigeon Islands, for in his account he says that a storm drove them a distance of thirty-seven leagues from Pointed Cape, and he had already crossed over from the north shore to the south.

45. *The Dove Islands, otherwise Pigeon Islands.*
46. *The Gannet Islands, three in number, as full of these birds as a meadow is of grass, according to Jacques Cartier.*
47. *The island of Brion, where are Hippopotami, or Sea-horses.*

48. *The isle of Alezay. Hence, he says, that they made some forty leagues, and reached*
49. *The cape of Orleans.*
50. *Boats River, which I take to be the Miramichi.*
51. *Savage Cape.*
52. *The gulf of St. Lunaire, which I take to be Tracadie.*
53. *Cape Hope.*
54. *The bay or gulf of Chaleur, where Jacques Cartier says that the heat exceeds that of Spain. Herein, considering the climate, I am right loath to believe him till he makes another voyage thither. But it may well be that it chanced to be very hot during his stay, which was in the month of July.*
55. *Meadow Cape.*
56. *Saint Martin.*
57. *Cod-fish Bay.*
58. *Cape St. Louis.*
59. *Cape Montmorency.*
60. *Gaspé.*
61. *Percée Island.*
62. *Bonaventure Island.*

Now let us enter the great river of Canada, wherein we shall find few havens in an extent of more than 350 leagues, so full is it of rocks and shoals. On the south shore, after passing Gaspé, we find—

63. *Cape Bishop.*
64. *The river Matane.*
65. *The islets of St. John, which I take to be the Peak.*
66. *The river of the Iroquois.*

On the north shore, after Chischedec, inserted above at No. 27—

67. *St Margaret's River.*
68. *The port of Lesquemin, where the Basques carry on a whale-fishery.*
69. *The port of Tadousac, at the mouth of the river Saguenay, where is carried on the largest fur trade in the whole country.*
70. *The river Saguenay, one hundred leagues from the mouth of the*

river of Canada. This river is so deep that it is almost impossible to find bottom. Here the great river of Canada narrows to not more than seven leagues in width.

71. *Hare Island.*
72. *Isle aux Coudres. These two islands are thus called by Jacques Cartier.*
73. *The island of Orleans, which Jacques Cartier called Isle of Bacchus, because of the great number of vines which are there. Here the water of the great river is fresh, though the tide extends more than forty leagues farther up.*
74. *Quebec. This is a narrow strait of the great river of Canada, which Jacques Cartier calls Achelaci, where Monsieur de Monts has built a fort and dwelling-place for Frenchmen. Near at hand is a stream which falls from a high crag.*
75. *The port of St. Croix, where Jacques Cartier wintered. Champlain says that he went no farther ; but herein he is wrong. The memory of those who have done good deeds must be kept green.*
76. *The river of Batiscan.*
77. *Island of St. Elias.*
78. *The river of Foix, called by Champlain Three Rivers.*
79. *Hochelaga, an Indian town, the name of which is applied by Jacques Cartier to the great river which we call Canada.*
80. *Mount Royal, a mountain near Hochelaga, whence one sees the great river of Canada till it is lost to sight above the great falls.*
81. *The falls of the great river of Canada, a league in length, the river falling among the rocks with a wondrous noise.*
82. *The great river of Canada, whose source is still unknown, though its course is known for over 800 leagues, in part by exploration, in part by Indian report. In the second voyage of Jacques Cartier I find it stated that at its mouth it is thirty leagues in breadth, and more than 200 fathom deep. The same Jacques Cartier called it Hochelaga, the name of the people who in his time dwelt near the falls.*

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THE THIRD BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

CONTAINING THE VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES MADE
BY THE FRENCH IN THE GULF AND GREAT
RIVER OF CANADA

CHAPTER I

IN the year 1533, Jacques Cartier, an excellent pilot of St. Malo, desirous of immortalising his name by some notable exploit, made known to the then Lord Admiral, Messire Philip Chabot, Count of Burensais and of Charni, Seigneur of Brion,¹ his desire to discover new lands, as the Spaniards had done in the West Indies, and also twelve² years before, John Verrazano, under the authority of King Francis I. The death of the said Verrazano had prevented him

¹ Philippe de Chabot, Comte de Charni et de Busançois, known as the Amiral de Brion, was born toward the end of the fifteenth century, and was a companion of the boyhood of Francis I. He was made Admiral of France for his bravery at the battle of Pavia (1525), and played a prominent part in the subsequent history of France. He died on June 1, 1543. The favourable accounts of him given in the *Biographie Universelle* and in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* are not accepted by later authors.

M. Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol. iii. (Paris, 1906), accuses him of gross and repeated treachery. M. Henri Lemonnier (Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vol. v. p. 281) more moderately says: "Son rôle, dans l'histoire maritime de François I^{er}, paraît avoir été assez misérable." A willingness to take bribes was too common a fault at the court of Francis I. to warrant the abuse lavished on Chabot by M. de la Roncière.

² The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 read "nine," which is correct, Verrazano's voyage having taken place in 1524. See Book I., chap. iv.

from colonising the lands which he had discovered, and he had merely explored the coast from about the thirtieth degree of the New-found-land,¹ called to-day Florida, to the fortieth. To carry on which design Cartier offered his poor skill, if it pleased the King to supply him with the necessary means. To these proposals the Lord Admiral lent a favourable ear, reported them to his Majesty, and so wrought that Cartier was given command of two vessels, each of sixty tons burden, manned with sixty-one men, to carry out what he had proposed.² And with this help he made a voyage to the Newfoundland of the North, and explored its islands, which are infinite in number, like an archipelago,³ and also its shores, both northern and southern, as far as the mouth of the great river of Canada, and continued to explore the ports and havens of the said lands, and to examine their situation, utility, and nature, until the lateness of the season, and the rise of winds contrary to his return journey to France, decided him to return and to wait for another year, to make more ample explorations, as he did soon afterwards.

On this his second voyage he penetrated as far as the great falls of the said river of Canada, on the banks of which he had resolved to found a French colony at the spot called St. Croix, described in the account which he has given of his second voyage; at which place he wintered, and to this day there remain the mill-stones which he brought as utensils especially necessary for the sustenance of a colony. But just as plants exported from their native province, or

¹ The term New-found-land then embraced a very large extent of this coast.

² Cartier's voyage was not made without opposition. France already had a fishing trade to North America, and Cartier had to make formal complaint that his rivals were spiriting away his crews. See Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 302. A volume of *Pre-Cartier Documents*, edited by Mr. H. P. Biggar for the Canadian Archives, will shortly be published, showing the numerous French voyages to North America previous to 1534.

³ In Cartier's time Newfoundland was thought to form an extensive archipelago, see pp. 29-30. As early, however, as 1599 they had been represented as one. See H. Harrisse, *Découverte de Terre-Neuve*, pp. 282-83.

when often transplanted within the same district, do not give as good results as in their native soil, and as even in France itself there are districts where divers foreigners and strangers cannot live (at least in good health), as at Narbonne in Languedoc and at Hyères in Provence, whence I learn that the inhabitants are being compelled to rebuild their town in another spot, because where they are they cannot reach old age; and to this end have presented their petition to the King, whereto opposition is made by the inhabitants of Marseilles and Toulon;¹ so during this winter many of Cartier's men, whose bodily dispositions were not in full accord with the atmospheric temperature of that country, were seized by unknown maladies, which carried many of them off, and would have made greater havoc but for the succour of the remedy which God sent them, of which at its proper place we shall give Cartier's own account.

When winter was past, Cartier's men grew discontented with this site, and desired to return to France, especially as their provisions were beginning to fail; with the result that on their return here, their accounts of the terrors of this strange malady² cooled all desire to colonise this New-found-land, till the year 1540, when Monsieur de Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, came forward to undertake the abandoned enterprise, under whom the said Cartier was appointed Captain-General of all the sea-going ships to be employed in this enterprise; wherein I find that great

¹ Lescarbot has left this passage unchanged from the edition of 1609, though by 1617-18 it had become inappropriate. Hyères had suffered severely during the wars of the League, and at the peace of Vervins in 1598 was little more than a mass of ruins. Henry IV. proposed to the inhabitants to rebuild on the peninsula of Giens to the south-west of the present city, offering exemption from taxation for a term of years, and other royal favours. The offer was accepted, but the desire of the inhabitants cooled, and at the death of Henry the project was dropped, and the town rebuilt in its old situation. The petition of the inhabitants is given by A. Denis, *Promenades pittoresques à Hyères*, 3rd edition, 1853, pp. 406-12. The unhealthiness was probably confined to the dwellers near the marshes on the coast.

² Or, "the fear which they inspired of this strange malady."

expense was undergone, with no apparent fruit, as will be seen more in detail below, in the contents of Chapter XXX.¹

Now, having from henceforth to speak of the countries of Newfoundland, Bacalos, and Canada, it is fitting first of all to enlighten the reader on these three words, whereon all geographers are not in accord. As for the first, it is certain that the whole country whereof we have spoken may be called Newfoundland, and the word is not a new one; for from remote times and for several centuries our seamen from Dieppe, St. Malo, Rochelle, and other mariners from Havre de Grace, Honfleur, and elsewhere are wont to make voyages into these countries in search of codfish, where-with they feed nearly all Europe, and supply all sea-going ships. And though every land newly discovered may be

¹ The editions of 1609 and of 1611-12 make no mention here of Roberval, but after "strange malady" have the following passage:—

"Nul ne se presenta pour continuer les voyages dudit Quartier, lequel se trouvant enveloppé de quelques affaires n'eut moyen de retourner si tot, et là dessus alla faire un plus lointain voyage au village des esprits, comme disent les Floridiens, et ce non mal à propos: car nous appellons bien le Paradis celeste *la cité sainte*, qui nous est représentée par la Ierusalem visible.

"C'est ainsi que de tout temps nous avons fait des levées de boucliers, que nous nous sommes portés avec ardeur à des grandes entreprises, que nous avons projeté des beaux commencemens, et puis nous avons tout quitté, et nous sommes contentés d'avoir veu le país, rendans ce nom de Nouvelle-France plus illusoire qu'une chimère. De verité pour faire telles entreprises il faut de l'aide et du support, mais aussi faut-il des hommes de resolution, qui ne reculent point en arriere, et qui ayent ce point d'honneur devant les yeux VEINCRE OU MOURIR, estant une belle et glorieuse mort celle qui arrive en executant un beau dessein, comme pour jeter les fondemens d'un Royaume nouveau, et établir la Foy Chrétienne parmi des peuples entre lesquels Dieu n'est point coneu. Un soldat qui s'étonne des arquebuzades, et de l'éclat de ses ennemis, ne fera jamais bonne guerre. Le même accident de maladies estant arrivé en la troupe du sieur De Monts on n'a pas quitté l'entreprise pour cela; bien est vray qu'on a changé de lieu, et on s'en est bien trouvé. Car les abris des vens, et aspects des astres servent de beaucoup au gouvernement de la santé des hommes. Je ne veux pourtant blamer le Capitaine Jacques Cartier, lequel je reconois avoir fait tout ce qu'un homme peut faire, mais j'ose croire qu'il n'a pas esté secondé; et une si lourde pierre ne se peut remuer par un seul: et une année, ni deux, ni à peine trois, ne sont pas suffisantes pour decouvrir une terre inconnue, y chercher des ports, et lieux

called New-found-land, as we have related in the fourth chapter of the first book that John Verrazano called Florida Newfoundland, because before him no one had set foot thereon, yet this word is specially applied to the lands of the West Indies, which lie nearest to France, extending from the fortieth to the fiftieth degree.¹ And in a more general sense one may call New-found-land all the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Canada, throughout the whole of which the Newfoundlanders sail year by year to carry on their fishery, which, as I have said, dates back for several centuries; and therefore no other nation can rightly claim the honour of this discovery. Not only is this certainly true of our Norman, *propres pour demeurer, y faire des batimens, s'y fortifier, y cultiver et ensemençer la terre.*"

"No man came forward to continue the voyages of Cartier, who finding himself entangled in various matters, was unable to return in time, and thereupon went off on a still longer voyage to the spirit village, as is the saying in Florida, an expression by no means without point, for we ourselves call the celestial Paradise the Holy City, which is represented to us by the earthly Jerusalem.

"Thus from of old we have brandished our shields, and rushed impetuously into great enterprises, have made fair beginnings, and then let all slip, and have contented ourselves with the mere sight of the promised land, making this name of New France as empty as a dream. True it is that to carry out such enterprises aid and support are necessary, but also men of resolution, who do not draw back, and who have before their eyes the point of honour which says 'Victory or Death,' since that death is noble and glorious which comes in the execution of so goodly a design as that of laying the foundation of a new kingdom, and establishing the faith of Christ among nations to whom God is not known. A soldier who turns pale at the volleys and the glitter of the foe will never fight as a man should. When in the same way sickness befell the band of Monsieur de Monts, we did not for that abandon the enterprise; though in truth we changed our place of abode, and well it was that we did so, for shelter from the wind and the aspect of the stars serve greatly to govern human health. Yet I would not blame Captain Jacques Cartier, who I admit did all that man could do; but I venture to affirm that he was not seconded; and a single man cannot move so heavy a stone; and one year, or two, or even three are not enough to explore an unknown land, to search out harbours and sites suitable for habitation, to erect buildings, fortify oneself, cultivate and sow the soil."

¹ The earlier editions read, "which are on the 47th, 48th, 49th, and 50th degrees as one sails northward."

Breton, and Basque sailors, who before the voyage of Captain Jacques Cartier had given names to several harbours of these regions, but I shall also adduce here the testimony of Postel,¹ which I have copied from his map in these words: "This land by reason of its most bounteous stores of fish has from our earliest written records been regularly visited by the Gauls, and has been frequented for the last 1600 years, but is disdained because it is deserted and cityless." Thus, as our Newfoundland is part of the continent of America, to the French and not to the Spaniards pertains the honour of the first discovery of the West Indies.²

As for the name Bacalos,³ it has been given by our Basques, who call a codfish *Bacaillos*; and in imitation of them our tribes of New France have learned also to call the codfish *Bacaillos*, though in their language the proper name of the codfish is *Apegé*.⁴ Indeed, they have been so long frequented by the Basques that the language of the coast tribes is half Basque. Now, inasmuch as the whole cod-fishery, once past the Bank, is carried on in the Gulf of Canada, or on the neighbouring coast to the south outside the gulf, at English Harbour,⁵ and at Canso,⁶ for this cause this whole coast-wise district, to which we have given the general name of Newfoundland, may be called *Bacaillos*, or codfish-land.

And with regard to the word Canada, so celebrated in

¹ Guillaume Postel (1510-81), a celebrated French cosmographer, oriental scholar, and mystic. A catalogue of his numerous works is given in the *Biographie Universelle* and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*. I cannot find the passage cited by Lescarbot.

² At this time, both by French and English writers, West Indies was frequently used to describe the whole coast of North, and even of South America.

³ This passage has apparently been overlooked by Mr. Baxter in his discussion of the name. See Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 42, note.

⁴ The Micmacs still call a cod *pejook*.

⁵ Louisbourg in Cape Breton.

⁶ Canso was a celebrated fishing centre: see Book IV. chap. xviii. In the negotiations of 1761, at the close of the Seven Years' War, the French tried hard to retain it.

Europe, it is properly the name of both shores of this great river, to which the name Canada has been given, as to the river of India¹ the name of the people and of the province which it waters. Others have called this river Hochelaga, from the name of another district which it bathes above St. Croix, where Jacques Cartier wintered. Now, even though the north shore above the river Saguenay be Cartier's Canada, yet the tribes of Gaspé and of Chaleur Bay, who are near the forty-eighth degree of latitude to the south of the great river, call themselves Canadaquoa (as they pronounce it), that is to say, Canadaquois, as we say Souriquois and Iroquois, other tribes of that country. This diversity has caused the geographers to vary the situation of the province of Canada, some placing it along the fiftieth, others about the sixtieth degree. After this explanation, I affirm that both sides of the said river are Canada, and that therefore it bears the name with justice rather than that of Hochelaga or of St. Lawrence.²

This word Canada, then, being properly the name of a province, I cannot agree with Monsieur de Belleforest,³ who says that it means land ; nor even with Captain Jacques Cartier, who writes that Canada means town. I believe that both are mistaken, the cause being that, as one must speak with these tribes by signs, when one of the French asked these savages the name of their country, pointing to their villages and lodges, or an expanse of land, they replied that it was

¹ India derives its name from the river Indus.

² Cartier gave the name of St. Lawrence to a small bay on the north shore of the gulf. See pp. 70-1. It gradually extended to the whole gulf and river. As early as 1555 the Spanish historian Gomara (*Historia General*, 1555) says that "a great river called San Lorenzo, which some think an arm of the sea, has been sailed up for 200 leagues, and is by some called the "Strait of the Three Brothers." See Justin Winsor, *Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America* (1894), p. 58.

³ François de Belleforest (1530-83), a voluminous French writer. All his contemporaries laugh at his numerous inaccuracies. His description of Canada, in which he makes the mistakes pointed out by Lescarbot, is given in Book IV. of *L'Histoire Universelle du Monde* (Paris, 1570).

Canada, not signifying that their land or villages were so called, but the whole extent of the province.¹

The same Belleforest, speaking of the tribes who dwell on the shores of the Bay (or Gulf) of Chaleur, calls them the Labrador tribes,² contrary to every geographer without exception; wherein he has gone astray, seeing that the land of Labrador lies near the sixtieth degree,³ and the Gulf of Chaleur not higher than 48° 30'. I cannot give his authority. But as for Captain Jacques Cartier, he makes no mention of Labrador in his voyages. And the said Monsieur de Belleforest would have done better to situate the land of Bacalos where he has put Labrador, than to place it near the sixtieth degree. For in truth fishing for cod (which, as we have said, are called *Bacaillos*) is mainly carried on in the neighbourhood of Chaleur Bay, at Tracadie, Miramichi, and the bay called Codfish Bay.⁴

¹ Many derivations of the name Canada have been given. Charlevoix says of Chaleur Bay: "There is an old tradition that Spaniards entered it before Cartier, and that, seeing no signs of any mines there, they had several times repeated the words, *Aca nada*—nothing there. This the Indians subsequently repeated to the French, inducing them to suppose Canada to be the name of the country" (P. F. X. de Charlevoix, S.J., *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, translated by J. G. Shea (New York, 1866), vol. i. p. 113). John Josselyn says that it was "so called from Monsieur Cane" (*New England's Rarities*, 1672, p. 5), i.e. De Caën, a curious anachronism. "All these derivations are baseless. There can be no doubt that the word Canada is derived from *cannata* or *kannata*, which in Iroquois signifies a collection of buildings, in other words a settlement, and it is probable that when the Indians were asked by the French the name of their country, they replied, pointing to their dwellings, 'Cannata,' which their interrogators applied in a broader sense than was intended" (Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note). See also S. E. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence Basin*, pp. 187–88.

² Belleforest, *op. cit.*, p. 253 b.

³ H. P. Biggar, *Voyages of the Cabots and Cortereals*, 1903 (reprinted from *Revue Hispanique*, vol. x.), endeavours to prove from a study of the ancient maps that Labrador originally meant, not our present Labrador, but Greenland, and that Cabot's voyage of 1498 was partly along the Greenland coast.

⁴ Still so called on Charlevoix's map of 1744, on the Quebec coast, south of Gaspé Basin. Now known as Malbaie, doubtless a corruption from *morue*, a codfish.

CHAPTER II

AFTER¹ Messire Charles de Moüy, Sieur de la Maileraye, and Vice-Admiral of France,² had sworn the captains, masters, and crew of the ships to demean themselves well and loyally in the service of the Most Christian King, under the command of Captain Jacques Cartier, we set out on the 20th of April 1534 from the harbour of St. Malo, with two ships each of about sixty tons burden, and with a crew of sixty-one men.³ And on our voyage we had such good hap that on the 10th of May we reached Newfoundland, making land at Cape Bonavista,⁴ which lies in 48° 30' N. lat. But the great quantity of ice extending along this coast compelled us to enter a harbour, which we called St. Catherine,⁵ five leagues to the SSE. of the above harbour; there we remained ten days awaiting favourable weather, and meanwhile fitted out and got ready our boats.

¹ With this chapter begins Cartier's narrative.

² He was the fourth son of Jacques, Baron de Moy, and had been appointed Vice-Admiral of France on 26th February 1530. See De la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol. ii. p. 447, note 1.

³ This must mean sixty-one men to each ship. Ramusio and Hakluyt (ed. 1904, vol. viii. p. 183) say the same. The MS. of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* says, "esquippez les deux de soixante ung homme," which is confirmed by contemporary documents. See Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 75, note 1.

⁴ Still so called. It lies in 48° 42' N., and 53° 8' W. According to some, e.g. D. W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 1895-96, pp. 6-17, it was here that Cabot made his landfall in 1497. Others consider that he made land at Cape Breton, and did not reach Bonavista till his second voyage of 1498. See H. P. Biggar, *Voyages of the Cabots and Cortereals*, 1903, p. 75. Others again attribute the discovery of Bonavista to Gaspar Cortereal in 1501. See Henry Harrisse, *Découverte et Evolution Cartographique de Terre Neuve*, 1900, p. 21. It was the usual objective of early navigators to this region.

⁵ Now Catalina. The MS. does not claim that Cartier named it.

On the 21st of May we set sail with a west wind, and proceeded northward from Cape Bonavista to Bird Island,¹ which was entirely surrounded by ice, but as this ice was broken and shattered, our boats did not regard it, but put in for a load of birds, whose number can be believed only by one who has seen them, since though the island itself (which is almost a league in circumference) is so full of them that it looks as if they had been purposely brought there, and almost sown there, yet around it in the water and in the air are a hundred times as many. Of these some are as large as magpies, black and white, with a crow's beak ; they are always afloat, and cannot fly high, since their wings are small, not more than half a handsbreadth across, with which, however, they skim along the surface of the water as swiftly as other birds in the air. They are extremely fat, and were called by the natives *Apponath*.² We loaded our two boats in less than half-an-hour, as one might do with gravel, so that in each ship we salted down four or five tons of them, besides what we ate fresh.

There is also another species of birds which fly high in the air, and along the water's edge, which are smaller than the others and are called *Godets*.³ Their habit is to gather in this island, and to conceal themselves under the wings of the larger birds. There is also a third species, larger and whiter, who live separate from the others in their own portion of the island, and which are very difficult to catch,

¹ Now Funk Island.

² Either the razor-bill (*Alca torda*), or more probably the great auk (*Alca impennis*). Both of these are much larger than magpies, and the correct reading is doubtless that of the MS., *ouays*, geese. Early navigators confused them with the penguin. Thus Anthony Parkhurst, writing to Hakluyt in 1578, says : "These birds are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose" (Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, vol. viii. p. 14). While occasionally following Mr. Baxter, I have taken most of these identifications from a very valuable paper by Professor W. F. Ganong, "The Identity of the Animals and Plants mentioned by the Early Voyagers to Eastern Canada and Newfoundland," printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1909-10.

³ Either the murre (genus *Uria*), or more probably the razor-bill.

for they bite like dogs. These are called *Margaux*.¹ And though this island is fourteen leagues distant from the mainland, yet the bears swim across to eat the birds. Our men came upon one as big as a cow and as white as a swan, who jumped into the sea before their eyes. The day after Easter, which was in May,² as we were sailing toward the land, halfway across we came upon him swimming in the same direction, going as quickly as we could sail. But on catching sight of him, we gave chase in our boats, and took him after a fight. His flesh was as sweet and delicate to eat as that of a bullock. On the next Wednesday, which was the 27th of the said month of May, we reached the entrance of Castle Gulf;³ but the foul winds and the great quantity of ice constrained us to put into a harbour, which was near this entrance. It is named Carpunt,⁴ and is on the fifty-first degree of N. lat.; there we remained unable to proceed till the 9th of June, when we left it and went on.

This district, from Cape Rouge⁵ to Cape Degrad,⁶ forms the entrance to this gulf, which from cape to cape looks towards the east, north, and south. All this region is parted into islands,⁷ one close to the other, in so much that

¹ The gannet (*Sula bassana*).

² Easter in this year fell on May 24 [L.]. The MS. says, "the next day, which is the day of Pentecost." "Upon Whitsunmunday" (Hakluyt). Easter of this year fell on April 5, Pentecost on May 24. The expression in Ramusio is *Pasqua di Maggio*, which the Abbé H. Verreau (Jacques Cartier, "Questions de calendrier civil et ecclésiastique," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. viii., 1890), thinks may be, like the old French *Pâques aux Roses*, a phrase meaning Pentecost, but mistranslated by the French translator of Ramusio.

³ Evidently the Strait of Belle-Isle.

⁴ Rapont in MS. Now Quirpon or Kirpon, in 51° 35', a small island of which the northern extremity is Cape Bauld.

⁵ Cap Razé (Lescarbot). Cape Razo (Hakluyt). The MS. gives Cap Rouge, by which name it is still known.

⁶ On the east side of Kirpon Island.

⁷ This is an error, though the deep narrow bays make it a natural one. It was long reproduced on the maps. See S. E. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence Basin*, pp. 125-26.

the channels between them are more like small streams, through which one may come and go in small boats, and among them are many good harbours, such as those of Carpunt and Degrad. Standing on one of these islands, the highest of all, one can see clearly the two low islands¹ near Cape Rouge, whence they count it twenty-five leagues to the harbour of Carpunt. Into this there are two entrances, one on the east, one on the south, but that on the east must be shunned, since nothing is to be seen but sandbanks and shallows, and one must coast round the island to the westward half a cable's length, or perchance a little less, then turn southwards, to reach the said Carpunt. One must also take heed of three submerged sandbanks which are in the channel, and near the island on the eastern side.² In the channel one finds bottom at three to four fathom. The other entrance faces east, and to the westward one can walk ashore.

Leaving Cape Degrad, at the entrance of the aforesaid gulf, towards the west, one is perplexed by two islands lying to the right,³ of which one is three leagues distant from the aforesaid cape, and the other seven, more or less, from the former, which is flat and low lying, and seems like a part of the mainland. I gave to this island the name of St. Catherine,⁴ towards the eastern end of which extends for about a quarter

¹ Grois Island and Bell Island, off Cape Rouge. The distance is about forty miles. Cartier's distances are usually over-estimated, his ship not being always able to hold a direct course.

² These directions are still extremely accurate.

³ The MS. reads : "Partant de l'apointe du Degrat et entrant en ladite baye, faisant l'Ouaist, une quart du Norouaist, l'on double deux isles qui demeurent de babort"; *i.e.* "Leaving the point of Degrat, and entering the said bay, sailing west a quarter north-west, one doubles two islands which lie to port." This is certainly correct, the two islands being Sacred Island and Schooner Island in Pistolet Bay.

⁴ Doubtless so-called from Cartier's wife, Catherine des Granches. Professor Ganong, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (hereafter alluded to as R.S.C.), vol. v. p. 124 (1887), thinks that this was Belle-Isle. In spite of his high authority, Schooner Island seems to me more probable.

of a league a dry beach of bad soil, which compels one to make a small detour. In this island is Castle Harbour,¹ which faces NNE., and SSW., and from one to the other is about fifteen leagues distance. From the said Castle Harbour to Port des Gouttes,² the name of the land on the north shore of the said gulf, which faces ENE. and WSW., is a distance of twelve and a half leagues, and thence to the Port of Balances³ is two leagues; a third of the way across this gulf we sounded and found thirty fathom.⁴ And from this Port of Balances to Blanc-Sablon⁵ is twenty-five leagues WSW. And one must notice that for three leagues on the south-west side of Blanc-Sablon extends a sandbank above the water in the shape of a boat.

Blanc-Sablon is a place where there is no shelter from the south or south-east, but toward SSW. are two islands, one of which is called Brest Island, and the other Bird Island,⁶ wherein are a great quantity of *Godets* and crows with red beaks and feet,⁷ which make their nests in holes in the ground like conies. Passing a cape⁸ at a league's distance from Blanc-Sablon, one finds a harbour and a passage called the Islettes,⁹ which is a better place than Blanc-Sablon, and

¹ The description now crosses over to the Labrador coast. This harbour must not be confounded with the Golfe des Chateaux previously mentioned. It is still called Chateau Bay, a name doubtless given from its basaltic cliffs.

² Port of Gutte (Hakluyt). *L'hable des buttes* (MS.), i.e. Hillock Harbour, from the sand-hills. Probably Red Bay (Dawson) rather than Greenish Harbour (Baxter and Ganong).

³ A mistake for *L'hable de Balleine* of the MS.—Whale Harbour. Probably Carroll's Cove (Dawson) rather than Red Bay (Baxter and Ganong).

⁴ The MS. says thirty-eight fathom and *font de taygnay*, i.e. weedy bottom. See the interesting notes in Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 82, and Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁵ The White Sand (Hakluyt). Still known as Blanc-Sablon; it is the boundary between Canada and that part of the Labrador coast still under the government of Newfoundland.

⁶ Brest is a mistake for *l'isle de Bouays* of the MS. This name, i.e. Wood Island, it still retains, but Bird Island has become Greenly Island.

⁷ *Richars* in MS. This is the puffin (*Fratercula arctica*).

⁸ Either Long Point or Grand Point.

⁹ Bradore Bay.

where great fishing is done. Thence to the harbour of Brest¹ is a distance of eighteen leagues; this harbour lies in 51° 55' N. lat. From the Islettes to this spot one passes many islands, among which indeed lies the harbour of Brest, for they surround it for more than three leagues. These islands are so low that one can look over them to the lands above described.

¹ Brest is now known as Old Fort Island. Hakluyt and the MS. say "ten," not "eighteen" leagues. According to Mr. Baxter, Old Fort is so called "on account of a stone fortification having been erected there in the latter part of the sixteenth century to protect the French fishermen." He quotes Lewis Robinson (*Dictionary of Commerce*, London, 1638): "It is computed that it contained two hundred houses and a thousand inhabitants in winter." Here Mr. Baxter has fallen into several errors. The author's name was Lewes Roberts, and his book, *The Merchant's Map of Commerce*. In this his only mention of Brest is on p. 12, where, in speaking of Terra Corterealis, he says: "The chief town thereof is Brest, Cabomarso, and others of little note." Mr. Baxter has been led astray by following a paper of Mr. Samuel Robertson, in the fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*.

In *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, second series, vol. xi. (1905-6), pp. 3-30, is a most interesting paper by Dr. S. E. Dawson, which settles the whole matter, and proves that Brest was never more than a summer fishing station. Dr. Dawson also reproduces a fictitious account of a voyage to Brest, printed at Lyons in 1609, which has the impudence to state the population of Brest at 50,000.

CHAPTER III

ON the 10th of the said month of June we entered the harbour of Brest to take on board wood and water, and to make ready for passing beyond this gulf. On St. Barnabas day¹ we heard Mass² and then sailed³ westward out of this harbour to search for havens, if such there were. We passed through the midst of the islands, which are innumerable, and extend ten leagues from the harbour mouth. We spent the night on one of them, and found therein a great quantity of ducks' eggs and those of other birds which there build their nests. We gave them the general name of The Islands.

On the next day we passed beyond The Islands, and at their end found a good harbour, which we called St. Anthony's Haven,⁴ and a league or two further on we came upon a small but very deep river. It lies to the south-west, separates two other expanses of country, and has at its mouth a good harbour. There we set up a cross, and called it Port St. Servan.⁵ On the south-west side of this harbour and river, about a league away, is a small island as round as an oven, surrounded by many other small islets, by which these harbours may be known. Two leagues further on is another good river of larger size, wherein we caught many salmon, and

¹ 11th June.

² Perhaps the earliest Christian service in what is now the Dominion of Canada. The Protestant Hakluyt translates here, and elsewhere, "Service being heard," "We caused Service to be saide."

³ "We went in our boats" (MS.).

⁴ Now known as Rocky Bay. June 13 is the feast of St. Anthony of Padua.

⁵ Now Lobster Bay. St. Servan is a suburb of St. Malo. The small round island is now known as the *Boulet*.

called it St. James River.¹ While in this river we hailed a great ship of La Rochelle, which on the preceding night had overshot the harbour of Brest, where they wished to go a-fishing, but of whose situation the sailors were ignorant. We went alongside, and sailed in company to another harbour, about a league to the west of the said river St. James. This I consider to be one of the best harbours in the world, and it was named Port Jacques Cartier.² If the land were as good as the harbours, it would be a great advantage, but it should not be called land at all, but rather gravel and frowning cliffs, and a place fit for wild beasts; in so much that on the whole north shore, though I landed in various places, I did not see earth enough to fill a bushel basket; and in the island of Blanc-Sablon³ there is nothing but moss, and stunted thorn and thickets here and there withered and half-dead. In short, I think that this is the land which God gave as his portion to Cain. Therein one sees men of good height and build, but wild and unruly. They wear their hair in a knot at the top of their heads, gathered close together like a wisp of hay, and put through it a small stick or some such thing instead of a nail, and on top a bunch of feathers. They go clothed in the skins of animals, men as well as women, but the latter are all covered and concealed by their clothing, and girded about the waist, which the men are not. They paint themselves with different colours of red. Their boats are made of the bark of the birch, a tree indigenous to the country and like our oaks. With these they take many seals; and since my return I have heard that they do not live there permanently, but come by land from warmer climates, in pursuit of these sea-wolves and other necessities of life.

The 13th day of the said month we returned to our ships

¹ Shecatika Bay. Two leagues is rather an under-statement, but much nearer the mark than the "ten leagues" of the MS.

² Now Cumberland Bay, described by the Admiralty pilot as "the best and easiest of access on the coast." See also Ganong, *op. cit.*

³ The MS. says, "except in the island of Blanc-Sablon."

to set sail, for the weather was favourable, and on Sunday we heard Mass. On the Monday following, which was the 15th, we left the harbour of Brest, and set our course southwards to explore the lands which we had seen, which seemed to be two islands. But when we were about the middle of the gulf, we saw that it was the mainland, where was a great cape, folded one part above the other, and for this reason we called it Cape Double.¹ At the entrance of the gulf we again took soundings, and found bottom at a hundred fathoms in every direction. From Brest to Cape Double is about twenty leagues, and five leagues further on we again sounded and found forty fathoms. This land lies north-east and south-west. The next day, which was the 16th of this month, we sailed along the coast south-west, a quarter south, to about thirty-five leagues from Cape Double, and found very steep and wild mountains. Among them we saw some sort of small huts, for which reason we called them the Hut Mountains. The other lands and mountains are craggy, broken, and jagged, and between them and the sea are low lands. The day before, owing to the thick fog and the misty weather, we could not get sight of any land; but in the evening we saw an opening in the land between these Hut Mountains like the mouth of a river. And then we saw a cape to the south-west, about three leagues distant, which at the top is rounded without a single point, but at its seaward base ends in a point, wherefore we called it the Pointed Cape,² on the north side of which is a flat island. And as we wished to explore this opening to see if there were some good haven, we struck sail for the night. On the next day, which was the 17th of the said month, we ran off shore on account of a wind from the north-east, and were fain to lie head to wind under try-sail only,³ and drove

¹ They had returned in their boats to Brest, where the ships had been refitting, and had crossed over to the west coast of Newfoundland. What they saw was Cape Rich, with the highlands of St. John behind.

² Now Cow Head; the flat island is Stearing Island.

³ The MS. has *et mysmes an pepesil à courir et à la cappe*, which would mean "we stood on under reefed mainsail." See Jal., *Dictionnaire Nautique*

to the south-west till Thursday morning, making about thirty-seven leagues, and found ourselves off several islands as round as dovecotes, for which reason we gave them the name of the Dovecotes.¹

The Gulf of St. Julien is seven leagues distant from a cape named Cape Royal, which lies towards the south, a quarter south-west; and to the WSW. of this cape is another, which is all craggy beneath, and rounded on top. To the north at about half a league is a low island; and this cape was called Milk Cape.² Between these two capes are low-lying lands, above which rise others also, a sure proof that there must be rivers there. At two leagues from Cape Royal one finds bottom in twenty fathoms, and the greatest store possible of large codfish, whereof we caught more than a hundred in less than an hour, while waiting for our comrades.

The next day, which was the 18th of the month, the wind blew contrary and very strong, so that we were forced to return to Cape Royal, thinking to find shelter there, and with our boats we went to explore between Cape Royal and Milk Cape, and found that beyond the low lands there is a large and very deep gulf,³ in which are several islands, and this gulf is encircled and closed up on its southern side. These low lands form one side of its entrance, and on the other side is Cape Royal, and the said low lands extend more than (1848), *s.v.* "Cape." *Mettre la caugue souris* probably means "to go close to the wind"; Cartier undoubtedly, as Mr. Baxter says, "lay to with the ship heading off the shore and drifted slowly to leeward," *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹ Probably the islands at the mouth of the Bay of Islands, called by Cartier the Gulf (or Bay) of St. Julian, though Ganong (R.S.C., 1887, p. 126) supposes it to be Bonne Bay, further north.

² I agree with Mr. Baxter that Cape Royal is Bluff Head, on the inner side of Port au Port Bay, and that Milk Cape is Cape St. George, at the NW. point of St. George's Bay. The lowlands between are the long spit forming the sea face of Port au Port Bay, and the low island to the north of Milk Cape is Red Island, which, though 290 feet above the sea, is low in comparison with the neighbouring headlands. Ganong, Dawson, Harris, Bishop Howley of Newfoundland (see "Cartier's Course: A Last Word," R.S.C., vol. xii., 1894), &c., hold various different opinions. There is a good deal of fascinating guesswork about the whole matter.

³ Now Port-a-Port Bay, extending from lat. 48° 34' to 48° 47'.

half a league into the sea. The country is flat and the soil bad, and in the centre of the entrance is an island,¹ and on this day we found no harbour, and therefore at nightfall we put out to sea after turning the prow to the west.²

From the said day until the 24th of the month, being the feast of St. John, we were buffeted by tempest and foul wind, and such thick weather came on that we were unable to catch sight of land until the said day of St. John, when we caught sight of a cape³ lying to the south-west, about thirty-five leagues from Cape Royal; but on that day the fog was so thick and the weather so bad that we could not approach the land. And inasmuch as on that day is the celebration of the feast of St. John the Baptist, we named it Cape St. John.

The next day, the 25th, the weather was still troubled, cloudy, and windy, and we sailed for part of the day towards the west and north-west, and in the evening we lay to until the second watch, when we made sail, and then found by means of our quadrant that we were seven leagues and a half from Cape St. John heading north-west and a quarter west, and when we were getting under sail, the wind turned into the north-west; we therefore set our course to the south-east for fifteen leagues, and came near to three islands, of which two were small and steep as a wall, so that no one could climb upon them, and between them is a small reef.⁴

These islands were more thickly filled with birds, which there do make their nests, than is a meadow with grass; and in the largest of these islands was a world of those which are

¹ Isle du Renard or Fox Island. In the MS. follows: "This bay is in lat. 48° 30', and in long. . . ."

² *Le cap à Ouaist* (MS.). "Leaving the Cape toward the West" (Hakluyt). "The cape to west" (Baxter). Mr. Baxter says that the words "indicate that he went outside the bay which he had explored" (*op. cit.*, p. 92). But for the probable meaning here of *cap*, see p. 35, n. 3.

³ Probably Cap Saint-Jean, or Cape John, which lies 4½ miles up St. George's Bay from Cape Anguille, and is so named on old maps; but perhaps, as Professor Ganong thinks, Cape Anguille itself.

⁴ *Ung petit forillon*, "a little opening" (MS.).

called *Margaux*, which are white and larger than young geese, and were in a place by themselves. In the other quarters were *Godets*, and on the shore were these *Godets*, and also great *Apponaths* like those of that island of which we have already spoken. We landed at the foot of the smallest island, and killed more than a thousand *Godets* and *Apponaths*, and loaded our boats to our heart's content, and could have filled thirty such boats in less than an hour. These islands we named *Margaux*.¹ Five leagues from them, to the westward, was another island, about two leagues in length and the same in width; here we passed the night to take in wood and water. This island is surrounded with sand, and around it is a good channel six or seven fathoms deep.² These islands have the best soil which we had yet seen, in so much that one field in them is worth more than the whole of Newfoundland. We found this island full of tall trees, of meadows, of fields of wild wheat, and of peas in flower as thick and goodly as one could see in Brittany, which looked as though they had been sown there by husbandmen. We also saw great quantities of grapes with their white blossom on top,³ strawberries, scarlet roses, parsley, and other plants of a strong sweet smell. Around this island are many great

¹ The Bird Rocks, north of the Magdalen Islands. See p. 28, notes. Cf. Sagard, *Le grand voyage*, pp., 35-37, and Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note.

² "Three or four" (Hakluyt).

³ "Gooseberries" (MS.); "Crespine" (Ramusio). *La fleur blanche* is still a colloquial term in the NW. of France for the "white dawn" often seen on very ripe fruit. This may be the meaning here, but Professor Ganong has called my attention to the very important paper of Professor M. L. Fernald, in *Rhodora* for February 1910, on *The Plants of Wineland the Good*, in which he proves that the most learned early botanists confused both the currant and the cranberry with the true grape (*vitis*) of Southern Europe, and that the open air grape of the Norse Sagas is really the rock cranberry (*Vaccinium Vitis-Idaea*). Here Cartier doubtless meant currants, which grow wild in that region, but Lescarbot, who was a bit of a botanist, and familiar with the rock cranberry, which grows abundantly in Nova Scotia, seems to have thought that Cartier meant this plant, and to have changed Cartier's description to fit it. That Lescarbot meant the rock cranberry is probable, because the fruits are red and white, when young (see p. 42), and moreover the blossoms, white and pink, appear in spring and early summer while the fruit of the preceding summer is still on the vines.

beasts like large oxen, which have two tusks in their mouth like an elephant, and are at home even in the sea.¹ We saw one of them asleep on the shore, and went toward him in our boats in hope of surprising him, but as soon as he heard us, he flung himself into the sea. There we saw also bears and wolves. This island was named Brion Island.² Within it toward the south-east and north-west are great marshes.³ As far as I can gather I think that there must be a passage between Newfoundland and Brion Island.⁴ If this were so, it would shorten both the time and the journey, should this voyage be found practicable. Four leagues from this island (towards the WSW.), lies the mainland, which resembles an island surrounded with islets of black sand.⁵ There is a fine cape which we called Cape Dauphin,⁶ because there the good land commences.⁷

On the 27th of June we coasted along these lands, which face WSW., and which from a distance look like hills or mountains of sand, though they are really flat and low-lying. We were unable to approach them, much less to land, on account of the contrary wind. On this day we made fifteen leagues.

On the next day we sailed along the said coasts for about ten leagues, as far as a cape of red earth,⁸ which is steep and

¹ The walrus.

² After the Admiral de Brion. See p. 19, n. 1. It is still so called, though altered on some English maps into Byron Island.

³ "About it . . . are great lakes" (Hakluyt). The MS. reads *marées*, "tides," which is preferable.

⁴ This channel is now well known, the distance from one coast to the other being twenty leagues [L.]. In the MS., *la terre des Bretons*, Cape Breton. Mr. Biggar thinks that the MS. was changed after Cartier's visit to Cape Breton in 1536. The distance from shore to shore is fifty-five miles.

⁵ As Cartier found out in 1536 (see p. 165), this was not the mainland, but the Magdalen Islands. In the MS. this sentence is accordingly omitted. See W. F. Ganong, R.S.C., 1st Series, VII., sect. ii. pp. 44-45, and Dawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 *seq.*

⁶ Probably North Cape on Grosse Island of the Magdalen group. The dauphin was Prince Francis, who died on August 10, 1536.

⁷ The ideal sought for by Jacques Cartier is to find a strait leading to the Orient [L.]. See p. 44, n. 3.

⁸ All this part of Cartier's voyage relative to the Magdalen Islands has been the source of much controversy. See Baxter, *op. cit.*, Dawson, *op. cit.*,

sheer like a cliff, in which one sees an opening toward the north.¹ This is a very flat country, and there is also a small plain between the sea and a pond. From this cape and the pond to another cape² of which we caught sight, is about fourteen leagues,³ and the land lies in the shape of a semi-circle, all compassed about by sand like a ditch, beyond which one sees marshes and ponds as far as the eye can reach. And before reaching the first cape one sees two little islands⁴ pretty close in shore. Five leagues from the second cape, towards the south-west, is a very high and pointed island, which we named Alezay.⁵ The first cape was named St. Peter's, because we reached it on the day of the festival of that Saint.⁶

From Brion Island to this spot there is good sandy bottom, and when we likewise took soundings to the south-west to within five leagues of the shore, we found twenty-five fathom, and at one league out, twelve fathom, and near

Ganong, R.S.C. for 1887, &c. I have also been permitted to study an edition of Cartier, which is being prepared by Mr. Biggar. The evidence is so scanty that after studying the islands on a large scale map, I hesitate to speak positively, especially as the contour of the islands may have changed, though I incline to the view of Dr. Dawson rather than to that of Mr. Biggar. According to Dr. Dawson, after leaving North Cape, Cartier sailed along the west side of the Great Magdalen, turned South-west Cape on Amherst Island, and sailing along the south shore, came to Entry Island, which he identifies as the cape of red earth. The opening toward the north is then Pleasant Bay, and the *étang* is the semicircle of marshy beach on the south-east of Grindstone Island. A part of the south-east shore of Entry Island is still known as the Red Cliffs. Mr. Biggar shortens his day's journey, and identifies the cape of red earth with "Hospital Cape on the north side of Grindstone Island, which is of red sandstone." Mr. Baxter, *op. cit.*, and Bishop Howley, *op. cit.*, think that the cape of red earth was South-west Cape on Amherst Island.

¹ *Etang du Nord*, on Grindstone Island (Biggar). But see previous note, and Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 97, note 2.

² The hill (550 feet) of Grindstone Island (Dawson). South-west Cape on Amherst Island (Biggar).

³ The MS. has *quatre*, which is certainly correct.

⁴ Hospital Islet and Gull Island, near Grindstone Island (Biggar). Pierre de Gros Cap and the White Horse (Baxter).

⁵ Certainly Deadman's Islet, west of Amherst Island, though other opinions have been held.

⁶ June 29.

the shore rather more than six and good bottom. But wishing to explore more in detail these stony bottoms, which were full of rocks, we struck our sails and lay to. And the next day, the last but one of the month, the wind came south, a quarter south-west, and we sailed westward till sunrise on Tuesday morning, the last day of the month, without seeing still less exploring any land, save that toward evening we caught sight of a land which seemed to be two islands, which lay about nine or ten leagues behind us towards the west and south-west. And on that day we sailed westward some forty leagues till sunrise on the day following. And while holding this course we perceived that this land which had appeared to us like two islands was really the mainland,¹ lying to the south-east and NNW., as far as a very fine cape named Cape Orleans.² All this district is flat and low-lying, and the most beautiful imaginable, full of goodly trees and meadows; it is true that we could find no harbour, for it is all full of sandbanks. We landed at various places with our boats, and among these entered a beautiful but shallow river, which was therefore called Boat River; ³ especially as we saw some boats loaded with savages ⁴

¹ Prince Edward Island. See J. Pope, *Jacques Cartier; his Life and Voyages* (1890), p. 46. It was not known to be an island till after 1600. Cf. S. E. Dawson, R.S.C., 2nd Series, III., pt. ii. 241-58. Dawson and Ganong, *op. cit.*, suppose the two high points, which Cartier took to be islands, to be Capes Tryon and Turner. As these are much less than forty leagues from Cape Orleans, Mr. Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 99, thinks that they were further east, possibly Campbell and Sylvester Points.

² Cape Kildare, on Prince Edward Island. Cartier named it after Henri, Duc d'Orléans, afterwards Henri II. of France. His younger brother Charles, after whom it is said by some to have been named, did not become Duke of Orleans till 1540, by which time Henry had become Dauphin. See *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la maison royale de France*, by Père Anselme, vol. i. (Paris 1726-33).

³ Probably Richmond or Malpeque Bay, long a favourite resort of the Indians, though Mr. Biggar thinks that it was Cascumpeque Harbour, five miles south of Cape Kildare, into which flow numerous shallow rivers.

⁴ The Indians of Prince Edward Island were Micmacs, closely allied to those of Nova Scotia. About 200 still remain on the island.

who were crossing the river, and had no further knowledge of these savages, because the wind was blowing from the sea, and beating upon the coast, so that we were compelled to withdraw to our ships.

We sailed north-east till sunrise of the next day, July 1st, when a fog and storm arose, for which reason we struck sail till about two hours before midday, when the weather cleared and we caught sight of Cape Orleans, and of another seven leagues distant from it lying north, a quarter north-east, which we called Cape Savage.¹ On the north-eastern side of this cape, about half a league off, is a very dangerous ledge of rock. While we were near this cape, we perceived a man running behind our boats, which were coasting the shore, and making many signs to us to turn back toward this cape. Seeing these signs we began to approach him, but on seeing our coming he took to his heels. We landed, and laid before him a knife and a woollen belt on a stick, and thereupon returned to our vessels. That day we followed the coast of this land for nine or ten leagues, hoping to find a good haven, which was impossible, for the reason which I have already given that this whole district lies low, and is a region surrounded with sandbanks and bars. However, that day we landed in four spots to look at the trees, which were very fine and of a most pleasant smell; we found that they were cedars, yews,² pines, elms, ashes, willows, and various others unknown to us, but none of them fruit bearing. The districts where there is no wood are very fine, and all full of peas, of white and red currants in bloom, of strawberries, mulberries, wild wheat like rye, which looks as though it had been sown there in ploughed soil. This district is also of better temperature than could possibly be imagined, and of great warmth; therein may be seen an infinity of thrushes, wood pigeons, and other birds; in short, there is lack of nothing save of good havens.

¹ North Point, the north-west extremity of Prince Edward Island.

² Doubtless the hemlock.

CHAPTER IV

ON the morrow, the 2nd of July, we made out and had clear sight of the land on the north shore opposite us, which joined that already mentioned. After we had coasted all around it, we found that it contained [twenty leagues]¹ in depth, and as much in breadth. We called it the Gulf of Saint Leonarius,² and went with our boats toward a cape³ on the north, and found the shore so flat that for the space of a league to seawards there was only one fathom of water. To the north-east of the said cape, at about seven or eight leagues distance, was another cape,⁴ between which two lies a gulf shaped like a triangle,⁵ which is very deep and stretches to the north-east as far inland as we could see. This gulf is surrounded with sandbanks and shallows for ten leagues out, and there are but two fathoms of water.⁶ From this cape to the other is fifteen leagues.⁷ While abreast of these capes we caught sight of another cape and coast, which, so far as we could

¹ Left blank in text. The MS. says *vingt lieues*.

² After a Breton bishop of the sixth century, whose festival fell on 1st July. They really saw the east coast of New Brunswick, and mistook the northern opening of Northumberland Strait for a bay, a mistake perpetuated on maps till early in the seventeenth century.

³ Point Escuminac, the south point of Miramichi Bay.

⁴ Probably Blackland Point, at the north-east of Miramichi Bay.

⁵ Miramichi Bay.

⁶ The MS. reads: "It is completely bordered with sandbanks and shallows. At ten leagues to seaward, there is a depth of twenty fathoms."

⁷ "Both here and in the MS. one or more sentences would seem to be omitted. The distance given and the details which follow show that these two capes are Blackland Point, and North or Miscou Point on Miscou Island, at the mouth of Chaleur Bay" (Biggar; unpublished MS.)

see, lay north, a quarter north-east.¹ All night long the weather was very bad and windy, in so much that we were forced to lie to until the morning of the next day, the 3rd of July, when the wind came from the west, and we were carried northwards to explore this district which lay to our NNE., beyond the flats, between which flats and highlands was a great gulf,² and an opening fifty-five fathoms deep in some places, and about fifteen leagues wide. The great depth and the breadth and the changed character of the country gave us hope that we should be able to find a passage like Castle Passage.³ This gulf faces ENE. and WSW. The land to the south of this gulf is as fit for cultivation and as full of fair fields and meadows as any we have seen, as level as a lake, while that to the north is high, with high mountains covered with forests, and with very tall and large trees of different sorts. Among these are very fine cedars and pines in countless numbers, fit to be the masts of ships of more than three hundred tons burthen, and we saw no spot not covered with these trees, save in two places where the land was low and full of fields, with two very lovely lakes. The centre of this gulf lies in 48° 30' N. lat.⁴

The cape on this south side was named Cape Hope,⁵ by reason of the hope we had of there finding a passage. The 4th day of July we coasted along the north shore to find a harbour, and entered a small haven at a spot quite open to the south, where there is no shelter from that wind, and

¹ The Gaspé peninsula, on the north shore of Chaleur Bay. The cape was probably Cape Despair or d'Espoir.

² Chaleur Bay. From Cape Despair to North Point on Miscou Island is twenty-five miles.

³ A passage similar to the strait of Belle Isle, and perhaps leading to the longed-for Orient. See p. 39, n. 6.

⁴ Really in 48° 9'.

⁵ Point Miscou. "The name has been corrupted to Cape Despair and moved from its original position to the peninsula of Gaspé" (Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 103). Cape Despair is still known on the official maps as Cap d'Espoir. For the history of Miscou, see W. F. Ganong in *Acadiensis*, April 1906 (vol. vi. 2).

we thought fit to call this place St. Martin,¹ and we remained there from the 4th of July till the 12th. And during the time that we were there, on Monday the 6th, after hearing Mass, we went in one of our boats to explore a cape and point of land seven or eight leagues to the westward,² to see in which direction this coast trended, and when we were half a league from the point we saw two groups of boats, filled with savages, who were crossing from one shore to the other. There were more than forty or fifty boats, of which one group approached this point, and a great number of these people leaped ashore with a great shout, and made signs to us to land, holding up skins on the ends of sticks,³ but as we had only a single boat we resolved not to approach, and steered toward the other group who were afloat. Seeing us flee, they ordered two of their largest boats to follow us, to which joined themselves five others of those who were coming from the sea, and all drew near our boat, leaping and making signs of gladness and of their wish for friendship, saying in their tongue, *Napeu ton damen assur tah*, and other words which we understood not.⁴ But having only a single boat, as we have said, we resolved not to trust to their signs, and gave them to understand that they were to retire, which they refused to do, but came towards us with such fury that

¹ In the Roman breviary that saint is commemorated at Martinmas, 11th November, but in the Anglican calendar there still survives from the Sarum breviary a festival of the translation of St. Martin on 4th July. The bay was Port Daniel, on the north shore of Chaleur Bay, in what is now Bonaventure County.

² Paspebiac Point, in Bonaventure County.

³ It is possible that this implies that they had already met and bartered with white men.

⁴ Belleforest translates this, "We wish to have your friendship." I do not know where he learned this, but at present they no longer speak so [L.]. The reference is to *La Cosmographie Universelle* of Sebastian Münster, first published in 1545, of which Belleforest brought out in 1575 an enlarged edition in two large quarto volumes, of which the first is in two parts. See especially vol. ii., column 2182 (ed. 1575). In the edition of 1545 Cartier is not mentioned. See also Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1868), part vi. p. 52; and Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

in a moment they surrounded our boat with their seven. And since they refused to withdraw in spite of signs which we made them, we shot two fire-lances over their heads, which frightened them so that they retired towards the said point with great noise, but after remaining there for some little time, began again to approach us as before, so that when they came near the boat we shot two of our fire-darts among them, which so frightened them that they took to flight in great haste, and would not come near us again.

On the next day, a group of these savages came with nine boats to the point and entrance of the spot whence our vessels had set sail. And when apprised of their coming, we went with our boats to the point where they were, but as soon as they saw us they took to flight, making signs that they had come to barter with us, showing some skins of little value, wherewith they clothe themselves. We likewise made signs to them that we wished them no harm, and in sign of this two of our men landed to approach them, and bring them knives and other ironware, with a red hat to give to their captain. Seeing this, they also landed, carrying these skins of theirs, and began to trade with us, showing great and marvellous joy to possess this ironware and other such articles, dancing continually and going through various ceremonies; among others they took sea-water in their hands and threw it on their heads; in so much that they gave us all they had, keeping nothing back; and were compelled to go away stark naked, making signs to us that they would return on the next day with more skins.

On Thursday, the 8th of the month,¹ the wind being unfavourable for going out with our ships, we made ready our boats to explore this gulf, and on that day we ran up it twenty-five leagues. On the day following the weather was fine, and we sailed till midday,² by which time we had explored a great part of this gulf, and found that above the

¹ Thursday was really 9th July.

² "Ten o'clock" (MS.).

flats rose other lands with high mountains.¹ But seeing that there was no passage² we began to return, coasting along this shore, and while sailing saw some savages on the edge of a lake which lies upon the flats.³ They were making several fires; we went thither, and found that there was a channel from the sea running into this lake, and we moored our boats at one side of this channel. The savages came to us with one of their boats, and brought us the cooked flesh of seals, which they placed on pieces of wood, and withdrew, giving us to understand that it was a present. We sent men ashore with mittens, knives, necklaces, and other such wares, in which they took infinite delight, and to the number of more than three hundred, men, women, and children, came at once with a rush to the side where we were with their boats, bringing skins and other articles to exchange for our goods. And we saw a group of women who did not come across, who were knee-deep in the sea, dancing and singing. The others who had crossed over to where we were came freely to us, rubbing their arms with their hands, and thereafter raised them to heaven, leaping and making many signs of gladness, and grew so intimate with us that they ended by bartering all that they had from hand to hand, in such wise that they kept back nothing save their stark naked bodies, for they gave us everything which they had, though its value was but small. We recognised that this folk could easily be converted to our faith. They roam from place to place, living on fish. Their country is hotter than Spain,⁴ and the most beautiful a man could see, level and flat, and every

¹ The hills near Dalhousie at the mouth of the Restigouche.

² The MS. adds *dont fusmes dollans et masriz*, "whereat we were overcome with grief."

³ Tracadigash Point, where there is a lagoon (Ganong).

⁴ Either the author has made a mistake, or has tried to draw a general rule from an accidentally hot day, for the gulf, which lies in lat. 48° 30', cannot be so hot, especially in that country [L.].

The MS. reads: *Leur terre est en chaleur plus tempérée que la terre d'Espagne*, "Their land is in heat more temperate than the land of Spain."

smallest spot is covered either with trees, even though it be sandy, or with wild wheat, which has an ear like rye, and a grain like oats. The peas are as thick as though sown and cultivated, red and white grapes with the white blossom on them,¹ strawberries, mulberries, red and white roses, and other flowers of a pleasant, sweet, and agreeable smell. There are also many fair meadows, and good grasses, and lakes full of salmon. In their language they call a mitten *Cochi*, and a knife *Bacon*. We called this gulf the Gulf of Heat.²

Certain that there was no passage by way of this gulf, we set sail and departed from this district of St. Martin on Sunday, the 12th of July, to explore beyond this gulf, and sailed eastward along this coast about eighteen leagues, as far as Meadow Cape,³ where we found a very violent tide and very shallow bottom, and the sea angry and boisterous, whereby we were compelled to seek the shelter of the land between the aforesaid cape and an island⁴ about a league to the eastward of it, where we cast anchor for that night. On the morning of the next day we set sail with the intention of rounding this coast, which lies toward the NNE., but a wind so contrary and furious arose that we were forced to return to the anchorage which we had left, and there we remained that whole day until the morrow, when we set sail, and came opposite a river⁵ five or six leagues distant from Meadow Cape, and when off this river we again found the wind contrary, with much fog and mist, in so much that we were compelled to enter this river on Tuesday, the 14th

¹ Gooseberries. See p. 38, n. 4.

² *Golfe de la chaleur*, now Chaleur Bay.

³ Mr. Biggar thinks that this was Cape Despair, about thirty miles ENE. of Port Daniel. With Baxter, Ganong, and Dawson I think it White Head, some miles further north. The MS. has Cap de Pratto, probably the Portuguese for meadow, though it may possibly be called after Albert de Prato, canon of St. Paul's, for whose letter to Cardinal Wolsey see Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (ed. 1906), xiv. p. 305.

⁴ Bonaventure Island.

⁵ Gaspé Bay, into which the Dartmouth River flows.

day of the month, and we lay at its mouth until the 16th, waiting for good weather to go out. But on this 16th day, which was Thursday, the wind increased in such sort that one of our ships lost an anchor, and so we were forced to run some seven or eight leagues further up this river to make a good harbour,¹ where there was good bottom, which we had already explored with our boats, and owing to the bad weather, storm, and darkness, we remained in this harbour till the 25th without being able to leave it. Meanwhile we saw a great multitude of savages, who were fishing for mackerel, of which there are great quantities. There were about forty boats in all, and more than two hundred men, women, and children, who after some short talk on land with us, came familiarly on board our ships with their boats. We gave them knives, glass beads, combs, and other trinkets of little value, whereat they showed infinite joy, raising their hands to heaven, singing and dancing in their boats. These can truly be called savages, for one could not find poorer people in the world, and I think that the whole band could not have had the value of five coppers, save for their boats and nets, for all the clothing they have is a small piece of skin with which they cover their privy parts, and a few old skins which they wear after the manner of the Egyptians.² They have neither the nature nor the language of the first whom we had met. Their heads are entirely shaven, save for a lock of hair on top, which they let grow as long as a horse's tail, and which they bind up with small leather thongs.³ They have no other dwelling save beneath these boats, which they turn upside down, and stretch themselves on the bare

¹ Into Gaspé Basin or Dartmouth River.

² The MS. reads, "*qu'ils gectent sur eulx en escharpes.*" Ramusio has, "*che si gettano sopra à trauerso.*" Hakluyt translates, "and certaine olde skinnes that they cast upon them" (Hakluyt, viii. p. 202 : ed. 1904). The Egyptians, *i.e.* the gypsies, are added in the edition of 1598.

³ The scalp-lock and the words which Cartier has preserved show that these nomads belonged to the Huron-Iroquois stock.

ground underneath. They eat their meat almost raw, and merely broil it very slightly on the coals, as they do also with fish. On the day of St. Mary Magdalen¹ we went with our boats to the spot where they were on the bank of the stream, and landed freely among them, whereat they were much pleased, and all the men began to sing and dance in two or three bands, making great signs of joy at our coming. They had driven the young women into the woods, save two or three who had remained with them, to each of whom we gave a comb and a tin bell, whereat they were greatly delighted, thanking the captain and stroking his arms and chest with their hands. The men, seeing that we had given presents to those who had remained, sent for those who had taken refuge in the wood, that they too might have something; they were about twenty women, who all flung themselves upon the captain in a heap, touching him and stroking him with their hands, which is their manner of caress; to each of them he gave a tin bell of little value, and they at once began to dance together, and to sing various songs. We found there a great quantity of mackerel, which they had caught from the shore with nets made specially for fishing, of the thread of a hemp² which grows in the district where they usually dwell, because, as I am told, they only come down to the sea at the fishing season. There likewise grows in that country millet as large as a pea, like that of Brazil,³ which they eat in place of bread; it grows abundantly, and they call it in their language *Kapaige*.⁴ They have also plums, which, like us, they dry for the winter, and which they call *Honesta*; also figs, walnuts,⁵ apples, and other fruits, and beans which they call *Sahu*, walnuts *Cabéhya*, figs —

¹ 22nd July.

² Doubtless the Canadian or Indian hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum*.

³ Millet, or maize [L.].

⁴ *Kagaige* (MS.).

⁵ *i.e.* the butternut, or white walnut, *Juglans cinerea*. Between walnuts and apples, the MS. gives *poires*, pears; according to Baxter, the pears and apples were "the fruit of the thorn, *Crataegus tomentosa*, *C. punctata*."

apples ——.¹ If shown anything which they had not, and whose use they could not understand, they shook their heads and said *Nobda*, meaning that they do not possess it, and do not know what it is. They showed us by signs their manner of preparing such things as they have, and how they grow. They eat no salted food, are great thieves, and pilfer everything they can.

¹ The language of these tribes has changed, for to-day they do not use these words [L.]. The blanks are in the text. The MS. says that they call figs *honestta*, but leaves the second blank. In the MS. the other words are spelled *Sahe* and *Daheya*.

CHAPTER V

ON the 1st day of August¹ we made a cross thirty feet high; this was made in the presence of a number of the savages, on the point at the entrance to this harbour,² and where the arms crossed we affixed an escutcheon with three *fleurs-de-lis* in relief, and above was written in large letters cut into the wood: LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE. Thereafter we set it up in their presence on the said point. Both while we were making and setting it up they kept looking at it attentively. And when we had raised it on high, we all knelt before it with clasped hands, reverencing it in sight of them, and, by looking up at the sky and pointing, making signs to them that on that cross depended our salvation; whereat they marvelled greatly, turning one to another, and then looking at this cross. But when we had returned to our ships their captain came to us in a boat, clad in an old black bear-skin, with his three sons and one of his brothers; they did not approach so near to us as was their custom, and, pointing to this cross, he made a long speech, imitating its appearance with two fingers. Then he pointed to all the land round about, meaning that it was all his, and that we had no right to set up this cross without his leave. When his speech was done we held up a mitten, pretending to wish to give it to him in exchange for his bear-skin. This attracted him, and so, little by little, he came close to our ships; but one of the crew, who was in the

¹ In the MS. 24th July. Ramusio, Hakluyt, and the edition of 1598 say the same. There is no known reason for Lescarbot's mistake. From this to the end of the voyage he gives no further dates.

² Probably on Sandy Beach Point, though possibly on the peninsula opposite (Biggar).

dinghy, put his hand on his boat, and at once leaped into it with two or three more, and compelled him then and there to come on board our ships, whereat they were utterly taken aback. But the captain assured them that no harm would be done them, and showed them great signs of friendship, setting food and drink before them with much hospitality. Thereafter we gave them to understand, by signs, that this cross had been planted there as a mark and sign to aid any one entering this harbour, and that we desired soon to return, and that we would bring them ironware and other goods, and that we wished to take with us two of his sons, and thereafter to return to this harbour. And so we had each of his sons dressed in a shirt, a coloured blouse, and a red cap, putting also a brass chain around the neck of each, which pleased them greatly, and they gave their old clothes to those who were returning. Then we presented a mitten and some knives to each of the three whom we sent back, which gave them great joy. When these had returned to shore, and recounted the news to the others, about mid-day there came alongside six of their boats, each containing five or six men, who came to say good-bye to those whom we had kept, and brought them some fish, and said many things which we did not understand, and made signs that they would not remove this cross.

On the morrow¹ a fair wind blew, and we put out of the harbour. When beyond the said river we set our course ENE., since near its mouth the land makes a curve, and forms a semicircular gulf, so that from our ships we saw the whole coast along which we were sailing, and we set our course for the land lying toward the west and north-west, and discovered another similar gulf twenty leagues distant from the said river.²

¹ 25th July (MS.).

² *i.e.* after following the Gaspé shore for some distance, they caught sight of the high lands behind South-west Point on Anticosti Island, and mistook

We then coasted along this shore, which lies, as we have said, south-east and north-west, and two days later we sighted another cape¹ where the coast begins to trend eastwards; in this direction we coasted some sixteen leagues, after which it begins to trend northwards,² and at three leagues from this cape we cast the lead and found bottom in twenty-four fathoms.³ These shores are flat, and the least wooded that we have yet seen. They contain fine meadows, and fields exceeding green. This cape was named Cape St. Louis,⁴ because his feast was celebrated on that day;⁵ it lies in lat. 49° 30', and in long.—⁶ On the morning of this day we were to the eastward of this cape, and sailed north-west to approach this coast till it was nearly night, and found that it faced north and south. From this Cape St. Louis to another named Cape Montmorency,⁷ a distance of about fifteen leagues, the land begins to extend to the north-west. We tried to find bottom when within three leagues of this

the entrance to the River St. Lawrence for a gulf, thus making the same mistake which they had made at the mouth of Northumberland Strait. The distance from Cape Gaspé to South-west Point on Anticosti is about fifty miles.

¹ South Point on Anticosti Island, fifty-six miles from South-west Point.

² "After which it begins to fall off" (MS.). At Heath Point, the south-east extremity of Anticosti (Biggar and Dawson). At East Cape (Baxter).

³ *De taygnay* (MS.) *i.e.* a rocky bottom covered with seaweed.

⁴ Heath Point, or East Cape, some miles further north. See note 2. See R.S.C., 1887, p. 135; 1890, p. 26. *Maine Hist. Soc.*, i. p. 328.

⁵ 28th July. In honour of St. Louis, *i.e.* Louis IX. of France.

⁶ So in text. The MS. has 49° 15' lat. and 63° 30' long., which is approximately correct.

⁷ Probably Table Head, on the north-east coast of Anticosti Island, about twenty-three miles from Heath Point, though Dawson (*op. cit.*, p. 145) says Fox Point, which is some miles further east. Belleforest, *Cosmographie*, ii. col. 2184, says, with his usual loquacity, "et après ils trouverent . . . un autre [Promontoire] auquel ils donnerent le nom de Mommorency, en souvenance de ce grand Connestable Anne de Mommorency, qui pour ses vertus, sagesse et vaillance a eu l'heur de servir quatre Roys de France estant Marechal, grand Maistre, et depuis Conestable de France." *Vide* F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency* (Paris, 1885). At this time Montmorency was Grand Master of France, and the chief rival in political influence of Chabot de Brion, Cartier's patron.

cape, but could not do so with 150 fathoms of line, and therefore coasted along this shore for about ten leagues as far as lat. 50°.

On the following Saturday,¹ at sunrise, we discovered and saw clearly other lands² which lay to our north and north-east, which were very high and broken, and seemed to be mountains, between which³ were other low-lying districts, well wooded and watered. We coasted along these districts on either hand, sailing north-west, to see if there was a gulf, or perchance a channel.⁴ From one district to the other is about fifteen leagues, and the middle is in lat. 51° 20'. We found it very difficult to make more than five⁵ leagues on account of the tide being against us, and of the violent winds which reign there. We did not go beyond this five leagues,⁶ whence one could easily see the land from shore to shore, which here begins to broaden out. But since we were doing nothing but drive hither and thither with the wind, we decided to draw towards land⁷ to try to make a cape further south,⁸ which was the furthest and the most prominent that we could see, and distant from us about fifteen⁹ leagues; but when we were near to it, we found ourselves among rocks, stones, and reefs,¹⁰ which we had not hitherto found in any place on the south shore which we had visited since leaving Cape St. John;¹¹ and at this time we were carried westward by the tide¹² against the wind; in so much that as we sailed along this coast one of our boats

¹ 1st August (MS.).

² The north shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite Anticosti, often, but wrongly, called Labrador.

³ "Between which and us" (MS.).

⁴ The MS. adds, "till the 5th day of the month."

⁵ The MS. has XXV.

⁶ "We reached its narrowest point" (MS.).

⁷ "In our said boats" (MS.).

⁸ North Point, on Anticosti.

⁹ The MS. has "five."

¹⁰ "Rochers et fons curé" (MS.), "cliffs and a rocky bottom."

¹¹ Cape St. John in St. George's Bay, Newfoundland. See p. 37, n. 4.

¹² "The ebb" (MS.).

struck against a reef, and though it did not stick fast, we all had to jump out to push her off.

After sailing along this coast for about two hours the tide came with such a rush¹ that we found it quite impossible with thirteen oars to advance a stone's-throw, in so much that we were forced to quit our boats and to leave a party there to watch them, while some ten or twelve men walked overland as far as this cape,² where we found that this coast begins to fall away toward the south-west. Having seen this, and returned to our boats, we rejoined our vessels, which had already set sail in hope even yet of making headway ; but they had been carried down by the wind more than four leagues from the spot where we had left them. On our arrival we called together all the captains, sailors, masters, and crew,³ to have their advice and counsel as to our best course of action. After each had spoken, the general opinion was that, as strong east winds⁴ were beginning to prevail and to grow violent, and as the tide was so strong that all we did was to fall off, it was impossible for the present to go further ; moreover, that at this season storms were wont to arise off Newfoundland, that we were far from home, and knew not what hazards and dangers might befall on our return, and therefore that it was time either to depart or to stay where we were for the rest of the year. Moreover our discussion turned much on this, that if a change of wind from the north caught us, we should be unable to get away. These opinions heard and well considered, we decided firmly to return home. And since we had entered this strait on the day of the feast of St. Peter, we therefore

¹ "The tide began to make, coming against us from the west" (MS.).

² North Point.

³ On the meaning of these various terms, and on the solidarity between officers and men marked by this and similar consultations, see the Abbé H. Verreau, *Jacques Cartier: Questions de Lois et Coutumes maritimes*, in R.S.C., 1897 (new series, vol. iii.).

⁴ "Vents d'avaultx" (MS.).

called it St. Peter's Strait,¹ wherein we cast the lead in several places, and found in some 150 fathoms, in others 100, and near the shore sixty with good anchorage.² From this day till Wednesday we had the very wind we wished, and coasted along this north shore ESE. and WNW., for so it lies, save for a long, low-lying cape³ which bends somewhat to the south-east, at about twenty-five leagues from the said strait. At this spot we saw rising above this cape smoke made by the people of the country, but as the wind was not blowing landward⁴ we did not approach them. Seeing that we were not drawing near, twelve of their men came out to us in two canoes, who came alongside as frankly as if they had been French, and gave us to understand that they came from the Great Gulf,⁵ and that their chief was one Tiennot by name, who was on the cape, making signs that they were returning to their country, whence we had come, and that they were loaded with fish. We called this cape Cape Tiennot. After passing it, the whole coast lies ESE. and WNW., and all these districts are flat, fertile,⁶ and surrounded with sand-bars and shoals just below the surface, and for the space of twenty leagues there are many marshes and sandbanks, and thereafter the land begins to turn from W. to ENE.,⁷ and is entirely bordered with islands to a distance of two or three leagues from shore. And therefore, we thought,⁸

¹ The passage to the north of Anticosti. The feast of St. Peter in Chains is on 1st August.

² "Eight score, one hundred, seventy-five" (MS.).

³ Natashquan Point, fifty-two miles from the Mingan Islands.

⁴ "Was blowing landwards" (MS.).

⁵ "La Grant baye" (MS.). This was the strait of Belle Isle, and that portion of the gulf lying just inside it. It retained its name until Champlain's time.

⁶ The MS. reads, "completely surrounded with sand, where the sea is all reefs and shoals for about a league, where the land begins to fall away to the west and to the east-north-east."

⁷ At Cape Whittle, sixty-two miles east of Natashquan Point (Biggar).

⁸ "We thought" is due to a mistranslation of Ramusio, the original reading *le paraige desquelles*, "in the neighbourhood of which," &c.

there are several dangerous banks more than four or five leagues out from land.

From the said Wednesday till Saturday we had a strong south-west wind which drove us ENE., and on that day we reached the eastern ¹ shore of Newfoundland, between the Hut Mountains ² and Cape Double.³ Here the east wind began to blow with storm and great fury ; we therefore steered north-west and north, to make the northern shore, which is, as we have said, entirely bordered with isles, but when near it the wind changed and blew from the south, which carried us into the gulf,⁴ in so much that by the grace of God, on the next day, the 9th of August, we entered Blanc-Sablon ; —and lo and behold the sum total of our discoveries !

Thereafter, on the 15th of August, the day of the Assumption of our Lady, we set out from Blanc-Sablon after hearing Mass, and sailed with good weather half-way across the ocean between Newfoundland and Brittany, where we were in great risk from the east winds,⁵ but by God's help we endured them, and thereafter had most excellent weather, so that on the 5th day of September of the same year we reached the harbour of St. Malo, whence we had set out.

¹ "Western" (MS.).

² The Highlands of St. John. See p. 35.

³ Rich Point. See p. 35.

⁴ La grande Baie. See p. 57, n. 5.

⁵ "We were for three days buffeted" (MS.).

CHAPTER VI

MANY stay-at-homes, and other folk whose life is confined to cities, will perchance find it superfluous love of trifles to set down here so many islands, channels, harbours, banks, and other details, as that the coast-line of a district lies ENE. and WSW., or otherwise, details which, at the beginning of the first book of this history, I had promised to curtail; but on further consideration that so to do would be to defraud the sailors and Newfoundlanders of what they specially need, since in the preceding account and in the following the voyage to Newfoundland is so well described by so good a pilot, that they cannot fail of success with such a guide, I have decided that it will be better to change my plan at this point, and to revive full and entire the memory of this personage. I have also thought fit to print the letter to the King with which he prefaces his account, which I believe has not yet been published, since it is in manuscript in the book whence I have taken it, as is also the whole account of this second voyage. It has indeed been published by Monsieur de Belle-Forest,¹ but not fully, nor with the grace and simplicity which I find in the author's own words; and he has sometimes gone astray in seeking to criticise matters of detail, instances of which we shall point out as they occur. And since the voyage of Samuel Champlain made six years ago² covers the

¹ *Cosmographie Universelle*, vol. ii. cols. 2184-2194, a mere summary and without the dedicatory epistle.

² In 1603. Left unchanged from the edition of 1609. This was the voyage made in 1603 by Champlain with Pont Gravé. His account was published early in 1604 with the title: *Des Sauvages: ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain, de Brouage, faict en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil six cens trois*. In 1625 Purchas published an abridged translation. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iv., 1605-1619. (Vol. xviii. pp. 188-226, edition of 1906.)

same ground, I shall piece them together, as far as possible, in order not to fill my paper uselessly with vain repetitions. However, I must warn the reader that in the time of Captain Jacques Cartier, as these new lands had not been so well explored as they now are, he took a more northerly course than is taken at present by the Newfoundlanders who enter the Gulf of Canada, which forms the entrance to the great river, since he did not know for certain that there was a passage by way of Cape Breton, as we have seen in the third chapter of this book, wherein he says that, "if there were a channel between Newfoundland and Brion Island, it would shorten both time and distance."¹ Thus in this second voyage he set his course straight for the channel between Newfoundland and the northern mainland, in lat. 51°. It is true, however, that on his return I find he passed between Newfoundland and Brion Island, which is to-day the usual course for our sailors, since by taking this route in north lat. 44°, 45°, 46°, they do not encounter so many great icebergs (whereon sometimes vessels dash to ruin), as do those who keep a more northerly course. This is why the said Champlain, in the description of his voyage, says that after seventeen days of storm, during which they lost rather than gained ground, they met icebergs of great height eight leagues in length, and other smaller ones, which compelled them to go further south to seek a passage near lat. 44°, beyond these icebergs, and finally made Cape St. Mary² in Newfoundland, three days after which he sighted the islands of St. Peter,³ and three days later reached Cape Ray, where there were still icebergs six to eight leagues long, and thence went on to the islands of St. Paul⁴ and Cape St. Lawrence,⁵ which he says is on the southern mainland, though really this

¹ See p. 39, n. 4.

² At the eastern entrance to Placentia Bay, on the south coast of Newfoundland.

³ St. Pierre and Miquelon, west of Placentia Bay.

⁴ Still so called, a few miles north of Cape St. Lawrence.

⁵ Still so called, on the north shore of Cape Breton.

whole stretch of land, as far as the Bay of Canso, is an island, since at the foot of this bay is a passage,¹ unknown to Jacques Cartier and to many others after him, whereby one reaches the said Gulf of Canada. Two days later they sighted an island twenty-five to thirty leagues in length,² off the mouth of the great river. This island is called by the savages of the district Anti-costi,³ and is the same as that called Assumption Island by Jacques Cartier, since he arrived there on August 15th, the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, as we shall see when he has brought us so far, and which is more or less the limit of his first voyage previously related.

This, then, is the preface to the account which he presented to the King of his second voyage and exploration to Newfoundland and the great river of Canada, called by him Hochelaga, from the name of the country which lies to the north, near the Falls of the said river :—

Second voyage made by the command and wish of the most Christian King, Francis, the first of that name, to the completion of the discovery of the lands of the west which are within the climate and the latitude of the lands and kingdom of the said Prince, and of which the discovery had already been begun by him ; the said voyage made by Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo on the island, in Brittany, pilot of the said Prince, in the year 1535.

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING⁴

Considering, most august Prince, the great goods and gifts of his grace which God the Creator has seen fit to give unto his creatures, and among others the placing in position of the

¹ The Strait of Canso.

² Really about 140 miles long by 30 broad.

³ Anticosti, Naticotec, Natascoueh, the Montagnais word said to mean "where the bear is caught."

⁴ The Quebec editor ascribes this dedication to Belleforest, on what authority is unknown. It is not given by Belleforest in the *Cosmographie Universelle*, and is omitted by Ramusio and Hakluyt.

sun, who is the life and intelligence of them all, and without whom nothing can be fruitful or productive, in the spot and place wherein he has his course and his going down contrary and dissimilar to the other planets, whereby all creatures alike upon the earth, in whatsoever spot and place they may be, enjoy or can enjoy him within the solar year, which is three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. Not that his rays and refractions have the same burning heat in all places ;¹ nor is the division of days and of nights equal over all, but it is enough that his character and temperature are such that the whole earth is, or can be, inhabited in any zone, climate, or parallel whatsoever, and that with the waters, trees, grasses, and all other creatures of whatever class or species they be, by the influence of the said sun it produces fruits and offspring according to their several natures for the life and sustenance of human beings. And if some wish to affirm the contrary of the above, alleging the saying of wise philosophers of times past, who in their writings have made division of the world into five zones, whereof they have affirmed and maintained three to be uninhabitable : to wit, the torrid zone, lying between the two tropics or solstices, for the great heat and refraction of the sun's rays, as he passes through the zenith of the said zone ; and the two zones, the Arctic and the Antarctic, for the exceeding cold which is in them, because of the little elevation of the said sun which they have, and other reasons—I confess that they have written thus, and I firmly believe in their sincerity, and that they held it so for certain abstract reasons, whereon they based themselves, and wherewith they were fully content, without adventuring or risking their persons in the dangers into which they might have fallen in seeking to prove

¹ Lescarbot has here omitted a line. The original reads : *les ungs que les aultres ; non qu'il soit tant chault et ardant, es ungs lieux que es aultres, par ses rays et réverbérations, &c.*, and I have followed this in my translation.

their words. But in reply I shall say that the prince of these philosophers has left in his writings a short sentence of great weight, which states that "Experience is the lord of life;"¹ in the light of which motto I have ventured to essay to present before the eyes of your Royal Majesty this discourse, as it were in foreword to this little work of mine. For in obedience to your royal command the simple sailors of to-day, not having so great fear of putting themselves in peril of these risks and dangers which they have undergone and do undergo to do you most humble service in the increase of the most holy Christian Faith, have by true experience discovered the contrary of this opinion of these philosophers. I have stated the foregoing, because I see that the sun, rising daily in the east, and making his way to the west, thus completes the tour and circuit of the earth, giving light and heat to the whole world in twenty-four hours, which is a natural day. Following this example I think, in my simple understanding and without citing any further reason, that it is God's pleasure by His divine goodness, that all human creatures who live and inhabit upon the terrestrial globe, as they have sight and knowledge of the sun, have had, and have for the future knowledge of and belief in our holy faith. For at the first this our most holy faith was sown and planted in the Holy Land, which is in Asia to the eastward of our Europe; and thereafter has been gradually brought and published abroad even unto us, and at last in the west of our said Europe, even as the sun carries his light and heat from Orient to Occident, as already stated.² And now the

¹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, I. iv.

² The original letter proceeds: "Et pareillement aussy avons veu icelle nostre sainte foy, par plusieurs fois à l'occasion des meschans heretiques et faulx legislateurs, eclipses en aucuns lieux: et depuis soubdainement reluyre et monstrier sa clerté plus appertement que auparauant. Et maintenant encores à present voyons comme les meschans lutheriens apostatz et imitateurs de Mahomet, de jour en autre s'efforcent de icelle opprimer, et finablement du tout estaindre, si Dieu et les vrayz suppostz d'icelle n'y donnent ordre par

time seems to be preparing wherein we shall see it carried from your Eastern France to Western France over-seas. With which intent the present voyage has by your royal command been made to lands not formerly known unto us, by the account of which you shall perceive and know their goodness and fertility, the innumerable number of peoples dwelling therein, their kindliness and peaceful nature, and likewise the productivity of the great river which flows amid these your lands and waters there, and which is beyond comparison the greatest ever seen by mortal eye. Which things give to those who have seen them certain hope of the future increase of our most holy faith, of your possessions and most Christian name, as you may be pleased to see in the present little volume, wherein are largely contained all things worthy of record which we have seen, and which we experi-

mortelle justice ; ainsy qu'on veoit faire chascun jour en voz pays et royaulme, par le bon ordre et police quey auez mys. Pareillement aussi veoit on, comme au contraire d'iceux enfans de Sathan, les paoures Chrestiens, et vrayz pilliers de l'Eglise catholique s'efforcent d'icelle augmenter et accroistre, ainsi que a faict le Catholique Roy d'Espagne, es terres qui par son commandement ont esté decouvertes en l'occident de ses pais et royaulmes, lesquelles auparavant nous estoient incognues, estranges, et hors de nostre foy. Comme la neufue Espagne, Lisabelle, terre ferme, et autres ysles ou on a trouué innumerable peuple, qui a esté baptisé et reduict en nostre tressaincte foy."

"And likewise also we have seen this our holy faith, by reason of wicked heretics and false lawgivers, eclipsed at sundry times and in divers places : and again suddenly shined forth, and manifest its light more clearly than before. And yet again at the present time we see how the wicked Lutherans, apostates, and imitators of Mahomet, daily strive to overwhelm it, and in the end totally to abolish it, if God and its true supporters did not give order therein by human justice ; as one sees done daily in your country and kingdom by the good order and police that you have established therein. Likewise also one sees how, contrary to these sons of the devil, the poor Christians and true pillars of the Catholic Church strive to augment and increase it, as has done the Catholic King of Spain, in the lands which by his command have been discovered to the west of his countries and kingdoms, which before were unknown and strange to us, and without our faith ; such as are New Spain, Lisabelle, Terra Firma, and other isles where countless multitudes have been found, who have been baptized and brought within our most holy faith."

enced as well in making the said voyage, as while remaining in the said your lands and countries, and which include the roads, dangers, and situation of the said countries. May God in His grace inspire you, sire, to undertake in earnest this holy enterprise.

CHAPTER VII

ON Whitsunday, the 16th of May, in the year 1535, by command of the captain and with the goodwill of all, each man confessed himself, and we all together received our Creator in the cathedral church of St. Malo, and thereafter went to present ourselves in the choir of the said church before the Reverend Father in God the Bishop of St. Malo, who in his episcopal robes gave us his benediction.¹

And on the following Wednesday,² 19th May, a fair and favouring wind blew, and we set sail with three ships, to wit, *La Grande Hermine*,³ of about one hundred or sixscore tons burthen, wherein was the said Captain-General,⁴ Thomas Froment,⁵ master; Claude du Pont Briant,⁶ son of the seigneur de Montreal and cupbearer of Monseigneur the Dauphin; Charles de la Pommeraye,⁷ and other men of

¹ The Bishop of St. Malo at this time was Mgr. François Bohier, who had some months before succeeded his uncle, Mgr. Denis Bricconnet. See Kerviler, *Répertoire générale de Bibliographie Bretonne*: Rennes, 1890, *in loco*, and Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 129. In 1891 M. Honoré Mercier, Premier of the province of Quebec, had an inscription placed on the floor of the cathedral at the spot where Cartier is supposed to have knelt.

² Mr. Baxter (*op. cit.*, p. 129) says Friday, an obvious mistake.

³ The large weasel.

⁴ For an account of these various ranks and of their functions on ship-board, see the Abbé Verreau, *Jacques Cartier: Questions de Lois et Coutumes maritimes* (R. S. C., 1897).

⁵ He was from La Bouille, near Rouen. See Joüon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier* (Paris, 1888), p. 128.

⁶ Probably the son of Pierre de Pontbriant, seigneur de Montréal, in the department of the Gers, who was captain under Francis I. of the castle of Bergerac.

⁷ According to M. Joüon des Longrais (*op. cit.*, p. 142, note 1) he was a nephew of Olivier de la Pommeraye, canon of St. Malo and archdeacon of Dinan. In the *Bref Récit* of 1545, after this name there is added here,

rank.¹ On the second ship, named *La Petite Hermine*, of about sixty tons burthen, Macé Jalobert² was captain under the said Cartier, and Guillaume le Marié,³ master. And on the third and smallest ship, named the *Emerillon*,⁴ of about forty tons, Guillaume le Breton⁵ was captain, and Jacques Mingart,⁶ master. And we sailed with good weather until the 26th of the said month of May, when the weather turned to wrath and tempest, which continued without ceasing with contrary winds and thick weather as great as ever ships suffered which crossed that sea; insomuch that, on the 25th day of June, through this foul and heavy weather, we all three lost sight of each other and had no news one of another till Newfoundland, where we had appointed to meet.

And after we were scattered we in the general's ship were tossed about the sea with all manner of contrary winds until the 7th of July, when we reached Newfoundland, and made land at Bird Island,⁷ which lies fourteen leagues off the mainland, and is so full of birds that all the ships of France could easily load themselves there without any difference being seen; and there we took on board two boat-loads to and in several other places through the volume, the name of one Jehan Poulet, or Poulet (see also p. 156, n. 2), which does not occur in any of the three MS. copies of the voyage. Mr. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, p. 215, considers him to have been the author both of this and of the first voyage, and to have concealed his name through modesty.

¹ The word connotes noble birth.

² He and Cartier had married sisters, his wife's name being Alison des Granches.

³ One of his children, Jean Le Marié, became Canon of St. Malo.

⁴ The merlin, or sparrow-hawk.

⁵ The son of Guillaume le Breton, sieur de la Bastille, near Limoilous at Paramé.

⁶ The son of Allain Maingard and Collette des Granches, another of Cartier's numerous relations. Mr. Baxter gives in facsimile (pp. 311-14), and in translation (pp. 307-10), a list from the archives of St. Malo of seventy-three of Cartier's companions. I owe the preceding notes on the names given in the text to his researches, and to those of M. Joïon des Longrais and of Mr. Biggar. The list of seamen was produced before the assembly of the burgesses of St. Malo by Jehan Poulet (see p. 156, n. 2), on March 31, 1535.

⁷ See p. 28, n. 1.

replenish our stores. This island is by the elevation of the pole in north lat. $49^{\circ} 40'$.

And the 8th day of the said month we set sail from this island, and came with good weather on the 15th to our appointed rendezvous, the haven (so the author writes the word now called harbour) of Blanc Sablon, which is in the Bay of Castles, wherein we waited for our comrades until the 26th, when both of them arrived together; there we refitted, and took on board wood, water, and other necessities, and at daybreak on the 26th¹ weighed anchor and set sail to continue our voyage, and coasted along the northern coast, which lies ENE. and WSW., till about eight o'clock in the evening, when we lowered our sails between two islands,² which we called the islands of St. William,³ which are about twenty leagues beyond the haven of Brest. From the Castles to this point the lie of the coast is ENE. and WSW., bordered with various islands and districts very broken and stony, without any soil or wood save in certain valleys.

The next day, the penultimate day of the said month, we ran westwards to have knowledge of other islands distant about twelve and a half leagues, among which is an inlet extending northwards,⁴ full of islands and great bays appearing to contain several good harbours. We named them the islands of St. Martha,⁵ off which, about a league and a half

¹ A misprint in all three editions for the 29th, given in the MS.

² Carelessness of transcription has omitted here, "qui s'auencent plus hors que les autres," "which jut out beyond the others."

³ Dukes and Shagg Island, near Cumberland Harbour (Biggar). "Probably Treble Hill, and Great Meccatina or Murr Island" (Baxter). The latter identification, which is followed by Dawson (*op. cit.*, p. 154), seems to me the more probable.

⁴ If the Isles de St. Guillaume were the Great Meccatina group, this must be Watagheistic Sound. Mr. Biggar, who thinks that he had not come so far (see previous note), identifies it with Ha Ha Bay.

⁵ Her festival fell on 29th July. "Probably Little Meccatina, and the small peninsula opposite" (Baxter). Great Meccatina, and others in the neighbourhood (Biggar). The St. Mary Islands (Dawson). Mr. Baxter's opinion seems to me the most likely, but the whole thing is guesswork.

to seaward, is a very dangerous shoal, where are four or five jagged rocks lying across the said bays in the route from east to west from the said islands of St. William, and other islands ¹ which lie about seven leagues WSW. of the islands of St. Martha; which other islands we neared about an hour after midday of the said day. And from this day until the turn of the glass ² we ran about fifteen leagues till opposite a cape ³ on some low-lying islands, which we named the islands of St. Germain,⁴ about three leagues to the south-east of which cape is another very dangerous shoal; and also between the said islands of Cape St. Germain and St. Martha is a bank about two leagues to seaward of the said islands, on which there is but four fathoms; and for the danger of the said coast we struck our sails, and did not run on through the night.

On the next day, the last day of July, we ran along this coast, which lies east and west a quarter south-east, and which is all fringed with islands and shallows, and is a most dangerous coast, extending for about seventeen leagues and a half from the said cape of the islands of St. Germain to the end of the islands,⁵ at the end of which is a very fine plain covered with fine large trees; all this coast is fringed with sandbanks, with no sign of a harbour until Cape Tiennot,⁶ which bends back to the north-west, and is about seven leagues from the said islands; which cape we knew from our former voyage, and therefore sailed WNW. all night until daybreak, when the wind blew contrary, and we ran in search of a haven into which we brought our ships; it is an

¹ St. Mary's Island and Boat Island (Baxter). Little Meccatina and the Harrington Islands (Biggar).

² The sandglass often lasted three or four hours. Four, the duration of a watch, is perhaps more probable here.

³ Cape Whittle.

⁴ Wapitagan, Outer Wapitagan, and Lake Islands, known as the Cape Whittle Islands. Cape Whittle forms the south-west extremity of Lake Island. The festival of St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, fell on Saturday, 31st July.

⁵ The islands end at Kegashka Bay, about forty miles beyond Cape Whittle.

⁶ Natashquan Point. See p. 57, n. 3.

excellent little harbour, about seven leagues and a half beyond the said Cape Tiennot, lying among four islands jutting out to sea. We named it the harbour of St. Nicholas,¹ and on the nearest island we set up a great wooden cross as a march (he means mark). One must keep this cross to the north-east, then approach it and leave it to starboard (a sailor's term, meaning to the right), and you will find a depth of six fathoms, and when at anchor within the harbour, four fathoms; care must be taken of four² shallows which lie on either side half a league out. This whole coast is very dangerous and full of shoals. Though there seem to be many harbours, there are nothing but shallows and banks. We were in the said harbour from this day till Sunday, 8th August, when we set sail and went to make the land to the south toward Cape Rabast,³ which is about twenty leagues distant from this harbour, lying NNE. and SSW. On the morrow the wind blew contrary, and since we found no harbours in this southern district,⁴ we steered northward for some ten leagues beyond the former harbour, where we found a very fine, large bay, full of islands and easy entrances, and shelter from every wind that could blow;⁵ this bay may be known by a large island like a cape,⁶ which juts out beyond the others, and about two leagues inland is a mountain⁷ shaped like a wheat-sheaf. We named this bay the Bay of St. Lawrence.⁸

On the 14th⁹ of this month, leaving this Bay of St.

¹ Pashashibu Bay, twenty miles west of Natashquan Point (Biggar and Dawson). Mushkoniatawee Bay, some miles farther on (Baxter). St. Nicholas is the patron saint of sailors. His festival falls on 6th December.

² "Two" in MS. The *quatre* has crept in from the preceding line.

³ North Point on Anticosti, though Mr. Baxter says Cow Point.

⁴ There is no harbour on the north shore of Anticosti.

⁵ St. Geneviève harbour in Pillage Bay. He had recrossed to the Quebec shore.

⁶ St. Geneviève Island.

⁷ Mont St. Geneviève.

⁸ The feast of St. Lawrence, Archdeacon of Rome, falls on 10th August, which in 1535 was a Tuesday.

⁹ The *Bref Récit* says 12th, and the best MS. 13th.

Lawrence, we sailed westward, and went to make a cape¹ on the south side, which lies about twenty-five leagues west a quarter south-west from the harbour of St. Lawrence, and by the two savages whom we had captured on our former voyage² we were told that this was part of the land to the southward, and that it was an island, and that to the south of it lay the route from Honguedo,³ where we had captured them on our former voyage to Canada; and that two days' journey beyond the cape and the island began Saguenay, on the north shore as one sails toward Canada. About three leagues off this cape, the depth is over a hundred fathoms, and I believe that there were never so many whales seen as we saw that day off this cape.⁴

On the morrow, the day of Our Lady in August, the 15th of the month, we passed through the strait.⁵ During the previous night and on the next day we had knowledge of the lands which lay to the south of us,⁶ which is a land wondrous high and mountainous; ⁷ the cape already spoken of on the island, which we called Assumption Island, and another cape⁸ on this high land, lie ENE. and WSW., and are twenty-five leagues apart, and for more than thirty leagues the north shore looks still higher than the south. We coasted along this south shore from that day till noon on Tuesday, when the wind came westerly, and we headed north to go

¹ West Point on Anticosti (Biggar). North Cape on Anticosti (Baxter). I agree with Mr. Biggar.

² See p. 53.

³ Gaspé, misspelt Hongnedo by Lescarbot. Mr. Baxter (*op. cit.*, p. 135) translates "by the south of it was the way to go to Honguedo, where we had taken them the first voyage to Canada." Both Hakluyt and the punctuation in Lescarbot are against this.

⁴ The whale fishery in the gulf was long productive and is still carried on at Seven Islands Bay. After the British capture of Quebec in 1759, New England whalers came for many years in large numbers.

⁵ Between Anticosti and the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

⁶ The south shore of the St. Lawrence.

⁷ The Notre Dame mountains.

⁸ Probably Fame Point.

to make the high lands which we saw ; and on our arrival we found that toward the sea these lands were low and level, and that to the north the mountains ¹ rose behind these low lands, which trended east and west a quarter south-west, and we were told by our savages that this was the beginning of the Saguenay, and that men dwelt there, and that thence came the red copper, which they call Caquetdazé.² Between these lands on the south and those on the north is about thirty leagues, with a depth of over two hundred fathoms. These savages affirmed that this was the way and the beginning of the great river of Hochelaga,³ and the route towards Canada, which became ever narrower all the way to Canada ; and that then the water of the river was fresh, and that it extended such a distance that no man had ever been to the end of it, so far as they had heard, and that there was passage for boats alone. Hearing their talk and their statement that there was no other passage, the captain resolved to go no further till he had seen the rest of the northern shore, which he had left unexplored beyond St. Lawrence Bay, having crossed over to the southern shore to see if there was any passage.⁴

¹ The Laurentian mountains.

² Caignetdaze (MS.).

³ "Du grand Silenne de Hochelaga" (*Bref Récit*). "Silenne" is a mistaken reading of "fleuve" of the MS.

⁴ *i.e.* to the Orient. The news that the water became fresh showed him that this was a river, and therefore not the passage of his desire.

CHAPTER VIII

ON Wednesday, 18th August, the captain ordered the ships to turn back, and to sail in the opposite direction, and we coasted the north shore, which lies north-east and south-west in the form of a semicircle, and is a very high land, but less so than that to the south. On Thursday we reached seven very high islands, which we named the Round Islands,¹ which lie some forty leagues from the south coast,² and stretch out three or four leagues to seaward; opposite them begins a line of flat country covered with goodly trees.³ This flat country we coasted on Friday in our boats; opposite it are several very dangerous sandbanks more than two leagues to seaward, which at low tide are uncovered. At the end of these flat lands, which extend for about ten leagues, is a river of fresh water rushing so far into the sea that at more than a league from land it is as sweet as spring water.⁴ We entered it with our boats, and found at the mouth only a fathom and a half. Within this river are divers fish shaped like horses,⁵ which at night take to the land, and by day to the sea, as we were told by our two savages; and of these fish we saw a great number in the said river.⁶

¹ Still called Seven Islands. There are in reality only six. The mistake was due to the peninsula of Seven Islands Bay, which from a distance looks like an island.

² To Cape St. Anne, on the south side, is about eighty miles.

³ Between Moisie River and Moisie Bay.

⁴ The Trout River, according to Mr. Baxter, who says: "It cannot be the Moisie, as this is a tidal river and salt for some distance from its mouth" (*op. cit.*, p. 138). All other authorities, however, consider that the Moisie is meant.

⁵ Doubtless the walrus (*Trichechus rosmarus*).

⁶ Which is to-day called Chischedec, from a name given by the savages [L.].

On the morrow, the 21st day of the month, we set sail at daybreak and stood along this coast till we had explored the rest of the north shore, which we had not seen,¹ and of the Island of Assumption whither we had gone on leaving this said shore, and when we were certain that this coast was continuous, and that there was no passage, we returned to our ships, which were at the Seven Islands, where there are good roadsteads with eighteen to twenty fathoms of water, and sandy bottom.² Here we remained, unable to put forth or to set sail, for the fogs and contrary winds, until the 24th of the month, when we made ready and kept under way until the 29th of the month, when we reached a haven³ on the south shore, about eighty leagues distant from the Seven Islands, which lies opposite three small islands⁴ which are in mid-stream. About half-way to the said islands and harbour, on the north shore, is a very great river,⁵ between the high lands and the low, which makes several sandbanks⁶ more than three leagues to seaward, which is a very dangerous spot, with two fathoms of water or less, and at the edge of these banks you will find twenty-five and thirty fathoms close alongside. All this north shore lies NNE. and SSW.

The aforesaid harbour on the south coast, wherein we anchored, is a tidal harbour and of little worth. We called the islets by the name of St. John, because we entered therein on the day of the beheadal of that saint.⁷ And before reaching this harbour, about five leagues to the east,

¹ From Seven Islands Bay to Pillage Bay.

² "The magnificent harbour of Seven Islands Bay—the best on the whole coast" (Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 157).

³ Old Bic harbour.

⁴ The Bic Islands, *i.e.* Bic and Bicquette Islands and North-west Reef. The MS. has not *petites*, but *plattes*, flat.

⁵ This river is called Mantanne in Champlain's account [L.]. Champlain knew perfectly the situation of the Mantanne, which is on the south shore, and is now called the Matane. See chap. ix. p. 77. The river here spoken of is on the north shore, and is the Manicouagan.

⁶ Manicouagan Shoal.

⁷ Sunday, 29th August.

is an island,¹ between which and the shore is a passage for boats only. This haven of the St. John Islets is always dry at low tide, and at high tide has two fathoms of water. The best anchorage is to the south of and close alongside a small islet which lies in the middle of the harbour.

On the 1st day of September we set sail from this harbour to go toward Canada. About fifteen leagues from this harbour to the WSW. are three islands² in mid-stream, over against which is a river very deep and swift,³ which is the river and the road to the kingdom and land of Saguenay, as was told us by our men from the country of Canada. This river flows between high mountains of bare stone, on which there is but little soil, notwithstanding which many trees of divers sorts grow on them, on the bare rock, as though in good soil, in such sort that we saw there a tree large enough to be the mast of a ship of thirty tons, and as green as could be, which stood on a rock whereon was no trace of earth.

At the mouth of this river we found four boats from Canada, which had come there to fish for seals and other fish. When we had cast anchor within the river, two of these boats came toward our ships, but in such fear and dread that one of them went back and the other came within call of one of our savages, who told his name, and made their acquaintance, and induced them to come on board with confidence.

Now let us leave Captain Jacques Cartier to converse with his savages at the harbour of the river of Saguenay—now called Tadousac—and let us go to meet Champlain, whom we previously left at Anticosti (which is the Island of Assumption), for he will describe to us Tadousac and Saguenay, from the report of the people of the land, as well as from what he himself has seen; moreover he will tell us of the reception

¹ Barnaby Island, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from Old Bic harbour.

² Basque, Apple, and Green Islands.

³ The river Saguenay.

given them by the savages on their arrival. Wherein if, in giving the words of the author, one finds here and there a style less literary and smooth than ordinary, the reader will remember that I have not wished to make any change; though in truth I have struck out some trivialities.¹ This, then, is how he continues the account which we dropped in Chapter VI.

¹ This reflection on the style of Champlain is not given in the earlier editions. In 1613 Champlain had published his *Voyages* from 1604 to 1610 and had deeply wounded Lescarbot by saying that he had stayed at home in Port Royal save for one short trip of fourteen or fifteen leagues. (*Œuvres de Champlain*, ed. Laverdière, tom. iii. p. 123). The thin-skinned lawyer revenged himself by numerous little slaps in the present edition. See *e.g.* the last paragraph of the next chapter, and especially Book IV. chap. xvii.

CHAPTER IX¹

AFTER having explored Anticosti, on the morrow we had sight of Gaspé, a very hilly country. On the south side there is a bay, some seven or eight leagues in depth, and four leagues broad at its mouth. Near by is a river extending about thirty leagues inland.² Here begins the great river of Canada, into which, on its south shore, flows the river Matane,³ which extends inland some eighteen leagues. It is small and about sixty leagues from Gaspé, but on reaching its source the savages carry their canoes (which are small boats made of bark) about a league overland, and thus enter Chaleur Bay, by which means they make long journeys.⁴ After this river Matane, one approaches Bic, a distance of twenty leagues; thence, crossing the river, one reaches Tadousac, a distance of fifteen leagues. This is the course which we followed on our journey thither. But after remaining there for some time, and going as far as

¹ The chapters which follow are compiled from the first book on Canada published by Champlain, entitled: *Des Sauvages, ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain, de Brouage, fait en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil six cent trois*. 1604. An English translation is contained in *Purchas his Pilgrims* (vol. iv. pp. 1605-19, ed. 1625; vol. xviii. pp. 188-226 ed., 1907-8). Lescarbot had given Cartier *verbatim*. But he has made a sad hash of Champlain. Thus in the present chapter the first sentence is taken from chap. i. of *Des Sauvages* (Laverdière, vol. ii. p. 4); the second and third are from *Des Sauvages*, chap. x. (Laverdière, ii. p. 49); the fourth is blended from chaps. i. and x. (Laverdière, ii. pp. 4, 50). Most of the rest of the chapter is taken from *Des Sauvages*, chaps. x. and xi., sometimes *verbatim*, sometimes in summary.

² The York River.

³ Now the Matane. Lescarbot (p. 74, n. 5) wrongly identifies it with the Manicouagan.

⁴ *i.e.* from the headwaters of the Matane to those of the Cascapedia, flowing into Chaleur Bay.

the falls of the great river of Canada, some of us returned from Tadousac to Gaspé, and thence to Cod Fish Bay,¹ which is at most three leagues in length, and as much in breadth at its mouth; thence we came to Ile Percée,² which is a rock very high at both ends, and in it a hole through which skiffs and boats can pass at high tide, while at low tide one can go from the mainland to this island, a distance of not more than four or five hundred paces. Near it is another island, named Bonaventure Island,³ about half a league in length; in all these places both green and dry fishing is largely carried on.⁴ Beyond Ile Percée Chaleur Bay is reached, which runs inland more or less WSW. for about eighty leagues, and at its mouth is some fifteen leagues wide.⁵ The savages say that into it flows a river which extends some twenty leagues inland,⁶ at the end of which is a lake some twenty leagues in extent, which is very shallow, and in summer dries up altogether, in which they find, about a foot underground, a species of metal resembling silver; in another spot near this lake there is, they say, another mine of copper.⁷ After finding at Ile Percée those whom we were seeking, we again returned to Tadousac. But some three leagues from Cape Bishop⁸ we were stayed by a tempest, which lasted for two days, and made us take refuge in a large creek, where we waited for fair weather. On the morrow we put forth, but were again stayed by a second tempest. Unwilling to

¹ Now Mal-baie, a corruption of Moluë-baie.

² Still so called.

³ Still so called.

⁴ For an account of the cod-fishing, see N. Denys, *Description and Natural History of Acadia* (edited by W. F. Ganong for the Champlain Society, 1908), *passim*, especially pp. 257-68, and 331-40.

⁵ Chaleur Bay is about 90 miles in length, and 18 miles wide at entrance.

⁶ Lake Matapedia, drained by the river Matapedia, which flows into the river Restigouche near its mouth. It is misleading to say with Dr. Slafter that "by traversing the Restigouche River, Lake Matapedia may be reached."

⁷ Here begins Champlain, chap. xi.

⁸ I cannot identify this cape. Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, edit. Laverdière, vol. ii. p. 52, note 2.

put back, and thinking to make headway, we headed for the north shore, and on July 28th cast anchor in a creek, which is very bad anchorage on account of rocks and shoals. This creek lies some minutes north of the fifty-first degree.¹ On the morrow we cast anchor near a river called St. Margaret,² where at full tide there is about three fathoms of water, and at low tide a fathom and a half; it runs some distance inland. Inland on the east side, as I myself have seen, there is a waterfall some fifty or sixty fathoms high, whence comes the greatest part of the water flowing into this river. At its mouth is a sandbank, where at low water there is at most a depth of half a fathom. The whole of the eastern shore is shifting sand, in which there is a point about half a league from this river, jutting out half a league to seaward; and on its western side is a little island: this place is near the fiftieth degree. All this region is very barren, overgrown with pines; the coast is somewhat high, but less so than that to the south. Some three leagues thence we passed near another river, which seemed to be very large, though for the most part blocked by rocks.³ Some eight leagues further on is another point,⁴ jutting out a league and a half to seaward, where there is only a fathom and a half of water. This cape passed, about four leagues further on one reaches another where there is water enough.⁵ This whole coast is low and sandy. Some four leagues further on is a cove into which flows a river⁶; therein on the western side is anchorage for many

¹ Almost certainly a mistake for fiftieth. Laverdière thinks Moisie Bay is meant; Slafter, "a cove somewhere near the Seven Islands."

² Probably the river St. Margaret. "There is a sandy point extending out on the east and a peninsula on the western shore, which may then have been an island formed by the moving sands" (Slafter).

³ Rock River, in lat. 50° 2'.

⁴ Both Slafter and Laverdière think that this applies to Point de Monts, which is really eighteen leagues from Rock River. Perhaps *huit* is a misprint for *dix-huit*.

⁵ Cape St. Nicholas (Laverdière), though here again, if so, Champlain has greatly underestimated the distance.

⁶ The Manicouagan River.

vessels ; it is marked by a low point jutting out almost a league to seaward. To enter it one should hug the eastward shore for about three hundred yards.¹ This is the best harbour along this whole north shore, but navigation is made very dangerous by the shallows and sandbanks which lie along the greater part of the coast for nearly two leagues out from the shore. About six leagues further on one reaches a bay, wherein is a sandy island.² The whole of this bay is full of shoals, save on a part of the eastern side, where there is a depth of some four fathoms ; in the channel which forms the entrance of this bay, about four leagues further on, is a good cove into which a river flows. This whole coast is low and sandy ; on it is a great waterfall. Some five leagues further on is a cape jutting out about half a league to seaward,³ where there is a cove, and from one side to the other the distance is three leagues ; but it is a mass of reefs with little water. Some two leagues further on is a beach and a good harbour, and a little river ; here there are three islands,⁴ and a shelter for ships. Some three leagues further on is a sandy cape⁵ jutting out about a league, at the end of which is a little islet. Then on the way to Lesquemin,⁶ you come upon two small, low-lying islands and a small rock near shore. These islands are about half a league from Lesquemin, which is a very evil harbour, surrounded by rocks, and dry at low tide, and to get in one must tack behind a little point of rock, where there is room for but one vessel. A little further on is a river extending some little distance inland ; this is the spot where the Basques come to fish for whales⁷ To tell the honest

¹ Or perhaps "one should keep about three hundred yards from the eastward shore."

² Outarde Bay, though the island has either disappeared or become the peninsula of Manicouagan.

³ Point Betsiamites, or Bersimis.

⁴ Jeremy Island, now but one.

⁵ Point Colombier, if the distance is exact. Laverdière thinks that three is a mistake for nine, in which case it is Mille Vaches.

⁶ Now Les Escoumins.

⁷ Probably the spot still known as Anse aux Basques.

truth, the harbour is quite worthless. Thence we came to the harbour of Tadousac.¹ All the above regions are low along the shore, but rise to a great height inland. Though lower, they are neither so pleasant nor so fertile as those of the south.

After casting anchor before the harbour of Tadousac on our first arrival we entered it on May 26th.² It is shaped like a cove, and lies at the mouth of the river Saguenay, in which there is a current and a tide most remarkable in swiftness and depth, and where are sometimes fierce winds which bring with them severe frosts. The distance up this river to its first cataract is believed to be some forty-five or fifty leagues; it flows from the NNW. The harbour of Tadousac is small, and could not hold more than ten or twelve vessels; but there is good depth of water to the east, with shelter from the river Saguenay, close to a small hill, which is almost cut off by the water; the rest is high mountains, whereon is little soil, but only rocks and sand overgrown with wood, pines, cypress,³ firs, birch, and various kinds of brushwood. Near the harbour is a small pond shut in by well-wooded mountains.

At the mouth of the said harbour are two capes; that to the west juts out a league to seaward, and is called St. Matthew's Cape;⁴ the other, to the south-east, projects

¹ Tadousac was already well known in 1603. See Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*; or Justin Winsor, *The Results in Europe of Cartier's Explorations, 1542-1603* (reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1892).

² Here Lescarbot has gone back to chapter i. Thus his account, however useful at the time to mariners, is confused historically. Champlain left Honfleur on March 15, 1603, and after much delay from storm and ice, sighted Anticosti on 20th May. Keeping to the south of this island, he sailed along the south shore of the St. Lawrence as far as Bic, and then struck across to Tadousac. After some time spent there, he went on to the Lachine rapids, and returned to Tadousac, which he reached on 11th July. Thence he visited Ile Percée, and on 19th July left it to return to Tadousac, which he reached on 3rd August. It was on this second journey up the gulf that he explored the north shore.

³ i.e. the *arbor vitæ* or white cedar. (Ganong, *op. cit.*)

⁴ Now known as Point aux Allouettes, or Lark Point.

a quarter of a league, and is called the Cape of All Devils.¹ The harbour is exposed to winds from the south, SSE., and SSW. From St. Matthew's Cape to the Cape of All Devils is not quite a league. Both capes are dry at low tide.

² As for the river Saguenay, it is a very fine stream and of incredible depth. From what I have heard, it flows from very high ground, whence descends a very impetuous torrent; but the water from this source is not adequate to produce so great a stream, and there must certainly be other rivers tributary to it; it is a good league and a half in width at its widest, and a quarter of a league at its narrowest, so that there is a strong current: from the first cataract to the harbour of Tadousac, at the mouth of this river Saguenay, is some forty or fifty leagues.³ The whole region, so far as I have seen, consists of mountains of rock, for the most part overgrown with fir, cypress, and birch, a most unpleasant country, where on neither side of the river have I found a league of meadow-land. In the river are several sandbanks and high islands. In short, these are really deserts, habitable⁴ only by animals and birds; for I assure you that when I went hunting in what seemed to me the pleasantest spots, I found nothing at all save only small birds resembling nightingales and swallows, which come there in summer, for at other seasons I am of opinion that there are none, on account of the extreme cold, since this river flows from the north-west. The savages reported to me that after passing the first cataract, whence comes this torrent of water, they pass eight other

¹ Now known as Point aux Vaches, or Cow Point. Both this and the former cape had been given their present names as early as 1632. See Champlain's edition of 1632, chap. iii. (Laverdière, vol. v. p. 131). Champlain there writes Point aux Roches, but Sagard, *Grand Voyage au pays des Hurons*, published in the same year, speaks of it several times as Point aux Vaches. Roches, as Laverdière says, is probably a mistake for Vaches.

² Here begins Champlain, chap. iv.

³ The Saguenay is navigable 71 miles from its mouth to Chicoutimi From Lake St. John to its mouth is 112 miles.

⁴ Champlain says *inhabitable*s, uninhabitable.

falls ; then there is a day's journey in which none are found, after which they pass ten other falls, and enter a lake ¹ which takes two days to cross, making easily in each day from twelve to fifteen leagues. At the end of this lake are people who dwell in huts. Then one enters three other rivers,² each extending for three or four days' journey, at the end of which are two or three bodies of water, like lakes, where the Saguenay has its source, from which source to the harbour of Tadousac is a ten days' journey in their canoes. On the banks of these rivers are many cabins, whither come other tribes from the north to barter with the Montagnais who go there beaver and marten skins for the merchandise which these Montagnais obtain from the French ships. These northern Indians say that they are in sight of a sea of salt water.

Such is the account of the river Saguenay given by Champlain in the year 1605. But since then he recounts in his last volume that from the harbour of Tadousac to the sea which the Saguenay Indians explore in the north, is forty or fifty days' journey, a very different story from the ten of his present account.³ Now if they go twelve to fifteen leagues a day, here are more than six hundred leagues to northward. From this I gather that he had no right to foist on us a map of New France, in which, in his desire to follow the accounts published by the English of their latest discovery in 1611,

¹ Lake St. John. In the edition of 1613, chap. ii. (Laverdière, iii. p. 143), he repeats this passage, but says : "three days of ten leagues each." Either is exaggerated, the lake being about twenty-six miles long by twenty wide, and about ninety-five in circumference. The first forty miles of the river, after leaving Lake St. John, to Chicoutimi, is a series of rapids.

² The Peribonka, Mistassini, and Ashuapmouchouan, (or Chomouchuan).

³ See Champlain, edition of 1613, chap. ii. (Laverdière, vol. iii. p. 144). But what Champlain said in 1605 was that from the source of the Saguenay to its mouth was ten days' journey, while in 1613 the forty to fifty days' journey was from the mouth of the Saguenay to the inland sea to the north, *i.e.* Hudson Bay. Thus the contradiction exists only in Lescarbot's imagination.

he has directly contradicted his own writings.¹ For from Tadousac to this sea, which really lies not to the north but to the west of Saguenay,² is less than two hundred leagues. And if one would go thither by the river called in his map Three Rivers, it is only sixscore.³ And, further, I am unwilling lightly to attach credence to the English, who speak of an inland sea on the fiftieth degree.⁴ For it would long ago have been discovered, if so near to Tadousac, and in the same latitude.

¹ The map so sharply criticised is reproduced in Slafter, vol. iii., and in Laverdière, vol. iii. It is in part a reproduction of one made by Hudson, which had escaped destruction, and which was published at Amsterdam in 1612 by Hesse Gerritz. It is reproduced in *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, edited for the Hakluyt Society by G. M. Asher (London, 1860). Considering the state of exploration at the time, Champlain's is a most creditable production.

² Hudson Bay lies WNW. of Tadousac.

³ The river called on Champlain's map the Three Rivers is the St. Maurice. Lescarbot has here put his finger on a defect. On Champlain's map Hudson Bay has crept down much too close to Tadousac and to Three Rivers, and the distances on the map, if calculated to scale, would be about as Lescarbot states.

⁴ Moose Factory, at the foot of James Bay, is just north of lat. 51°.

CHAPTER X

ON 27th April we visited the Indians at Cape St. Matthew, which lies a league from Tadousac,¹ taking with us the two Indians brought by Monsieur du Pont from Honfleur, to tell of the sights which they had seen in France, and of the friendly welcome given them by the king. On landing, we proceeded to the lodge of their great chief, Anadabijou by name, where we found him holding a banquet (*Tabagie*, as they call it) with about four- or five-score of his comrades. He received us very well, after their fashion, and made us sit down beside him, while all the savages ranged themselves on either side of the lodge. Then one of the savages whom we had brought with us began his oration, telling of the friendly welcome given them by the king, of the good treatment which they had received in France, and that they could be certain of the good intentions of his Majesty, of his desire to people their country, and either to make peace with their enemy, the Iroquois, or to send troops to conquer them; describing also the fine castles, palaces, houses, and peoples which they had seen, and our manner of life. He was heard with the greatest possible silence. At the end of his speech, the great chief, Anadabijou, who had listened with attention, began to smoke, and passed his pipe on to Monsieur du Pont and to me, and to some other chiefs near him. After smoking for some time he began to address the whole gathering, speaking with quiet deliberation, sometimes stopping for a moment, and then going on, saying that in truth they had good reason to be content at his Majesty's great friendship for them. To this

¹ Here he resumes Champlain's narrative. The date was really 27th May.

all with one voice replied, *ho, ho, ho*, their word for *yes, yes*. Steadily proceeding with his speech, he said that he would be rejoiced to see his Majesty people their country and make war on their enemies, and that there was no nation in the world for whom they had more friendly feelings than for the French. In conclusion he enforced upon them all the good and the advantage which his Majesty could do them. When he had finished, we left the lodge, and they began their *Tabagie*, at which they eat the flesh of elks, which is like beef, of bear, seal, and beaver, which are their ordinary meats, and great quantity of game. In the centre of the lodge they had eight or ten cauldrons full of various meats, set about six feet apart, each at its own fire. They sit along the two sides, as I have already said, each with his porringer of bark; and when the meat is cooked one of them distributes it among the rest in these dishes, from which they eat in a very dirty fashion; for in place of napkins they wipe their greasy hands upon their hair, or on the skin of one of their numerous hunting dogs. Before their meat was cooked, one of them stood up and, seizing a dog, went leaping round and round the cauldrons from one end of the lodge to the other. When in front of the great chief, he dashed the dog to the ground, and then all cried out together, *ho, ho, ho*; after which he went back to his place and sat down. At once another stood up and did likewise, and so on till the meat was cooked. Presently, after finishing their feast, they began to dance, seizing the heads of their enemies, which hung down behind their backs. In sign of rejoicing one or two of them sing, keeping time by clapping their hands upon their knees, stopping every now and then and crying, *ho, ho, ho*, then recommencing their dance, puffing like a man out of breath. They rejoiced in this way for the victory which they had won over the Iroquois, about a hundred of whom they had killed, and cut off their heads, which they had with them for their ceremonial. In this war three tribes had been engaged,

the Etechemins, Algoomequins, and Montagnais,¹ to the number of fully a thousand, who had gone on the war-path against the Iroquois, whom they met at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois,² and killed one hundred of them. War is waged by these tribes of Montagnais, Etechemins, and Algoomequins entirely by surprises, not daring to use any other method, such is their fear of the Iroquois,³ who are more numerous than they.

On the 28th day of this month they came and encamped at the harbour of Tadousac, where our vessel lay. At day-break their great chief came out of his lodge and went among all the other lodges, crying aloud to them to break up their camp to go to Tadousac, where their dear friends were. At once each of them took down his lodge in a twinkling, and their great chief was the first to pick up his canoe and to carry it to the water ; in it he embarked his wife and children, and a quantity of furs. In the same way nearly two hundred canoes were launched. These are wondrous swift, for though our shallop was well manned, yet they outstripped us. They were in number about a thousand, men, women, and children.

¹ The Etechemins extended from St. John, N.B., to the Penobscot River in Maine, and included the Indians later known as Maliseets and Penobscots. The Algonquins dwelt along the Ottawa. The Montagnais were on both sides of the Saguenay, with their trading centre at Tadousac.

² The Richelieu.

³ As late as the nineteenth century the Indians of Nova Scotia hushed their babies with the dread name of the Iroquois. See Rev. George Patterson, *History of the County of Pictou*, p. 32.

CHAPTER XI

ON the 9th day of June the savages began to rejoice together, and to hold their *Tabagie* in the manner I have described, and to dance in honour of their victory over their enemies. Then, after having made good cheer, the Algonmequins, one of the three nations, left their lodges, and withdrew themselves apart into an open space. Here they drew up all their wives and daughters in a row, and placed themselves behind, singing all together in the manner I have described. Suddenly all the women and girls proceeded to throw off their robes and furs, and stood up naked with their private parts exposed, yet still wearing *Matachias*, or beads and braided cords, made of porcupine quills, which they dye of different colours. After finishing their songs, all with one voice said, *ho, ho, ho*. At the same moment all the women and girls put on their clothes, which they had thrown at their feet, and there was silence for a little ; then again the song began, and again they threw aside their clothes as before. Now, during the performance of this dance, the chief of the Algonmequins, named Besoüat,¹ was seated in front of the women and girls, between two poles, whereon were hung the heads of their enemies ; more than once he rose and went off to make an oration to the Montagnais and Etechemins, saying : “ See our rejoicing over the victory which we have won over our enemies ; you must do the like, that we may be contented.” Then all together said, *ho, ho, ho*. When he had returned to his place, the great chief with all his companions took off their robes, till they were naked save for

¹ Probably the same as Tessouat, whom in 1613 Champlain met at Allumette Island, and who greeted him as a long-lost friend. See *Voyage of 1613*, chap. iv. (Laverdière, iii. p. 306).

their privy parts, which were covered by a small piece of skin, and then each took whatever he saw fit, as Matachias, tomahawks, swords, kettles, pieces of fat, or the flesh of elk or seal; in short, each had a present which he went and gave to the Algoumequins. After all these ceremonies the dance came to an end, and the Algoumequin men and women carried off their presents to their lodges. They also matched together in a race the two fleetest men of each tribe, and gave a present to the winner. All these tribes are of a pleasant enough temper, laughing frequently, yet with a touch of the saturnine; they speak very deliberately, as though desirous of being correctly understood, and suddenly stop to think for a long while, after which they go on talking. This they often do in their harangues in council, to which only the elders are admitted, since these are considered of most importance. Women and children are not allowed to attend.

For the most part they are a race without law, as far as I could see or find out by questioning the great chief, who told me that in very truth they believed in the existence of an all-creating God. Then I said to him: since they believe that God is one, why has He sent them into the world, and whence had they come? He replied: After God had made all things, He took a number of arrows, and stuck them in the ground, whence sprang men and women, who have multiplied upon the earth until the present time, and thus they have come. I replied that what he said was false; but that in truth there was but one God, who had created all things in earth and in heaven. Seeing all these things so perfect, and that there was no man to bear rule upon the earth, He took the clay of the earth and from it created Adam, our first father; and that while he slept, God took one of his ribs, and made thereof Eve, whom He gave him as help-meet, and that in truth both they and we had come in this manner, and not from arrows as was their belief. To which he replied nothing, save only that he gave credence to my story rather

than to his own. I asked him also if he did not believe that there was more than one God. He replied that their belief was that there was One God, a Son, a Mother, and the Sun, thus making four; yet that God was above all; but that the Son was good.¹ I showed him his error in accordance with our faith, to which he gave some slight credence. I asked him if he had not seen God, or heard a tradition that God had come down to earth. He replied that he had not seen Him; but that in former times there were five men who set off towards the setting sun, and who met God. He asked them, "Whither go ye?" "We go in search of a living," said they. To which God made reply, "You shall find it here." They went on their way, paying no regard to what God had told them, whereupon He took a stone and touched two of them, who were at once turned to stone. Again He said to the three others, "Whither go ye?" They replied as at the first, whereupon God straightway said, "Go no further, you shall find it here." Seeing that nothing befell them,² they went on their way; whereat God took two sticks, and touched the two nearest, who were at once changed to sticks. The fifth stopped, unwilling to go further. And again God said unto him, "Whither goest thou?" "I go to find my living." "Stay, and thou shalt find it." He stayed and went no further, and God gave him meat, and he ate of it and made good cheer, and returned to the other Indians, and told them all that I have said. He told me also that once upon a time there was a man who had much tobacco (a plant of which they inhale the smoke), and that God came to this man and asked him where was his tobacco-pipe. The man took his pipe and gave it to God, who

¹ Lescarbot has here left out a sentence of the original: *et le Soleil, à cause du bien qu'ils recevoient; mais la mère ne valloit rien, et que les mangeoit, et que le père n'estoit pas trop bon.* "And the Sun also, for the good he did them; but that the Mother was a worthless creature who devoured them, and that the Father was none too good."

² Or "seeing that they found nothing."

smoked heartily. After He had smoked a long time God broke the pipe to pieces, whereat the man said, "Why hast Thou broken my pipe, seeing as Thou dost that I have no other ?" Whereat God took one of His own and gave it to him, saying, "Here is one as a gift ; take it to thy great chief, let him keep it, and if he keep it well, neither he nor all his comrades shall want for aught." The man took the pipe and gave it to his great chief, and as long as he kept it the Indians lacked for nothing whatsoever ; but later on the chief lost this pipe, which is the cause of the great famines which sometimes come upon them. I asked him if he believed all that. He replied that he did, and that it was very truth. Now this seems to me the reason why they say that God is none too good. But I answered him and said that God was all good, and that without doubt it was the Devil who had shown himself to those men, and that if they believed in God as we did, they would lack for nothing of which they had need. That the sun which they saw, the moon, and the stars had been created by this great God, who had made heaven and earth, and that these have no power save that which God has given them. That we believe in this great God, who of His goodness had sent us His dear Son, who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, took upon Him human form in the virginal womb of the Virgin Mary, and lived for thirty-three years on earth, working an infinite number of miracles, bringing the dead to life, healing the sick, casting out devils, making the blind to see, teaching men the will of God His Father, that they should serve, honour, and worship Him ; that He shed His blood and suffered His passion and death for us and for our sins, and redeemed the human race, was buried and rose again, descended into hell, and ascended into heaven, where He sitteth at the right hand of God His Father. That this was the faith of all Christians, who believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who yet are not three Gods, but one and the same God in Trinity, in whom there is no before or

after, nothing that can be added or taken away. That the Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Son of God, and all the men and women who, during their life on earth, did the commands of God, and endured martyrdom for His name, and who by God's permission have wrought miracles, and are saints of heaven in His Paradise, pray one and all for us to this great Majesty divine, to pardon us our faults and our sins which we commit against His law and His commandment. And so by the prayers of the saints in heaven, and by our prayers which we offer to His divine Majesty, He gives us that whereof we have need, and the Devil has no power over us, and can do us no ill. That if they had this faith, they would be as us, and that the Devil could work them no more harm and that they would lack nothing whereof they had need. Thereupon this chief told me that he agreed with all I had told him. I asked him what rite they used in praying to their God. He replied that they employed no rite, but that each man prayed in his heart as he saw fit. This is why I believe that there is no law among them, and that they know not what it is to worship and to pray to God, and live for the most part like brute beasts, and I believe that they could soon be made good Christians if one dwelt among them, as for the most part they wish. There are among them certain savages whom they call Pilotoua,¹ who speak to the Devil face

¹ In his voyage of 1609, Champlain gives a longer account of these medicine men: "A tous leurs logemens ils ont leur Pilotois ou Ostemoy, qui sont manieres de gens, qui font les devins, en qui ces peuples ont creance, lequel fait une cabanne, entourée de petis bois, et la couvre de sa robbe: Après qu'elle est faitte, il se met dedans en sorte qu'on ne le voit en aucune façon, puis prend un des piliers de sa cabanne et la fait bransler, marmotant certaines paroles entre ses dens par lesquelles il dit qu'il invoque le Diable, et qu'il s'apparoist à luy en forme de pierre, et luy dit s'ils trouveront leurs ennemis, et s'ils en tueront beaucoup. Ce Pilotois est prosterné en terre, sans remuer, ne faisant que parler au Diable, et puis aussitost se leve sur les pieds, en parlant et se tourmentant d'une telle façon, qu'il est tout en eau, bien qu'il soit nud. Tout le peuple est autour de la cabanne assis sur leur cul comme des singes. Ils me disoient souvent que le branlement que ie voyois de la cabanne estoit le Diable qui la faisoit mouvoir, et non

to face, and he tells them what they are to do, whether in war or in aught else, so much so that if he were to bid them

celuy qui estoit dedans, bien qui ie veisse le contraire : car c'estoit, comme j'ay dit cy dessus, le Pilotois qui prenoit un des bastons de sa cabanne, et la faisoit ainsi mouvoir. Ils me dirent aussi que ie verrois sortir du feu par le haut ; ce que ie ne vey point. Ces drosles contrefont aussi leur voix grosse & claire, parlant en langage inconnu aux autres sauvages. Et quand ils la representent cassée, ils croient que c'est le Diable qui parle, & qui dit ce qui doit arriver en leur guerre, et ce qu'il faut qu'ils facent.

"Neantmoins tous ces garniments qui font les devins, de cent paroles n'en disent pas deux veritables, & vont abusans ces pauvres gens, comme il y en a assez parmy le monde, pour tirer quelque denrée du peuple, ainsi que font ces galants" (Laverdière, iii. pp. 187-88).

"In all their encampments they have their Pilotois or Ostemoy, a class of persons who play the part of soothsayers, in whom these people have faith. He builds a lodge surrounded with small sticks, and covers it with his robe. This done he places himself inside so as to be wholly out of sight, then seizes and shakes one of the poles of his tent, muttering between his teeth certain words, by which he says he is invoking the Devil, who appears to him in the form of a stone, and tells him whether they shall meet their enemies, and whether they shall kill many of them. This Pilotois lies flat on the ground without moving, save that he talks to the Devil ; then suddenly he leaps to his feet, talking and tormenting himself in such fashion that, naked though he is, he is all in a sweat. The whole tribe surrounds the lodge, seated on their buttocks like apes. They often told me that the shaking of the cabin which I saw was the Devil who made it move, and not the man inside, but I could well see the contrary ; for as I have already said it was the Pilotois who caught hold of one of the lodge poles, and so made it move. They also told me that I should see fire come out at the top, which I by no means did. These rascals also speak in a feigned voice, alternately muffled and clear, and in a tongue unknown to the other savages. And when they speak in a broken voice the others believe that it is the Devil talking, and telling them what will happen in their wars, and what they should do.

"But all these rascals who play the soothsayer, out of a hundred words do not speak two true ones, and impose on these poor people, and in the world are enough of their ilk, who take the food from the mouths of the people, as these worthies do."

Laverdière says that "the word *Pilotois*, according to Father Biard (*Rel.* 1611, p. 17), comes from the Basques, the Souriquois using the word *autmoin*, which Lescarbot writes *aoutmoin*, and Champlain *ostemoy*. Father Lejeune, in his *Relation* of 1636 (p. 13), tells us that the Montagnais called their soothsayers *manitousiouekhi*; according to Father Brebœuf (*Rel.* 1635, p. 35), the Hurons called theirs by the name of *arendiouane*."

Lescarbot gives a long account of them in Book VI., chap. v. See also Denys' *Description and Natural History of Acadia* (edited by W. F. Ganong), Toronto, Champlain Society (1908), p. 417, and the references given in the note.

go to carry out any plan, whether to kill a Frenchman or one of their own nation, they would at once obey his command. Moreover they believe that all their dreams come true ; and in truth there are many of them who say that they have had visions and dreams of things which are happening or which shall be. But to speak truth, these are visions sent by the Devil, who deceives them and leads them astray.

CHAPTER XII

NOW let us leave Champlain to banquet and to discourse with the chiefs Anadabijou and Bezouat, and let us go in search of Captain Jacques Cartier, who will gladly guide us up the river of Canada as far as his winter quarters at St. Croix, where we shall see what cheer they made him, and what hap he had among these new tribes ; new I call them, for never before him had any man so much as entered this river. Thus, then, he continues :—

On the 2nd day of September we left this river¹ to go toward Canada. We found the tide strong and dangerous, because on the south side of this river are two islands² around which for more than three leagues there is at most two or three fathoms of water, studded with rocks as big as vats or hogsheads, while between the islands themselves run baffling currents ; insomuch that we came within an ace of losing our pinnacle, but saved it with our boats. At the edge of these flats (he means at the foot of these rocks) is a depth of thirty fathoms or more. About five leagues to the south-west, beyond the river of Saguenay and the said islands, is another island³ on the north side, the shores of which are very high. When off these we tried to cast anchor to ride out the ebb,⁴ but within a bowshot of the shore could find

¹ Saguenay.

² Red Island and Green Island, opposite the mouth of the Saguenay.

³ On his way home Cartier named this Isle aux Lièvres, Hare Island, the name which it still retains. See p. 164..

⁴ The ebb is when the sea sinks and draws back. To ride out the ebb is to cast anchor and wait for low tide. [L]. In the edition of 1609 Lescarbot had inserted in the text the words : *Chose étrange, car là l'eau commence à estre douce à six vingts lieues de l'entrée de la rivière.* "This is very strange, for at this point, at six score leagues from the mouth of the river, the water begins to be fresh."

no bottom at six score fathoms, so that we were compelled to put back toward this island, where we found good anchorage in thirty-five fathoms.

At dawn the next day we made ready, and set sail to go on, and came upon a species of fish, of which none of us had before seen or heard. They are the size of a cod, have no fin, are shaped in body and head much like a greyhound, and are snow-white without a spot.¹ In this river are many of them, where the fresh and the salt water meet. The natives call them *Adbothuis*, and told us that they are excellent eating, affirming also that this was the one spot in all this river or country where they were found.

On the 6th of the month we ran up-stream with a favouring wind for some fifteen leagues, and came to anchor off an island near the north shore ; here there is a small bay and inlet, in which and about this island is an infinite number of large turtles, and near this island also the natives carry on a large fishery of the *Adbothuis* already spoken of. Around this island both at flood and ebb,² the current runs as strong as at Bordeaux. It is about three leagues in length and two in breadth ; the soil is most rich and fertile, covered with fine large trees of many sorts ; among others are numerous hazel-trees, which at our arrival were loaded with nuts as

¹ The *beluga*, or "white whale," formerly abundant in the St. Lawrence in early summer, but now growing scarce. They are far larger than the cod ; the text of the MS., followed by Mr. Baxter, reads : *Les dictz poissons sont aussi gros comme marsouyns sans avoir aucun estre*, "the said fish are as big as porpoises, without being in any way related to them," which is much better sense, though Cartier is in error in saying that there is no relationship with the porpoise ; see Denys, *Description and Natural History*, &c., p. 351 (ed. Ganong, 1908). I am doubtful about the meaning of *sans avoir aucun estoc*. It may mean "have no dorsal fin," or, as Dr. Dawson translates, "have no sword," i.e. as has the narwhal, which they in other respects somewhat resemble. Mr. Baxter, following Hakluyt, translates the succeeding clause : "they are pretty well made in body, with a head of the style of a greyhound," which is a possible meaning.

² Flood is when the sea advances and comes up, ebb when it draws back. [L.]

big as those in France, and sweeter, though somewhat harder. We therefore named it Ile aux Coudres (Hazel Island).¹

On the 7th of the month, the day of our Lady,² after hearing Mass, we left this island to go up-stream, and came to fourteen islands seven or eight leagues distant from this Ile aux Coudres; here begins the country and district of Canada. Of these islands one is about ten leagues long and five wide,³ whereon dwell a people who carry on a great fishery of all the fish in this river, according to their season, whereof we shall make mention later. After coming to anchor between this large island and the north shore,⁴ we landed, taking with us the two men whom we had captured on our previous voyage.⁵ We came on several natives, who took to flight, and would not come near us till these two men called to them, saying that they were *Taiguragni*⁶ and *Domagaya*; and when they knew who they were, they began greatly to rejoice, dancing and making many gestures, and some of the chiefest of them came to our boats, bringing us store of eels and other fish, and two or three measures of large grain, which is the bread on which they live in this country, and many great melons.⁷ And on the same day many boats from this district came to our ships, loaded with people of both sexes to welcome our two men. They were all courteously received by our captain, who entertained them with what we had. To win their confidence he gave

¹ Still so called.

² The anniversary of the birth of the Virgin really fell on 8th September. See Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 62, n. 29, and Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Hakluyt says "being Our Ladies even."

³ This island is to-day called the Island of Orleans. [L.]

⁴ The main channel lies to the south of the island, but to the north there is plenty of water for small boats.

⁵ See p. 53.

⁶ Speit Taignoagny and Dom Agaya in some MS. Mr. Biggar suggests that Dom, the usual Breton title for a priest in the sixteenth century, may have been given him as a nickname.

⁷ Musk millions (Hakluyt). Really maize and pumpkins.

them some small presents of little worth, whereat they were much rejoiced.

On the next day the Lord of Canada, whose name is Donnacona, and his title Agouhanna,¹ with a great train approached our vessels with twelve boats, then ordered ten to retire, and came alongside with two boats only, and sixteen men, and when over against our smallest ship began to frame a long oration after their fashion, with marvellous gestures of body and limbs, which is a sign of joy and confidence. When this lord reached our chief ship whereon were *Taiguragni* and *Domagaya*, he spoke to them and they to him, and they began to relate to him what they had seen in France, and how well they had been treated there, whereat this lord showed great joy, and besought the captain to give him his arms to kiss and embrace, which in that country is their manner of welcome. Then our captain entered the boat of the said Agouhanna, and bade bread and wine to be brought that this lord and his train might eat and drink. So it was done, whereat they were much pleased; and at this time no other gift was made to this lord, awaiting place and time. Thereupon they parted and took leave one of another, and the Agouhanna withdrew into his boats, to go to his home. Likewise our captain ordered the boats to be brought ² to go on, and to ascend the river on the flood-tide to seek a haven and safe anchorage for our ships. We sailed up the river for about ten leagues, coasting along the island, and at its head found a very fair and pleasant roadstead, at a place where a small river ³ flows in, where is a harbour which at high tide has two or three fathoms of water; ⁴ this place seemed to us most fit for bestowing our ships in safety. We called the spot Sainte Croix (Holy Cross),

¹ Agonna (Ramusio). A Huron-Iroquois word.

² MSS. *apprester*=to be made ready.

³ The St. Charles.

⁴ *Hable de barre* is a haven which is dry at low tide. [L.]

because that was the day of our arrival.¹ Near this spot is a tribe whereof Donnacona is lord; here too is his abode, by name Stadaconé, as good a plot of ground as may be seen, and very fruitful, covered with very goodly trees of the same kind and species as those of France, oak, elm, ash, walnut, plum, yew,² cedar, vines, and hawthorns,³ whose fruit is as large as a damson, and other trees; beneath them, without any sowing or tillage, grows as good hemp as is found in France. After visiting this spot, and finding it to be suitable, our captain and his companions reembarked to return to the ships. And when we were at the mouth of the river, we came upon one of the chiefs of this tribe of Stadaconé, with a great train of men and women.⁴ This chief at once began an oration after the fashion and manner of the country, which is one of joy and welcome, while the women, knee-deep in the water, danced and sang without ceasing. Our captain seeing this confidence and good-will, ordered his boat to draw near, and gave them some knives and small glass beads, whereat they showed wondrous joy; insomuch that when we had gone a league off or thereabouts we could still hear them sing, dance, and hold revel for our coming.

¹ The anniversary of the Elevation of the Cross fell on Tuesday, 14th September. The boats came on the 8th, but it was not till Tuesday that the ships were brought into the river (Biggar). See p. 101. It is perfectly clear that Cartier's ships wintered in the St. Charles. Champlain settles the point with a frankness almost brutal (see Laverdière, ii. 26-27; iii. 157 *seq.*). Yet Charlevoix and Le Clerc both identify the St. Croix with the river Jacques Cartier, some thirty miles higher up, opposite which, on the south shore, is a hamlet still called St. Croix. Lescarbot also, in his map of 1609, identifies the St. Croix with the Jacques Cartier, and while placing Quebec in its right position, puts Stadaconé on the right bank of the Jacques Cartier. It was probably dislike of Champlain which made him persist in his error, for in the edition of 1617-18 he quite inconsistently puts a note in the margin at this point "Stadaconé is now Quebec." See Charlevoix (Paris, 1744), vol. i. pp. 17-18.

² The hemlock, or spruce-fir, *Abies Canadensis*. Mr. Baxter rightly identifies it in his note (p. 146), but in his text follows Hakluyt in translating it as the maple (Fr. *érable*).

³ *Crataegus tomentosa*. See Ganong, *op. cit.*

⁴ The MS. adds "and children."

CHAPTER XIII

THE season was already far advanced and drove Captain Jacques Cartier hurriedly to seek suitable winter quarters, finding himself in this strange country where never Christian had been before. He also wished to finish his exploration of this great river of Canada, into which none of our sailors had ever entered, thinking it, so great was its width, to be a gulf; this was why Captain Cartier made such short stay both at the river of Saguenay and at Ile aux Coudres, and at the Island of Orleans, such being the present name of that whereon he landed the two Indians whom he had brought back from France. Therefore he passed on without losing time, and having found, as we have just seen, a very fit spot in which to lay up his ships, he resolved to stop there. And on this account he returned to fetch those left at the Island of Orleans, as we shall see if we continue his account, which proceeds as follows :—

On our return in our boats from the river St. Croix to our ships, our captain commanded the said boats to be made ready to land on the said island to look at the trees, which seemed most goodly, and at the character of the soil, which was done. On landing, we found the island covered with most goodly trees, oaks, elms, pine, cedars, and others like our own; we likewise found there abundance of vines, which we had not hitherto seen anywhere in the country.¹ Therefore we named it the Island of Bacchus. It is about twelve leagues in length,² and is an expanse of

¹ Mr. Baxter translates "such as we had never seen before in all the earth," doubtless because Cartier had already spoken of vines at Quebec.

² Really about twenty-one miles.

excellent soil, covered with trees, and with no tilled land, save for some small huts, from which they carry on the fishing, of which we have already spoken.

On the next day we set out to bring our ships to the place St. Croix and reached it on the day after, the fourteenth of the month. To meet us came Donnacona, Taiguragni, and Domagaya, with twenty-five canoes full of people, who came from the place which we had left, and were on their way to Stadaconé, which is their home; they all approached our ships with many signs of joy, except the two men whom we had brought, to wit, Taiguragni and Domagaya, whose whole speech and purpose had altered, and who inspired some distrust by refusing to come on board, in spite of our frequent requests. Our captain asked them if they would keep their promise to go with him to Hochelaga, to which they replied that they would, and that they had made up their minds to it, after which all withdrew.

On the morrow, the 15th of the month, the captain took some of his men, and went ashore to plant buoys and stakes for the greater surety of the ships.¹ Hither we found there had come to meet us many of the natives, among others Donnacona, our two men and their following, who held aloof upon a point of land at the water's edge, without any of them coming near us, as did the others who were not of their party. Our captain, learning that they were there, bade some of his men go with him, and went towards them on the point, where he found Donnacona, Taiguragni, Domagaya, and others. After interchange of greetings, Taiguragni came forward to speak, and told our captain that the lord Donnacona was aggrieved because the captain and his men bore so many weapons of war, since they for their part went unarmed, to which the captain replied that he might be aggrieved if he chose, but that for all that he would not lay

¹ In seaports of little depth, buoys and moorings are placed for the guidance of ships. [L.]

them aside, and that, as he well knew, it was the French custom. But for all this dispute the captain and Donnacona ceased not to make good cheer one to the other, whereby we perceived that for all that Taiguragni had said, he and his comrade alone were responsible. For before leaving the spot our captain and the chief showed their confidence in one another in marvellous wise, for the whole tribe of Donnacona with one accord gave three lusty shouts, which was a hideous thing to hear; and thereupon they took leave one of another.

On the morrow, the 16th of the month, we brought our two larger ships within the harbour and river,¹ where at high tide there is three fathom, and at low water half a fathom, leaving the pinnace out in the stream to take us to Hochelaga. And on the instant that the ships were aground in the harbour, Donnacona, Taiguragni, and Domagaya came alongside, with more than five hundred persons, men, women, and children. The chief came on board with ten or twelve of the headmen, where they were suitably received and feasted by the captain and officers, and given various little presents; and Taiguragni told our captain that the chief was aggrieved at his going to Hochelaga, and had refused to allow him to go with him, as he had promised, because the river was worthless (a savage expression, meaning that it is dangerous, as in very truth it is, beyond St. Croix). To which the captain replied that for all that he would not cease his purpose, if it were possible, because he had command from the King his master to push on as far as he could; but that if Taiguragni would consent to go, as he had promised, he would receive gifts such as would greatly satisfy him and be well treated, and that they would merely go to take a look at Hochelaga, and then come back. Whereunto Taiguragni replied that he would not go. Thereupon they withdrew to their lodges.

¹ The horse is put in the stable to rest during the winter. [L.]

On the morrow, the 17th of the month, Donnacona and the others came back again bringing store of eels and other fish, whereof large numbers are caught in the said river, as shall be told hereafter. And when they had come alongside they began to dance and sing according to their custom. This done, Donnacona ordered all his men to stand aside and made a circle in the sand, wherein he placed the captain and his men, and then began a long oration, holding by one hand a girl of about ten years old, whom he then came and gave to the captain, whereat the whole tribe set up three great howls in sign of joy and alliance; then upon that he presented two little boys of lesser age one after the other, whereat they made the same cries and gestures as before. For this present the chief was thanked by our captain, and then Taiguragni told the captain that the girl was sister's child to the chief, and that one of the boys was own brother to the speaker, and that they were given to dissuade him from going to Hochelaga. To this the captain replied that if they were given with this intent, they could take them back, for nothing would induce him to quit his design of going to Hochelaga, since he had an order so to do. Upon these words Domagaya, the comrade of Taiguragni, told the captain that the chief had given him the children in token of affection and confidence, and that he himself was content to go with the captain to Hochelaga; whereat there were bitter words between Domagaya and Taiguragni. By this we saw that Taiguragni was but a crafty knave, and that his mind was full of treason, and not by this only, but by other dirty tricks which we had seen him do. Soon afterwards the captain ordered the children to be put on shipboard and caused two swords to be brought and a great bowl of unwrought brass, and a figured hand-basin, wherewith he presented Donnacona, who rejoiced greatly and thanked the captain, and bade his tribe sing and dance; he also asked the captain to have a cannon fired, of which Taiguragni

and Domagaya had given him a great account, but which he had never either seen or heard. To this the captain consented,¹ and ordered a dozen sakers to be loaded with ball and fired through the wood which ran down to the ships and the Indians. Whereat they were all so astonied that they thought the very heavens had fallen upon them, and began to yell and screech so loudly that one would have thought all hell had broken loose. Before they withdrew, Taiguragni caused a report to be spread that the sailors on the pinnace, who were out in the stream, had killed two of their men by cannon shot, whereat all rushed away in such haste that it looked as though we had tried to kill them. But this was found to be a lie, for during that day not a shot was fired from the pinnace.

¹ Mr. Baxter's translation, "To which the captain responded that he wished him well," is less probable.

CHAPTER XIV

IN all this account I cannot find why the Indians of Canada who dwelt near St. Croix did not wish Captain Cartier to go to Hochelaga, which is near the falls of the great river. But I think that their enemies lived there, and that hence they disliked this voyage, or very likely they feared that the said captain might desert them and go to live at Hochelaga. Therefore, seeing that for all their smiles the captain would not put off his enterprise, they bethought them of a trick, foolish in truth against us, who are armed with the buckler of faith, but quite to the point for themselves and their like. Thus, then, the author speaks of it :—

On the 18th day of this same month of September, still hoping to prevent our going to Hochelaga, they imagined a notable device. Three men were dressed in the guise of three devils, clad in black and white dog-skins, with horns the length of a man's arm, and with their faces painted coal black ; these were secretly embarked in one of their canoes. Then, as was their custom, they came in a body toward our ships, and for about two hours kept among the trees without showing themselves, waiting till time and tide brought down the said canoe. The hour being come, they all emerged, and showed themselves before our ships, but without coming near as they were wont to do. Taiguragni then began to salute the captain, who asked him if he wanted us to send the boat. To this Taiguragni replied not at that time, but that he would come aboard anon. And at that moment up came their canoe, wherein were the three counterfeit devils, with long horns on their heads, and as they came the mid-

most made us a marvellous harangue, and in their canoe they passed along our ships, not for a moment looking toward us, till they ran hard aground with their canoe, whereupon Donnacona and his band at once seized on canoe and men, who had fallen down like dead men in the bottom of their boat, and carried the whole load into the wood, a stone's-throw from our ships, and not a single person was left, but all withdrew into the wood. Thereafter they began a sermonising and a discourse which we heard from our ships, and which lasted for about half-an-hour, at the end of which Taiguragni and Domagaya came out, and advanced toward us with clasped hands, and their hats under their arms, making a great pother. Then Taiguragni began to talk and in a loud voice thrice said, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus," with eyes turned to heaven.¹ Then Domagaya in his turn, and in like manner, said, "Jesus Maria, Jacques Cartier." The captain seeing their gestures and ceremonial, proceeded to ask them what was the matter, and what news they had; to which they replied that they had piteous news, saying, "It is nenni good" (meaning that the news was not at all good). The captain again asked them what was the matter, to which they replied that Cudouagni² their god had spoken at Hochelaga, and that those three men had come by his order to tell them the news, and that the ice and snow were so deep that not a man would survive. At these words we all began to laugh, and told them that Cudouagni was no better than a fool, and knew not what he said; and that they could tell this to his messengers, and that if they would but have faith in Jesus He would keep them safe from the cold. Thereat Taiguragni and his companion asked the captain if he had spoken to Jesus. He replied that his priests had done so, and that the weather would be good. Thereat they gave great thanks to the captain, and re-entered the wood to tell these tidings

¹ This expression he had learned in France. [L.]

² A god of the Canadians. [L.] Spelt also Cudragny, and Cudonaguy.

to the others, whereat all came at once out of the wood feigning joy at our words. And to show their joy, on arriving opposite the ships they all with one voice proceeded to raise three shrieks and screeches, which is their sign of joy, and began to dance and sing after their manner. But by collusion Taiguragni and Domagaya told the captain that Donnacona would not allow either of them to go with him to Hochelaga unless he gave a hostage to remain on shore with Donnacona. To this the captain replied that unless they purposed to go with him of good heart, they could stay behind, and that for all that he would not cease to do his best to go.

But before our friend Captain Jacques Cartier sets off on his voyage, let us go in search of Champlain, whom we left at Tadousac, entertaining the Indians with disquisitions on theology, and let us bring him as far as St. Croix, where we shall leave him, and rejoin the said captain, who will be our guide to Hochelaga, far up the great river ; and in doing this we shall peradventure notice with the said Champlain some details previously overlooked ; for to my mind he deserves all credit for having pointed out and practically buoyed out for the safety of sailors even the small rocks and shoals in the river, in order to save their time in getting about under his guidance, since they may proceed as along the high road. Thus, then, he continues :—

On Wednesday, 18th June, we left Tadousac on our way to the falls. We passed near an island called Hare Island, at about two leagues from the north shore, some seven from Tadousac, and five from the south shore.¹ Thence we coasted the north shore for about half a league, as far as a cape² jutting out into the channel, where one must keep further out. This cape is a league distant from an island

¹ Really rather more than four miles to the north shore, and to the south six. See p. 95, n. 3.

² Cape Salmon, on the north shore, about six miles from the island.

called Ile aux Coudres, which is about two leagues wide, and a league from the north shore. This island is more or less flat, coming to a point at either end; at the western end are meadows and sharp rocks jutting out some distance into the river. The woods which surround it make it not unpleasant. Much slate is found here and the soil is somewhat stony; at its end is a rock projecting about half a league into the sea. We passed to the north of it about twelve leagues beyond Hare Island.

On the Thursday following we set out thence, and came to anchor in a dangerous cove on the north shore, where there are meadows and a small river ¹ where the Indians sometimes encamp. On that day we coasted steadily along the north shore, as far as a place where we took shelter from contrary winds amid many rocks and dangerous ground; here we remained three days, waiting for fine weather. This whole shore, on north and south alike, is a mass of mountains, much like those of the Saguenay.

On Sunday, the 22nd of the month, we set out thence toward the Island of Orleans. Here, on the south shore are many islands, low-lying and well wooded, very agreeable of aspect, in area, so far as I could judge, from two leagues to a league, and others of half a league. They are about two leagues distant from the south shore of the mainland, and are surrounded by very dangerous rocks and shallows. Thence we coasted along the south shore of the Island of Orleans. This is a very pleasant and level island, about a league from the north shore, eight ² leagues in length. For about two leagues inland, the coast on the south is low; this begins opposite the said island, which lies about two leagues from the south shore. The north channel is made very dangerous by the sand banks and rocks between the

¹ Still known as *la petite rivière*.

² This same Champlain has since said that it is only six. [L.] Cf. Laverdière, ii. 24, and iii. 147.

island and the mainland, and at low tide is left almost dry. At the end of this island I saw a waterfall leaping from a high mountain of the river of Canada.¹ Beyond this mountain is a flat and pleasant country, though further inland at a distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues one sees high mountains,² which are near the first rapids of the Saguenay. We cast anchor at Quebec, where the river of Canada narrows to a width of about three hundred paces.³ At this strait, on the north side, is a mountain of some height which slopes gradually down on either side. The rest is a fine, flat country, with good soil covered with such trees as oaks, cypress, birch, pines, and aspens, wild fruit-trees of various sorts, and vines, all of which in my opinion, if cultivated, would be as good as our own. Along the shore of Quebec in the slate rocks are found diamonds, better than those of Alençon.⁴ From Quebec to Ile aux Coudres is a distance of twenty-nine⁵ leagues.

On Monday the 23rd of the month we left Quebec, where the river begins to widen, sometimes to a league in width, sometimes to a league and a half or two leagues at most. As one proceeds, the country becomes more and more beautiful, and is everywhere flat, with practically no rocks. The north shore has many rocks and sand-bars, so that one should stick to the south bank, keeping about half a league from land. One passes several little rivers, navigable only for the canoes of the Indians, and full of

¹ The Montmorency Falls, 268 feet in height, now harnessed to give light, heat, and power to the city of Quebec. Champlain himself named them after Henri I. de Montmorenci (1534-1614), Constable of France, younger son of Cartier's patron.

² The Laurentian or Laurentide Mountains. The distance is exaggerated.

³ Really about 1320 feet. This is the first mention of the name of Quebec. As Champlain here says, it is an Indian word meaning "strait." All manner of absurd derivations have been imagined.

⁴ The cutting of quartz crystals, known as Alençon diamonds, is still carried on in that town.

⁵ Really just under nineteen, which Champlain very likely wrote.

rapids. We came to anchor at St. Croix,¹ fifteen leagues distant from Quebec, a low-lying point, rising up on either side as it recedes. The country is fair and level, the most goodly that I have ever seen, well wooded, though with very few pines and cypresses. Vines grow in plenty, as do pears, hazel-nuts, cherries, red and green gooseberries, and a curious little root the size of a small walnut, tasting like a truffle, and excellent roasted or boiled. All the soil is black, and without any rocks, save for masses of slate; it is very soft, and if well cultivated would bear well. On the north side is another river called Batiscan,² coming from far inland, by which the Algonquins sometimes come down; and on the same shore another, three leagues below St. Croix,³ which is that reached by Jacques Cartier at the outset of his voyage of discovery, and beyond which he did not go.⁴

¹ Now Point Platon, about thirty-five miles above Quebec. See p. 99, n. 1.

² Still so called, about sixty miles from Quebec.

³ The river Jacques Cartier.

⁴ Champlain probably took his information from Pont Grivé. Laverdière (ii. 28) quotes Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Septenaire*, as adding to this "ny autre après luy qu'en ce voyage." Here Lescarbot had his rival on the hip, and it cannot be denied that Champlain tended to belittle Cartier, probably less through jealousy of a rival explorer than from anger at the excessive claims to freedom of trade, founded by the Malouins on Cartier's voyages. Later on Champlain recognised his mistake; see Champlain, vol. ii., chap. iv. (ed. 1613), (Laverdière, iii. 267), where, while hotly denying the claims of the Malouins, he admits that Cartier reached the Sault St. Louis, *i.e.* Montreal. But while correcting his rival's mistake, Lescarbot has fallen into a greater, for he evidently brings Champlain's voyage to a close here, and takes up Cartier, under the impression that this St. Croix was Cartier's St. Croix, which was really the St. Charles at Quebec.

CHAPTER XV

ALATIN poet, speaking of languages and fashions of speech, which often die out and then revive, according to the humour and usage of the age, well says :—

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque.

So is it with the deeds of many notable persons, whose memory often dies with them, and who are deprived of their due meed of praise. To go no further for examples, the voyage of our friend Captain Jacques Cartier from St. Croix to the rapids of the great river, was unknown in our age, time and men (for Belleforest does not mention it) having deprived him of his due praise, insomuch that Champlain thought himself the first to gain this prize. But one must give every man his due, and therefore say that Champlain has ignored the account of Cartier's voyage, though yet most worthy of praise for what he himself did. But I wonder that it was ignored by M. du Pont Gravé, a captain who long frequented these new-found lands, and was in command of the voyage of Champlain, on behalf of M. de Monts. But not to waste time, I proceed with the description of the voyage of the said Cartier beyond the harbour of St. Croix.

On the 19th day of September we made ready and set sail with the pinnace and two boats to go up the river with the tide. On both sides of it we found the best and most goodly land that eye could see, as flat as a pond, full of the finest trees in the world, and all along the river so many vines loaded with grapes that they seem rather to

have been planted by the hand of man than otherwise. But since they are neither cared for nor pruned, the grapes are neither so sweet nor so large as ours. We also found many houses along the shore of the river, which are inhabited by a race who take large quantities of all edible fish in their season. They came aboard with as great good-will and confidence as if we had been their countrymen, bringing us store of such fish as they had, in exchange for our wares, raising their hands to heaven, with various gestures and signs of joy. We cast anchor at about twenty-five leagues from Canada, in a spot named Achelaci,¹ which is a narrow part of the river, with a strong and dangerous current, full of stones and other impediments; here several boats came alongside, and among others came a great lord of the country, who as he approached and came on board made a long discourse, showing by evident signs with his hands and with other gestures that a little higher up the river was very dangerous, warning us to be on our guard. This lord gave two of his children as a gift to our captain, who accepted a wench of the age of eight or nine, but refused a little boy of two or three years, as being too small. The captain feasted the chief and his band with such things as he had, and gave him some little presents, for which the said chief thanked our captain, after which they departed shorewards. Later on this chief and his wife came all the way to Canada to see their child, and to bring some little presents to the captain.

From this day, the 19th, to the 28th of the month we sailed steadily up-stream, not losing day or hour, during which time we saw and found many more districts, and meadows as flat as one could wish, full of the most beautiful

¹ Portneuf, at Point Platon, at the foot of the Richelieu Rapids, thirty-two miles above Quebec. The name of Richelieu, given by Champlain, has led to some confusion with the Richelieu River, which flows into the St. Lawrence at Sorel, seventy-five miles higher up. The Indian name is variously spelt Achelacy, Ochelai, Hochelay, Achelaiy.

trees, such as oaks, elms, walnuts, pines, cedars, spruces, ash, birch, willows, oziers, and best of all, many vines, so loaded with grapes that the ship's company (meaning the sailors) came on board laden with them. There are also many cranes, swans, bustards, geese, ducks, larks, pheasants, partridges, blackbirds, thrushes, doves, goldfinches, canaries, linnets, nightingales, and other birds, as in France, and in great plenty.¹

On the said 28th September, we reached a great lake and expanse of the river,² about five or six leagues broad and twelve long. And that day we sailed up the lake without finding more or less than two fathoms depth throughout. When we reached the head of the lake, we could find no passage or outlet, but it seemed to us wholly shut in, with no stream flowing into it, and we could get but a fathom and a half in depth, whereat we decided to halt and to cast anchor, and to seek a passage in our boats. We found that there are four of five streams which all flow out of the river into this lake, and come from Hochelaga. But in these streams which thus flow out are sand-bars and shoals made by

¹ Most of these names explain themselves. The chardonneret was doubtless the American goldfinch, the serin the yellow warbler, the rossignol the song-sparrow. The outarde is the European bustard, but the name is here and elsewhere applied to the Canada goose. See the identifications in Ganong, *The Identity of the Plants and Animals mentioned by the Early Voyagers to Eastern Canada and Newfoundland* (R. S. C. 1910).

² Lake St. Peter, about twenty-seven miles long by nine wide. Champlain entered it on 29th June 1603 (see pp. 128-9), St. Peter's day. On sixteenth-century maps it is known as Lac d'Angoulesme. Mr. Baxter (pp. 159-60) says: "Thevet says in honour of his birthplace, but more likely for Francis I., Comte d'Angoulême. Vide *Cosmographie Universelle*, Thevet (Paris), 1575, tome ii. p. 1011." But Thevet says no such thing, his words being: "Ce lac porte le nom d'Angoulesme, aussi bien que le promontoire que j'ay tantost nommé, à l'honneur d'un des feux enfans de France, fils du grand Roy François, Duc d'icelle ville." "This lake is called Lac d'Angoulême, as is also the cape which I have just named, in honour of one of the late royal children, son of the great King Francis, Duke of that town."

In 1531, on the death of the king's mother, Louise of Savoy, the duchy of Angoulême lapsed to the king, who granted it on 12th June 1540 to his third son Charles; on his death without issue in 1545 it again lapsed to the crown.

the course of the water, where there was at that time but a fathom of water, though on passing these bars we found four or five fathoms, and this at the dryest time of the year, for we saw by the waves¹ of the said streams that they rise more than two fathoms in height.

All these streams encompass and encircle five or six pretty islands² which form the head of the lake and unite about fifteen leagues higher up.³ That day we landed at one of these islands, and found five men who were hunting wild beasts. These came on board as confidently as if they had known us all their lives, showing neither fear nor mistrust. When our boats were close to shore, one of them took our captain in his arms, and carried him ashore as he would have done a six-year-old child, so strong and tall was he. We found they had a great heap of water-rats,⁴ as large as conies, and excellent to eat, whereof they gave to the captain, who gave them in return some knives and trinkets. We asked them by signs if this were the way to Hochelaga, to which they answered us yes, and that it was still three days' journey further on.

On the next day, September 29, the captain, seeing that it was impossible at that time to go on further with the pinnace, bade the boats to be victualled and prepared, and filled as full as they would hold of provisions for as long a time as possible, and set out in them to go up the river as far as possible, accompanied by some of the noblemen, namely Claude du Pont Briant, cupbearer to my lord the Dauphin, Charles de la Pommeraye, Jean Gouyon, and twenty-eight sailors, among whom were Macé Jalobert and William Le Breton, who commanded the two other ships under the said Cartier. And sailing with fair weather on the

¹ *i.e.* "by the high water mark."

² Rasin, Monks, Boat, Stone, Grace, Bear, Eagle and St. Ignace Islands at the head of Lake St. Peter, usually known as the Sorel Islands.

³ Opposite Sorel.

⁴ The musk-rat or musquash, *Fiber zibethicus*.

2nd day of October we reached Hochelaga, distant about forty-five leagues¹ from the spot where we had left the pinnace.

During this time and on the way we met with many of the inhabitants who brought us fish and other food, with dances and signs of great joy at our coming. To win them and to keep their friendship the captain gave them in return some knives, trinkets, and such small trifles, whereat they were well content. On our arrival at Hochelaga, there came out to meet us more than a thousand persons, men, women, and children, who welcomed us as warmly as ever father did child, showing wondrous joy. For the men danced in one group, the women in another, and the children in a third; and they brought us store of fish and of their bread made of large grains, which they threw into our boats till it seemed like a shower from heaven. Seeing this, the captain went ashore with a large following, and as soon as he had landed all clustered around him and the others with unstinted rejoicing; the women brought their children in their arms that he and the others of his escort might touch them, giving him a welcome which lasted more than half-an-hour. Seeing their kindness and good-will, the captain made all the women sit down in rows, and gave them some tin paternosters and other such small wares; and to some of the men he gave knives. Then he returned on board the boats to sup and pass the night, during which the natives remained on the river bank, as near the boats as possible, keeping up fires and dances all night long, and continually crying *Aguiazé*, which is their sign of greeting and of joy.

¹ The distance from the head of Lake St. Peter to Montreal is forty-five miles.

CHAPTER XVI

EARLY next morning the captain donned his armour and ordered his men to be marshalled in order to visit the town and habitation of this tribe, and a mountain which lies close to the town, whither the captain went with the noblemen and twenty mariners, leaving the rest to guard the boats, and taking three men from the town of Hochelaga to be his guides and escort to the spot. And when on the road we found it as well beaten as could be, in a fair country like a park ; with as fine oaks as in any forest in France, and the whole ground beneath them thick with acorns. When we had gone about a league and a half, we came upon one of the chiefest lords of the town of Hochelaga, with a large company, who made sign to us to rest there beside a fire which they had lighted in the road-way. And then this chief began to make a sermon and discourse, which, as we have already said, is their mode of showing joy and friendship, welcoming the captain and his company ; and our captain gave him two hatchets and two knives, with a cross and a crucifix which he made him kiss, and then hung it around his neck, whereof the chief thanked our captain. This done, we went along, and about half a league further on began to come upon ploughed fields, and fair, large meadows full of their manner of corn, which resembles the millet of Brazil, as large as a pea or larger, whereon they live as we do on wheat. And amid these fields is situated and placed the said town of Hochelaga, stretching up to a mountain which lies beside it, which is well cultivated and most fertile, and from whose top one can see to a great

distance.¹ This mountain we called Mount Royal. The town is built in a circle, and surrounded with a wooden palisade in three tiers, like a pyramid; the top row is cross-wise, the centre row upright, and the bottom row is laid lengthwise; the whole compactly joined and lashed together after their manner, rising to about twice the height of a lance. The town has but one gate or entry, closed with bars; on it and at several points along the wall are galleries of a kind, with ladders ascending to them, provided with rocks and stones for its guard and defence.² In the town are about fifty houses, each about fifty paces long or more, and twelve to fifteen broad, built all of wood, with roofs and sides made of strips of bark or of wood as broad as a table, well and cunningly knotted together after their fashion; within these are several rooms, large and small; in the midst of each house, on the ground, is a large hall where they light their fire and live in common, afterwards retiring, the men with their women and children, to their said chambers. They also have garners at the top of their houses, where they store their corn, which they call *caraconi*, whereof they make their bread in the following manner. They have wooden mortars, like those for beating hemp, and in these with wooden beetles they beat the corn to powder, then make paste of it and cakes of the paste, which they put on a hot stone and cover with hot pebbles, and thus they bake their bread, for want

¹ Cartier left his boats at a place now called Hochelaga, an eastern suburb of Montreal. Thence he marched some two leagues to the Indian village, "somewhere near the site of the present Windsor Hotel, or of the St. James Cathedral on Dorchester Street" (Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 167). Hochelaga apparently means "at the Beaver Dam." The first to call it by the name of Montreal is Belleforest (ii. 2191). See Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 84, and *Royal Soc. of Canada Transactions*, 1st series, ii. 78.

An illustration of the town is given in Ramusio, whose authority is uncertain. Belleforest (ii. 2192) refers to it.

² Compare Champlain's description and drawing of the Iroquois town in northern New York attacked by him in 1615. (Laverdière, vol. iv. p. 44; Slafter, vol. iii. p. 130.)

of an oven. They also make many stews of this corn, and also of beans and peas, of which they have good store ; also of large cucumbers¹ and other fruits. They have also in their houses large vats like tuns, wherein they store their eels and other fish, which they smoke during the summer and live upon in winter ; of these they gather great plenty, as we by experience have seen. None of their viands have any touch of salt, and they sleep on strips of bark laid on the ground, covered with wretched skins, whereof they also make their garments, such as otters, beavers, martens, foxes, wild cats, roes, stags and other wild beasts, though indeed the greater part of them go practically stark naked.

Their most precious worldly possession is Esurni,² which is white in colour, and which they win from the shell-fish (*cornibots*) of the river in the following manner. When a man has deserved death, or if they have captured one of their enemies in war, they kill him, slash great gashes in his hips, thighs, legs, arms, and shoulders, and sink him to the bottom of the river in a spot where the Esurni is found, and leave him there for ten or twelve hours. Then they draw up the body, and in the cuts and gashes find the said shell-fish, whereof they make beads, which they use as we do gold or silver, accounting them the most precious thing in the world. It has the property of stopping bleeding at the nose, as we proved by trial. This tribe makes its living solely by tillage and fishing. To the goods of this world they pay no heed, since they know not of them, and do not stir from their own country, and are not nomad like those of Canada and of the Saguenay, albeit the said Canadians are their subjects, with eight or nine other tribes who live along the said river.

¹ Doubtless the *Cucurbita verrucosa*, or crook-necked squash (Baxter).

² See Book vi., the chapter describing the ornaments of the Indians, which they call Matachia. (L.) Spelt also Esurny, Esvogny. This was the celebrated wampum, on which see W. B. Weeden in *Johns Hopkins Studies*, ii. 389-400 ; Laverdière, *op. cit.*, iv. 62, n. 1 ; Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

CHAPTER XVII

WHEN we came near the city, a great multitude of its inhabitants came out to meet us, who made us welcome after their manner, and by our guides and leaders we were brought to the middle of the town, where between the houses is an open square, a stone's-throw or thereabouts in breadth. Here our guides made sign to us to halt, which we did, and on a sudden there gathered together all the women and girls of the town, of whom some carried babies in their arms. These came near and kissed ¹ our faces, arms, and such other parts of the upper portions of our bodies as they could touch, weeping for joy to see us, giving us the best reception they could, and making sign to us to deign to touch their children. This done, the men sent away the women, and sat down on the ground in a ring around us, as if we had been about to perform a mystery play. And in a few moments back came several women, carrying each a square mat wrought like tapestry, which they spread on the ground in the middle of the square, and made us sit thereon. This done, in came nine or ten men carrying the King and Lord of the country, whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna, seated on a large deer-skin; him they brought and set down in the square on the mats near our captain, making signs that he was their chief. This Agouhanna was about fifty years of age, and in no way better clad than the others, save that he had bound about his head as a crown a sort of red band, made of hedge-hog skin; ² this chief was wholly palsied and his limbs shrunken. After saluting the captain

¹ Frotter=stroke, in some MS.

² I have seen many savages with such head ornaments, though they were not chiefs. [L.]

and his men, with manifest signs that they were welcome, he showed his arms and legs to the captain, begging him to deign to touch them, as though asking him for health and healing. Then the captain began to stroke his arms and legs with his hands ; and the Agouhanna took the band and crown which was on his head, and gave it to the captain. And thereupon there were brought to the captain many sick persons, blind, one-eyed, lame, impotent, and others so old that their eye-lids hung down upon their cheeks ; these they sat or laid down beside the captain that he might touch them, in so much that it seemed as though God had come down to heal them. The captain, seeing their pitiful state and their faith, recited the Gospel of St. John, to wit, the *In principio*, and made the sign of the cross over these poor sick folk, and prayed God to give them knowledge of our holy faith, and of the passion of our Saviour, and grace to receive Christianity and baptism. Then the captain took a book of hours, and in a loud voice read them word by word the Passion of our Lord,¹ so that all who sat by could hear him, during which all these poor people kept silence, and gave marvellous attention, looking up to heaven and making the same gestures as they saw us make. Thereafter the captain put all the men in a row on one side, the women on another, and the children on a third, and gave to the chief men and to some others knives and hatchets,² and to the women beads and other trinkets ; then he threw into the square among the children some small rings and *Agnus Dei* of tin, whereat they showed great delight. This done, the captain ordered the trumpets and other musical instruments to sound, whereat the people were much pleased. This done, we took our leave of them, and withdrew. Seeing this, the women ran in front of us to block our way, and brought us of their viands, which they had made ready, such as fish, broth, beans, bread and

¹ Chapters xviii. and xix. of St. John's Gospel, with a prayer at the close.

² " Hatchets to the chiefs, knives to the others " (MS.).

the like, thinking to make us stay our hunger, and dine there. But as their food was not to our taste, having no savour of salt, we thanked them and made signs that we had no need of food.

After we had left the town, we were led by a number of the men and women to the aforesaid mountain, which we called Mount Royal, distant from the town about a quarter of a league. When we reached the summit, we could see for more than thirty leagues around. To the north is a range of mountains,¹ running east and west, and a similar range to the south;² between which is a most goodly district, fertile, flat, and level; through the middle of it, beyond the spot where we had left our boats, we saw the river flow, and a most furious water-fall,³ impossible for us to pass, and as far as eye could reach we saw the river extend to the south-west, great and broad and wide, passing close to three beautiful round hills⁴ which we saw, and which we thought to be about fifteen leagues from us; and we were told and shown by signs by our three guides that there were three such water-falls in the river like the one where our boats were, but we could not understand what the distance was between each. Then they made signs that after passing these falls one could sail up the river for more than three moons (meaning months). And as to this I remember that Donnacona, the chief of the Canadians, told us more than once that he had been to a country, to go to which from Canada in their boats takes them a month, and that in this country grows much cinnamon and cloves. This cinnamon they call *Adotalhui*, and cloves *Cananotha*.⁵ They also made signs to

¹ The Laurentian Mountains.

² The northern slopes of the Adirondacks, and of the Green Mountains of Vermont.

³ The Lachine Rapids.

⁴ Beloeil, Rougemont, and Mt. Johnson.

⁵ These last two sentences are an interpolation by Lescarbot, made up of a clause from chapter xxiii., and of two sentences from a dictionary of the kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada, appended by Cartier to his voyage, and not given by Lescarbot.

us that along the mountain range to the north runs a great stream,¹ which like their own river flows from the west. This we think is the river which flows by the kingdom and province of Saguenay. And without our putting any question or making any sign, they took the silver chain of the captain's whistle, and the handle of a dagger which hung at the side of one of the sailors, which was of brass as yellow as gold, and made signs that such things came from up the said river, and that there lived Agojuda, meaning savage people, who went armed to the teeth, describing to us the fashion of their armour, which was made of cords and of wood interlaced and intertwined,² giving us to understand that these Agojuda waged continual war on one another; but for lack of an interpreter we could not find out the distance to this country. Our captain showed them red copper, which they call *Caignedazé*, pointing toward that country, and making signs to know if it came thence. Thereat they shook their heads in dissent, and made signs that it came from Saguenay, which is in the opposite direction. After we had seen and heard these things we withdrew to our boats, not without the escort of a great number of this tribe, of whom some, when our men grew tired, mounted them on their shoulders as on horses, and carried them; and on reaching our boats we set sail to return to the pinnacle, for fear of some mischance. This departure caused great regret to the tribe, for as long as they could follow us down the river, follow us they did. And we made such speed that we reached our pinnacle on Monday the fourth day of October.

¹ The Ottawa River.

² These were doubtless Iroquois. In his first encounter with this tribe, in 1609, Champlain describes them as wearing wicker armour. It disappeared with the introduction of fire-arms. (See Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 195; Slafter, ii. p. 222.)

CHAPTER XVIII

ON Tuesday the 5th of October we made ready and set sail with our pinnace and boats to return to the province of Canada, and the haven of Saint-Croix, where we had left our ships, and on the seventh we cast anchor opposite a stream¹ which flows into the river from the north, at the mouth of which are four small, well-wooded islands. This stream we called the river of Fouez (by which I take him to mean Foix).² And because one of these islands juts out into the river, and is seen afar, our captain bade set up a goodly cross on its outer point, and ordered the boats to be brought out in order to go up this river with the flood, to find its depth and nature. And that day they sailed up this stream, but finding it neither important nor deep they returned, and we made ready to go down-stream.

On Monday, 11th October, we reached the harbour of Saint-Croix, where our ships lay, and found that the masters and mariners who had stayed behind had built a fort opposite the ships, all enclosed with large timbers set upright and touching, beset on all sides with cannon, and fit to hold out against the whole country-side. As soon as the chief of the country heard of our coming, he came on the next day to visit our captain, accompanied by Taiguragni, Domagaya, and many others, and gave him a wondrous welcome, feigning great joy at his coming. The captain on his part received them with some cordiality, little though they deserved it. The chief Donnacona besought the captain to go on the

¹ The river St. Maurice, which enters the St. Lawrence by three mouths at Three Rivers.

² *Fouez* means a "lashing" in naval phrase. The Comté de Foix was one of the old divisions of France, in what is now the department of Ariège.

next day to visit Canada,¹ which he promised to do. On the next day, the thirteenth of the month, the captain, with the gentlemen and fifty mariners drawn up in order, visited Donnacona and his tribe at their place of abode, named Stadaconé, which lies half a league from the place where our ships lay. On our arrival, the inmates came out to meet us a stone's-throw or more from their dwellings, and sat down in rows, as is their custom, the men on one side and the women standing on the other, all singing and dancing unceasingly. After mutual greetings and welcomes, the captain gave knives and other petty trinkets to the men, and made all the women and girls pass before him, and gave to each of them a tin ring, for which they thanked him, after which Donnacona and Taiguragni took him to visit their houses, which were well stored with their manner of provisions against the winter. And Donnacona showed our captain the scalps of five men stretched upon wood, like parchment, telling us that these had been taken from the Toudamans,² who live to the south, who waged continual war against them. We were further told that two years ago these Toudamans pushed their attack as far as this very river, and that on an island³ lying off the mouth of the Saguenay, where they had stayed to pass the night on their way to wage war with them in Honguedo, with a force of about two hundred persons, men, women, and children, they were surprised while sleeping in a fort which they had built, which the Toudamans ringed round with fire, and killed all as they came out, save five who escaped. They were still smarting under this defeat, and assured us that they would be revenged. After seeing these things we returned to our ships.

¹ The word is clearly used here in the sense of "his town."

² Spelt Toudamans in MS., or Trudamans. Lescarbot on map gives Ton-damans. They were doubtless the Iroquois. This is one of several passages which proves that the habit of scalping was not, as has been asserted, introduced into North America by Europeans. See Friederici, *Skalpiere und ähnliche Gebräuche* (Brunswick, 1906).

³ Probably Bic, or Bique Island. (See Ferland, *op. cit.*, i. 35.)

CHAPTER XIX

BY the account in the four last chapters we have seen that, contrary to the opinion of Champlain, Captain Jacques Cartier pushed up the great river as far as it is possible to go. For to get above the fall, which is a league in extent, and throughout the whole of which the river pours down amid steep places and rocks, cannot be done in boats. Even Champlain himself has not done it, and the marvels which he tells of this river are no greater than those which we have heard told by Cartier. But we must not for all that pass over the written account which he has left us, for an accusation might perchance be brought against Cartier of having sought to gain credence for his own inventions, and through the witness given by the account of a writer who did not know of his discoveries the matter will be the better confirmed. For "at the mouth of two or at the mouth of three witnesses shall the matter be established." Moreover in the voyage from Saint-Croix to this fall, which is one of some two hundred leagues,¹ Champlain has noticed things not remarked by Cartier. Let us hear, then, what he says in his account of his voyage.

On Wednesday ² the twenty-fourth day of the month of June, we set out from Saint-Croix after waiting a tide and a half, in order to proceed on the next day by daylight, on account of the many rocks which lie in mid-stream, a strange sight to see. At low tide it is almost wholly dry, but at half tide one may begin to sail up without danger, though with

¹ Really about 160 miles.

² Really Tuesday.

caution, and with the lead in hand. Here the tide rises about three fathoms and a half. The further we went the more beautiful became the country. Some five leagues and a half on, we came to anchor on the north shore. On the Wednesday following we left this spot, where the country is more level than that lower down, and as heavily wooded as at Saint-Croix. We passed near a little island covered with vines, and came to anchor on the south shore, near a small hill, but on ascending it found the country level. Three leagues from Saint-Croix is another small island,¹ near the south shore. On the following Thursday we left this hill, and passed near a small island close to the north shore, where I saw some six little rivers, two of which are large enough to carry boats some way inland, and another some three hundred paces in width; at its mouth are several islands, and it extends far inland and is the deepest of them all.² These rivers are very pretty; their banks are covered with trees looking like walnuts and with the same smell, but as I have seen no fruit on them, I am in doubt, though the Indians have told me that they bear fruit like ours. Further on we came upon an island, named St. Elias,³ and another small island, lying close to the north shore. We passed between the north shore and this island, which is distant from the north shore about one hundred and fifty paces, and from the south shore a league and a half. We also passed close to a river large enough to float a canoe. This whole north shore is quite good. One may sail freely, but with lead in hand, to avoid certain spots. The whole shore which we coasted is shifting sand, but on going a short distance into the forest the soil becomes good. On the Friday following we left this island, keeping close inland along the north shore, which is low and well wooded

¹ Richelieu Island. (See Laverdière, ii., p. 28, note.)

² In 1609 Champlain called it the St. Mary. See edition of 1613, liv. ii., ch. vii. (Laverdière, iii., p. 177). It is now the St. Anne.

³ A small island opposite Batiscan. According to Laverdière, the channel between it and the mainland is still known as St. Elias.

with various fine trees as far as Three Rivers,¹ where the climate begins to differ a little from that of Saint-Croix, the trees being more advanced than in any district I had yet seen. From Three Rivers to Saint-Croix is fifteen leagues. In this river are six islands of which three are very small and the others some five or six hundred feet in length, and very pleasant and fertile, considering their small extent. One of them in mid-stream faces the river of Canada, and overshadows the others, which are about four or five hundred feet from the shore on either side. On its south side it is high, but somewhat lower and sloping to the north. In my judgment this would be a fit spot for a settlement, and could be easily fortified, for its natural situation is strong, and it is close to a large lake which is only about four leagues off. It almost joins the river Saguenay, according to the report of the Indians, who go nearly a hundred leagues northward, passing numerous falls, and then go five or six leagues overland and enter a lake which is the chief source of the Saguenay, and descend from this lake to Tadousac.² A settlement at Three Rivers would also increase the freedom of several tribes who do not venture to pass that way for fear of their enemy the Iroquois, who haunt the whole river of Canada; but if there were a settlement one might make friends with these Iroquois and other Indians, or at least

¹ Called by Jacques Cartier the River of Foix. [L.] (See p. 123, n. 2.) Laverdière quotes from the edition of 1632 (Book i., ch. vi.) ; "Pontgrave . . . remonstra audit sieur Chauvin plusieurs fois qu'il falloit aller à mont le dit fleuve, où le lieu est plus commode à habiter, ayant esté en un autre voyage jusques aux trois rivières, pour trouver les sauvages, afin de traiter avec eux" (Laverdière, ii. p. 30, and v. p. 42). "Pontgrave . . . several times pointed out to M. Chauvin that he should go further up the said river to a better place for a settlement, he himself on a former voyage having been as far as Three Rivers, to find the savages and do barter with them." As Pontgrave's interview with Chauvin took place in 1599, the name of Three Rivers goes back at least to 1598.

² Only a small tract separates the head waters of the river Croche, a tributary of the St. Maurice, from one of the streams that flow into Lake St. John.

under protection of the settlement the Indians would come freely without fear or danger, inasmuch as the said Three Rivers is a natural junction. The soil which I saw all along this north shore is sandy. We went up this river for about a league, but the strong current prevented us from going further. We pushed on in a skiff to explore, but after making not more than a league came upon a very narrow fall some twelve feet in width, which stopped our way. All the country that I saw along this river rises gradually higher and higher, and is covered with pines and cypresses, but with very few other trees.

On the following Saturday we left Three Rivers, and came to anchor at a lake four leagues further on. This whole district, from Three Rivers to the entrance of the lake, lies level with the water's edge, though rather higher on the south side. The land is fertile and the most pleasant we had yet seen; the forests are fairly open, and one could easily find his way through them. On the next day, 29th June, we entered the lake, which is some fifteen leagues in length and some seven or eight in breadth.¹ On the south side, at about a league from the entrance, is a good-sized river, which extends some sixty or eighty leagues inland, and further along on the same side is another little river extending about two leagues inland,² flowing out of ³ another little lake of three

¹ This lake is described above by Jacques Cartier, chap. xv. [L.] (see p. 113). The greatest length of Lake St. Peter is really about twenty-seven miles, its breadth about nine. Champlain's distances are usually over-estimated.

² The size would seem to show that the larger river was the St. Francis, and the smaller the Nicolet. Slafter takes this view, and says, "The author appears to have confused the relative situations of the two rivers here mentioned" (Slafter, vol. i. p. 259). If Champlain's account is followed strictly, the larger river is the Nicolet, though he has greatly over-rated its size and length. His information must have been taken from the Indians, who are very untrustworthy guides as to distances.

³ "Et sort de dedans." Slafter and Otis, apparently misreading "et fort de dedans," translate "and, far in, another little lake." This is one of the very few slips in their most accurate and admirable edition. The little lake is apparently, as Laverdière says, the Baie la Vallière.

or four leagues in length. On the north side, where the land looks very high, one's view extends for about twenty leagues, but little by little the mountains sink down towards the west as though into a plain. The Indians told us that on these mountains the soil is for the most part poor. Where we passed, near the centre, this lake is about three fathoms deep.¹ Its length lies east and west and its breadth north and south. I think that it must certainly contain good fish, of the same species as we have in France. We crossed it this same day, and cast anchor about two leagues up the river, which continues inland, at the entrance of which are thirty small islands; ² so far as I could see, some are two leagues in extent, others a league and a half, others less; they are covered with walnut trees, which differ but little from ours, and in my opinion the nuts are good in their season. I saw many beneath the trees, of two sorts, some small and others an inch in length, but all rotten. There are also many vines on the shores of these islands, but when the waters rise high most of them are flooded; this region is still better than any I had yet seen. On the last day of June we left it, and sailed past the mouth of the river of the Iroquois,³ where the savages were strongly encamped on their way to attack the Iroquois. Their fortress is made of a number of stakes pressed close against each other, and stretches on one side to the bank of the great river, and on the other to that of the river of the Iroquois, with their canoes drawn up close together along the bank, to aid their sudden flight, should they chance to be surprised by the Iroquois; for their fortress is roofed merely with oak bark, and serves only to give them time to take to their boats. We went some five or six leagues up the river of the Iroquois, but could go no further in our boat, so strong was the current

¹ Jacques Cartier only gives two and a half, but that was in October. [L.]

² See p. 114, n. 2.

³ The Richelieu River.

and volume of the water, while the numbers of trees on the banks prevented our disembarking and dragging the boat. Seeing that we could go no further, we took to our skiff to see if the current grew less strong ; but after advancing some two leagues, it grew still stronger, and we could go no further, and so, as we could do nothing else, we returned to our boat. This river is some three or four hundred paces broad, and very free from shoals. In it we saw five islands, from a quarter to half a league apart, or at most a league, one of which, the nearest, is a league in length, the others very small. All this region is low-lying and well-wooded, like those which I had formerly seen, but with more pines and cypresses than in the other parts. Though somewhat sandy, the soil is none the less good. This river extends more or less south-west.¹ The Indians say that about fifteen leagues from where we stopped is a very high fall,² around which they carry their canoes about a quarter of a league, and enter a lake³ at the entrance of which are three islands ; and on going further, they come upon several more. It appears to be about forty or fifty leagues in length, and some twenty-five in breadth, and into it flow as many as ten rivers, up which canoes can go for some distance. Then on reaching the end of the lake, is another fall, and they enter a second lake as large as the former,⁴ at the end of which are the lodges of the Iroquois. They also say that here is a river⁵ which flows on toward the coast of Florida, a distance from the last-named lake of about one hundred⁶ leagues. The whole Iroquois country is somewhat mountainous, yet fertile and temperate, with a little winter, but not much.

¹ The Richelieu flows almost direct from south to north.

² The rapids of Chambly.

³ Lake Champlain, discovered by Champlain in 1609.

⁴ Lake George.

⁵ The Hudson.

⁶ Champlain says " 100 or 140 " : Lescarbot follows him in the editions of 1609 and 1611-12.

CHAPTER XX

LEAVING the river of the Iroquois, we cast anchor three leagues further on, off the north shore. This whole district lies low, covered with all the kinds of trees mentioned above. On 1st July we coasted along the north shore, where the forests are more open than in any place which we had yet seen, and everywhere good soil for cultivation. I went in a canoe to the south shore, and saw many islands, very fertile in fruits, such as grapes, walnuts, hazel-nuts, and a kind of fruit like a chestnut,¹ cherries, oaks, aspen, poplar, hops, ash, maple, beech, cypress, but very few pines or firs. There are also other very fine trees which I did not recognise. There grow many strawberries, raspberries, currants, red, green, and blue, with many small berries which grow among the thick grass. There are also many wild animals, such as elks, stags, does, red-deer,² bears, porcupines, rabbits, foxes, beavers, otters, musk-rats, and various other kinds of animals which I do not know, but which are good to eat, and on which the Indians live. We passed by a very pleasant island, some four leagues long and half a league wide.³ On the south shore I saw two high mountains, apparently about twenty leagues inland.⁴ The Indians told me that they were close to the first fall on the river of the

¹ The American chestnut.

² The orignac, or orignal (an Algonquin word), is the moose (Indian *moos*), *Alce Americanus*, the largest of the family *Cervidae*. As Champlain wrote for European readers, I have used the term elk. Slafter retains the Algonquin name. The other species were probably the wapiti and the Virginia deer. See Ganong, *op. cit.*

³ The Islands of Verchères. Champlain either failed to see that there were several, or simply speaks of the largest.

⁴ Doubtless the Green Mountains in Vermont.

Iroquois. On the Wednesday following we set out from this spot and made some five or six leagues, and saw many islands. Their shores lie low, and are well-wooded, like those of the river of the Iroquois. On the following day we made several leagues, and passed numerous other islands, which are excellent and pleasant for the great quantity of meadows which there are, both on the mainland and on the islands themselves; all the trees here are very small compared to those which we had passed.

On that day we at last arrived at the foot of the fall, with a favouring wind, and came upon an island lying almost in mid-stream, a quarter of a league in length;¹ we passed to the south side of it, where there was only three, four, or five feet of water, and here and there a fathom or two; then on a sudden only three or four feet. There are many rocks and small, treeless islets, hardly rising above the water. From the foot of this island, which lies in mid-stream at the bottom of the fall, the current begins to run very strong; in so much that, though we had a most favouring wind, with every effort we could advance but little; however, we passed this island, which lies at the foot of the falls. Seeing that we could make no progress, we came to anchor on the north shore over against a small island abounding in most of the fruits which I have mentioned above.² We at once got ready our skiff, which had been made on purpose to pass these falls; in this Monsieur du Pont and I embarked with some Indians whom we had brought as guides. Leaving our boats, we had not gone three hundred feet before we were compelled to disembark, and some sailors had to jump overboard to drag our skiff. The canoe of the Indians went ahead easily. We came upon an infinity of small rocks just

¹ St. Helen's Island, so called by Champlain in 1611 after his wife, Hélène Boullé. (See Laverdière, vol. iii. p. 245.)

² Ile Ronde or Normandin (*cf.* Laverdière, iii. p. 248, map). It is now joined to the mainland by the quays.

rising above the water on which we kept striking, and saw islands great and small in such numbers as to be almost innumerable.¹ These passed, one comes on a kind of lake, wherein lie all these islands, in extent about five leagues long and almost as many broad, and containing many small islets, or rather rocks. Near this fall is a mountain which shows the lie of the land for some distance inland,² and a small river flowing down from the mountain into the lake.³ On the south side one sees three or four mountains which seem to be some fifteen or sixteen leagues inland.⁴ There are also two rivers, one flowing to the first lake of the river of the Iroquois, by which the Algonquins sometimes go to make war on them ;⁵ and another near the fall and extending some little distance inland.⁶ On approaching this fall with our little skiff and the canoe, I assure you that I never saw a torrent of water dash down with such impetuosity as here, although the height is not great, since in some places it is not more than a fathom or two, and never more than three ; the water comes down as if by steps, and wherever there is a sudden drop one hears a wondrous boiling and bubbling from the force and swiftness with which the water comes over the fall, which is about a league in extent. In the stream are many rocks, and toward the centre are several very narrow and very long islands. Beside these islands, both those to the south and those to the north, there is so dangerous a fall that it is beyond the power of man to get the smallest boat

¹ The last part of this sentence is Lescarbot's abridgment of Champlain's description of the Island of Montreal, Ile Perrot, Ile St. Paul, and Ile Ronde.

² See p. 121.

³ La petite rivière de St. Pierre (Laverdière).

⁴ Beloeil, Rougemont, Yamaska, &c.

⁵ The river St. Lambert. From this river one crosses over (by a short portage) to the Montreal River, which falls into the Basin of Chambly ; this basin is called by the author, the first lake of the river of the Iroquois (Laverdière).

⁶ Champlain says "some few feet" ; Laverdière identifies it with La rivière de la Tortue.

up. We went overland a league further on through the woods to see the end of the falls, after which one sees no more rocks or rapids, but the swiftest possible current, which extends some three or four leagues.¹ Beyond this first fall are ten more,² for the most part difficult to pass, so that to see and do by boat all that one might plan would be great travail and labour, save at great cost and expense, and the risk even so of labouring in vain ; but in the Indian canoes, one can visit any district with ease and quickness, using big and little rivers alike. So that by availing oneself of the Indians and their canoes, one can see everything seeable, good and bad, in a year or two. The small extent of country beside the fall which we crossed on foot consists of very open woods, where one can easily walk in armour without much trouble ; the air is milder and more temperate, and the soil better than in any place which I had seen, and covered with wood and fruit, as also are all the neighbouring districts. It lies some few minutes north of 45°. Seeing that nothing more could be done, we turned back to our boat, where we questioned the Indians whom we had with us of the end of the river, which I made them draw by hand, and of the direction in which lay its source. They told us that after passing the first fall which we had seen, they went in canoes some ten or fifteen leagues up the river, at which point a river flows in,³ up which at a distance of some sixty leagues from the great river dwell the Algonquins. Then they pass five successive falls,⁴ in a distance from the first to the last of about eight leagues, over two of which they

¹ Champlain adds : " So that it is vain to imagine the possibility of bringing any boats up these falls. Any one wishing to pass them should make use of the native canoes, which a man can easily carry ; for to carry boats would be impossible in the short time available if one purposed returning to France for the winter." Lescarbot retained this passage in the editions of 1609 and 1611-1612.

² Jacques Cartier only mentions three. [L.]

³ The Ottawa.

⁴ The Cascades, Cedars, and Coteau, which have various subdivisions.

portage their canoes, each fall extending about half a quarter of a league, or at most a quarter. After this they enter a lake some fifteen or sixteen leagues in length.¹ Thence they re-enter a river about a league in width, up which they go some two leagues, and then enter another lake some four or five leagues in length; on coming to the end of which they pass five other falls,² the distance between the first and the last being some twenty-five or thirty leagues. Over three of these they portage their canoes, and at the other two they merely drag them through the water, the current being neither so strong nor so treacherous as at the others. Of all these falls none is so difficult to pass as the one which we saw. Then they enter a lake some eighty leagues in length,³ wherein are many islands; at its end the water is drinkable and the winter mild. At the end of this lake they pass a fall of some little height but with not much water;⁴ here they carry their canoes overland for about a quarter of a league to pass this fall; thence they enter another lake some sixty leagues in length,⁵ of which the water is extremely pure; at the end of this they reach a strait some two leagues broad, which goes some distance inland.⁶ They had not, they said, gone further, nor seen the end of a lake some fifteen or sixteen leagues beyond the point they had reached,⁷ nor had those who told them of it ever seen a man who had seen the end of it, in as much as it is so large that they will not venture to put out upon it for fear of being overtaken by a storm or sudden squall. They say that in summer the sun sets to the north of this lake, and in winter near the middle. Its water, they said, was very bad, like that of the ocean.⁸ I asked them if from this last lake seen by them

¹ Lake St. Francis, about twenty-five miles long.

² The Galops, Cardinal, and other smaller rapids.

³ Lake Ontario.

⁴ The Falls of Niagara.

⁵ Lake Erie.

⁶ Detroit River, and river St. Clair.

⁷ Lake Huron.

⁸ His Indian informants confused the vague stories which they had heard of Lake Huron and of Hudson's Bay.

the water flowed continuously downwards as far as Gaspé ; they said no, that it was only from as far up as the third lake that it flowed down toward Gaspé, and that after the last fall, which is of some height, as I have said, the water was almost stagnant, and that this lake was probably drained by other rivers, flowing inland either to the north or to the south, of which there are many flowing out of it, whereof they have not seen the end.

CHAPTER XXI

ON Friday, 4th July, we left this lake,¹ and the same day returned to the river of the Iroquois. This we left on the Sunday following, and came to the lake,² where we cast anchor. On the following Monday we came to anchor at Three Rivers, and on the same day sailed some four leagues below Three Rivers. On the following Tuesday we reached Quebec, and on the morrow the end of the Isle of Orleans, where we were visited by the savages who were encamped on the north shore of the mainland.* We questioned two or three Algonquins, to find out whether they would agree with those whom we had questioned concerning the mouth and the source of the said river of Canada. They stated and showed us by signs³ that about two or three leagues beyond the fall which we had seen, on the north bank, is a river leading to their home. Continuing up the great river, they pass a fall, where they carry their canoes, and then pass five other falls, covering from the first to the last some nine or ten leagues; they said that these falls are by no means difficult to pass, and that in most of them they merely drag their canoes, save at two where they make a portage.⁴ Thence they enter a river which is like a kind of lake, extending some six or seven leagues, and then they pass five other falls, where they drag their canoes as before, save at two where, as at the first, they make a portage, and that from the first to the last is a distance of some twenty or twenty-five

¹ St. Louis. The original has "Sault."

² St. Peter.

³ Or perhaps "by drawings."

⁴ The word "portage" occurs first as an English noun in the translation of Hennepin's *New Discovery of America* (1698). Its use as a verb does not seem to begin till the nineteenth century.

leagues ; thence they enter a lake about one hundred and fifty leagues in length, some four or five leagues from the mouth of which is a river extending northward toward the Algonquins,¹ and another flowing toward the Iroquois,² up which the said Algonquins and Iroquois go to war with one another. And a little further on, on the south shore of this lake, is another river extending toward the Iroquois ;³ then on reaching the end of this lake, they come upon another fall, where they carry their canoes ; thence they enter another very great lake, about as large as the former. On this last they have been but a little way, and have heard tell that at the end of it is a sea, of which they have not seen the further shore nor heard tell of any one who has done so. They said, however, that as far as they have gone the water is not salt, since they have gone no further inland, and that its course is from the setting sun to the rising, and that they do not know whether beyond this lake, which they have seen, there is another river flowing westward ; that the sun sets on the right hand of this lake, which in my opinion is more or less to the north-west, and that in the first lake the water does not freeze, which makes me think that the climate there is temperate, and that the whole country of the Algonquins is flat and but little wooded, and that the Iroquois territory is mountainous, but nevertheless very good and fertile, and better than in any spot which they have seen. The said Iroquois have their home at some fifty or sixty leagues from this great lake. This is a true report of what they told me they had seen, and differs but very little from the report of those previously questioned.

That day we approached to within some three leagues of Isle aux Coudres. On Thursday, the tenth of the month, we came to within about a league and a half of Hare Island,

¹ Probably the Rideau Lakes and River, though thought by Slafter to be the Bay of Quinté.

² The Oswego River.

³ The Genesee River.

on the north shore, where other Indians came on board our boat, among whom was a young Algonquin, who had travelled much in the said great lake. We questioned him in great detail, as we had the other savages. He told us that some two or three leagues beyond the fall seen by us is a river extending to the dwelling-places of the said Algonquins, and that, continuing up the great river, there are five falls, extending from beginning to end some eight or nine leagues, at three of which they portage their canoes, and at two others drag them; that each of these falls is about a quarter of a league in length, after which they enter a lake some fifteen leagues in extent. Then they pass five other falls, extending from the first to the last some twenty to twenty-five leagues, two only of which falls they pass with their canoes; at the three others they merely drag them. Thence they enter a very large lake, some three hundred leagues in length. Proceeding some hundred leagues in this lake, they come upon a very large island, beyond which the water is still good to drink; but on proceeding some hundred leagues further, the water begins to get bad, and on reaching the end of the lake, it is quite salt. That there is a fall about a league in breadth, where a wondrous great rush of water plunges into this lake. That after passing this fall no land is seen on either side, but only a sea so great that they have not seen the end of it, nor heard tell of any one who had done so; that the sun sets to the right of this lake, and that at its entrance is a river by which one may reach the Algonquins, and another leading to the country of the Iroquois, along which they go to war with one another. That the country of the Iroquois is somewhat mountainous, but very fertile, with much Indian corn, and other fruits not found in their country. That the country of the Algonquins is flat and fertile. I asked them if they had knowledge of any mines. They replied that there is a nation called the good Iroquois, who come to barter for the merchandise which the French vessels give the

Algonquins, and that these say that towards the north is a mine of pure copper, of which they showed us some bracelets, which they had received from the said good Iroquois. That if we wished to visit it, they would guide thither those deputed for the purpose.¹ This, then, is all I have been able to learn from all parties, their accounts differing very little, save that the second band, when questioned, said that they had not drunk salt water ; but then they had not been so far in the said lake as the others ; they differ a little in the length of the journey, some making it shorter, others longer. So that, according to their report, from the fall which we visited to the salt sea, which may be the South Sea, is some four hundred leagues. On Friday the eleventh of the month, we returned to Tadousac, where our ship lay, being the sixteenth day after our departure.

¹ The good Iroquois were the Hurons, on the shores of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay. For prehistoric copper implements, consult the paper by Slafter in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for Jan. 1879, reprinted in the collections of the *Wis. Hist. Soc.*, vol. viii., 1880, and also published separately. Consult also, Wrong and Langton, *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (annual since 1896), s.v. Ethnology.

CHAPTER XXII

HAVING thus rapidly traversed the great river of Canada as far as the first and largest fall, and brought back each of our travellers to his proper place, Captain Jacques Cartier to the harbour of Saint-Croix, and Champlain to Tadousac, it is fit, profitable, and necessary to hear of the behaviour of our French, what befell them, and their diverse fortunes during the winter and the following spring, which they passed at the harbour of Saint-Croix. As for Champlain, we shall content ourselves with bringing him back from Tadousac to France, since he did not winter in the said river of Canada ; but first we shall do battle with the Gougou, and scatter his fancies of the Armouchiquois.

But before doing this we shall quote the general description given by Captain Jacques Cartier of the wonders of the great river of Canada, as well as of the river of Saguenay, and of that of the Iroquois, in order to compare his account with that written by Champlain and related by us above.

This river, says he, begins beyond the island of Assumption, abreast of the high mountains of Honguedo and the Seven Islands ; its width here is about thirty-five or forty leagues, and in mid-stream it is more than two hundred fathoms deep. The deeper channel and the safer sailing is on the south shore ; and on the north shore, on either side of the above-mentioned Seven Islands, and at about seven leagues distance from them, are two large rivers flowing from the mountains of the Saguenay, which form many very

dangerous shoals in the sea.¹ At the mouths of these rivers we saw great numbers of whales and sea-horses.

Abreast of these islands is a small river extending inland through the marshes some three or four leagues, wherein is a marvellous number of all manner of river-fowl. From the mouth of the said river to Hochelaga is a distance of three hundred leagues and more,² and its mouth is at the river which comes from the Saguenay, which issues from between high mountains, and flows into this river on the north shore before one reaches the province of Canada. And this river is very deep, narrow, and dangerous to navigate.

Beyond this river lies the province of Canada, wherein are numerous tribes in open villages. In this river within the limits of the said Canada are many islands both great and small, among others one³ of more than ten leagues in length, full of goodly and great trees and many vines. There is a channel on either side of it, the better and safer being to the south. At the western end of this island is a forking of waters, which is a good and suitable harbour for ships; here the said river narrows, and is very swift and deep and only about a third of a league in width; abreast of this spot the shore rises to a good height in two ridges of well-cultivated land, as good soil as one could see anywhere. And there is the town and dwelling of the Lord Donnacona, and of our men whom we had captured on our first voyage, which dwelling is called Stadaconé.⁴ And before coming to it there

¹ The Moisie, to the east of the Seven Islands, is certainly one of these. Mr. Baxter thinks that the other is the St. Margaret, and that the "petite rivière" mentioned later is an unnamed stream, just inside Sand Point. Mr. Biggar thinks that the other large stream is the Pentecost, and the St. Margaret the "petite rivière." It is really impossible to say, though one would hardly expect Cartier to speak of the St. Margaret as a "petite rivière," for it is little if at all smaller than the Pentecost.

² From Montreal to the Atlantic is 986 miles.

³ The island of Orleans.

⁴ The name Quebec occurs first in the Le Vasseur map of 1601. See Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 194. There has been much dispute about the site of Donnacona's

are four tribes and their dwelling-places, Ajoasté, Starnatam, Tailla, which is on a hill, and Stadin; then comes the said district of Stadaconé; beneath this high land on the north lies the river and haven of Saint-Croix, where we remained from 15th September till 6th May 1536; and there our ships were drawn up on land, as I have already said. Beyond this spot is the dwelling of the people of Tequenonday,¹ and Hochelay,² Tequenonday being on a mountain, the other in a flat country.

The whole country on both sides of this river as far as Hochelaga, and beyond, is as goodly and flat as ever man looked on. At some distance from the river, seen above the said lands, are certain mountains, from which descend many streams which flow into this river. All this district is thickly wooded with trees of various sorts, and is full of vines, save in the neighbourhood of the tribes, where they have cleared it to make their dwellings and fields. There are quantities of large stags, deer, bears, and other beasts. We also saw there the tracks of a beast with only two feet, which we followed a great way over the sand and mud. Its feet are of the form and size of a hand's-breadth and more. There are many otters, beavers, marten, foxes, wild cats, hares, conies, squirrels, rats, which grow to a wondrous size, and other wild things. The natives clothe themselves with the skins of these beasts, since they have no other clothing. Birds are in great numbers, cranes, bustards, swans, wild geese, white and grey, ducks and drakes, black-birds, thrushes, doves, wood-pigeons, goldfinches, red-breasts, canaries, linnets, nightingales, sparrows, and other birds as in France.

Moreover, as we have said above in the preceding chapters, this river is the most abundant in all manner of fish that

dwelling. Mr. Biggar thinks that it was on Cape Diamond. See Ferland, *op. cit.*, p. 27, note; Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*; Dionne, N. E., *Jacques Cartier*, p. 247.

¹ *Vide* Laverdière, pp. 506 and 916 (continuous pagination).

² Previously spoken of as Achelacy.

has ever been seen or heard of. For from its mouth to its end, you will find there in their seasons nearly all kinds and species of fish, both salt water and fresh. As far as the said Canada, you will find abundance of whales, porpoises, sea-horses, Adhothuys, which is a kind of fish which we had never seen or heard tell of. They are snow-white, as large as porpoises, with a body and a head like that of a hare,¹ and remain where the fresh and salt water meet, between the river of Saguenay and Canada. There likewise, in June, July, and August, you will find abundance of mackerel, mullet, bass, tunnies,² great eels, and other fish. When their season is past, you will find there smelts as good as in the river Seine. Then in the spring there are many lampreys and salmon. Beyond the said Canada are abundance of pike, trout, carp, bream, and other fresh-water fish, and of all these kinds of fish, of each according to his season, great quantities are caught by the people for their subsistence and provision.

¹ The original says "comme lepuriers," *i.e.* like a greyhound; it is the beluga or white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*).

² *Cf.* Book vi., chap. xxii. Mr. Baxter identifies it with the burgall or chogset.

CHAPTER XXIII

AFTER our return from Hochelaga¹ with the pinnace and the boats, we came and went and conversed in kindness and friendship with the tribes nearest our ships, save that on occasion we had little differences with some rascals, whereat the others were much hurt and angered. And we were told by the chief Donnacona, Taiguragni, and Domagaya and others, that the said river, called the river of Saguenay, extends to the said Saguenay, which is distant from the mouth of the river more than one moon² to the W.N.W., and that after eight or nine days' journey, it is deep enough for boats only; but that the best and most direct route and the safest is by the great river to a point beyond Hochelaga, where a stream³ flows from the said Saguenay, and enters the river, as we ourselves saw, and that thence it is a journey of one moon. And they gave us to understand that in that country the people are clad in woollens as we are, that there are many towns and tribes, and friendly people, and that they have much gold and red copper. They also told us that the whole country from the said first river to Hochelaga and Saguenay is an island, surrounded and bordered by streams and by the great river, and that above the said Saguenay the stream enters two or three very large and broad lakes,⁴ and that thereafter one comes upon a fresh-water sea, of which there is no record of the end having

¹ The text says "arrival at Hochelaga," an obvious printer's error. The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have the right reading.

² Cartier says one league, and it is so translated by Hakluyt and Baxter. Lescarbot's is doubtless a correct emendation.

³ The Ottawa.

⁴ Allumette, Coulonge, Nipissing, &c.

been seen, as they have been told by those of the Saguenay, for they themselves, they said, had never been there.¹ They further gave us to understand that where we had left our pinnacle on our way to Hochelaga, is a river extending toward the south-west, where likewise they take one moon to go in their boats from Saint-Croix to a land where there is never ice or snow, but that in this said land there is continual war among the tribes, and that in it are oranges, almonds, walnuts, plums, and other sorts of fruits in great abundance.² And they told us that the men and inhabitants of that country are clad and dressed in skins like themselves. On our asking them if there was gold or copper, they replied that there was not. From their account, I take this place to be toward the new land visited by Captain John Verrazano, judging by their signs and tokens.³

Thereafter from day to day this tribe visited our ships, bringing store of eels and other fish to get our merchandise, and in return they were given knives, awls, beads, and other such things, wherewith they were much pleased. But we perceived that the two rascals whom we had brought kept telling them and giving them to understand that what we bartered to them was nothing worth, and that for what they brought us they could as easily get hatchets as knives, and this in spite of the many presents which the captain had made them, and thus at all hours they did not cease to importune the said captain, who was warned by a chief of the town of Hagouchonda to be on his guard against Donnacona and the two said rascals, and that they were *Agojuda*, meaning treacherous, and he was likewise warned thereof by some of the Canadians, and we ourselves also plainly perceived their malice, for they tried to take back from us the three children

¹ See above, Chaps. viii. and ix., what Champlain says of this. [L.]

² In the editions of 1609 and 1611-12 follows a passage not given by Cartier: "and they make oil which they draw from the trees, which is excellent for healing sores."

³ Cartier says "vers la Floride," and does not mention Verazzano.

whom Donnacona had given to our captain. And in truth they induced the older of the girls to make her escape from the ship. After her flight, the captain set a watch over the others, and by the advice of the said Taiguragni and Domagaya, they kept away and ceased to visit us for four or five days, save for a few who came in great fear and trembling.

But seeing their ill-will, and suspecting that they were plotting some treachery, and would come upon us with a host, the captain ordered the fort to be strengthened on every side with wide and deep ditches and with a gate and drawbridge, and with beams of wood laid across those already in place. And orders were given that for the future the night-watch should be taken by fifty men in four watches, and that at each change of the watch the trumpet should sound ; all which was done according to the said order. And Donnacona, Taiguragni, and Domagaya, hearing of our thus strengthening the fort, and of the good watch and ward which we kept, were sullen at being in the captain's bad graces, and, pretending to have gone elsewhere, sent men several times to see if any anger against them would be shown ; but no attention was paid to these, and no sign made or shown of anything of the kind. And then the said Donnacona, Taiguragni, Domagaya, and others came several times to speak to our captain across a small stream, asking him if he were displeased, and why he did not come to visit them. And the captain replied to them that they were naught but traitors and knaves, as he had been told, and as he had himself perceived in many ways, from their having broken their promise to go to Hochelaga, and having taken back the girl whom they had given him, and other bad turns of which he spoke ; but that for all that, if they were willing to keep troth, and to lay aside their ill-will, he would pardon them, and they might come on board with confidence to make good cheer as before. For these words they thanked the captain, and promised him within three days to restore the

girl who had escaped. And on November 4th, Domagaya with six others came to our ships to tell the captain that the chief Donnacona had gone throughout the district to look for her, and that on the morrow she would be brought back to him. He further said that Taiguragni was very ill, and besought the captain to send him a little bread and salt. This the captain did, and also sent him word that it was the wrath of Jesus against him for the bad turns which he had tried to play.

And on the morrow came Donnacona, Taiguragni, Domagaya, and many more bringing the girl, and gave her back to the captain, who paid no heed to them, and said that he did not want her, and that they might take her away. To which they replied with apologies, that they had not advised her to run off, but that she had done so because the ships' boys had beaten her, according to her account; and they again besought the captain to take her back, and themselves brought her to the ships. Thereupon the captain ordered bread and wine to be brought, and feasted them. Then they took leave one of another, and from that time they came and went to and from our ships, and we to their dwellings, in as great love as before.

CHAPTER XXIV

IN the month of December we were advised that pestilence was rife among the people of Stadaconé, in so much that by their own confession there were already more than fifty dead ; for which reason we forbade them to visit our fort or our vicinity. But though we had driven them away, the pestilence seized on ourselves in strange and marvellous fashion, for some lost their strength, and their legs grew big and swollen, their sinews shrank and became black as coal, and in some cases were spotted thick with purple blotches of blood. Then the plague passed up into their haunches, thighs, shoulders, arms, and neck. And in all cases the mouth grew so foul and rotten about the gums, that the flesh dropped off to the very roots of the teeth, nearly all of which fell out. And this disease raged so in our three ships that in mid-February, of our company of 110 men not ten were whole, in so much that one could not aid another, which was a pitiful sight to see considering the place wherein we were. For the people of the country came every day before our fort, and saw few men on their feet, and already eight were dead, and more than fifty without hope of life. Our captain seeing misery and sickness so general, ordered all to turn to prayers and orisons, and ordered an image in the likeness of the Virgin Mary to be carried across the snow and ice and placed against a tree, a bow-shot from the fort, and gave orders that on the following Sunday Mass should be said at this spot, and that all, sick or well, who could walk should go in procession singing the seven psalms of David, and the Litany, and praying the Virgin to deign to implore her dear

Son to have pity on us.¹ Mass said and sung before this image, the captain vowed himself a pilgrim to our Lady to whom prayers are said at Rocamadour [or rather *Roqu'amadou*, meaning the Lover's Rock. This is a town in Quercy much frequented by pilgrims], if God gave him grace to return to

¹ The Protestant Hakluyt translates what follows : "praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to have compassion upon us." A line or two above he had changed the image of the Virgin into "in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set upon a tree."

The Seven Psalms are the Penitential Psalms, *i.e.* vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii., in the Protestant versions (vi., xxxi., xxxvii., l., ci., cxxix., cxlii., in the Vulgate) ; the Litany is the ordinary Litany of the *Processionale* in the Roman Breviary, frequently known as the "Litaniæ Sanctorum."

The combination of the Penitential Psalms and the Litany is an ordinary one ; *e.g.* it is said on all Fridays in Lent in the present Roman use. It is the ordinary form of a special "rogation," and was thus the natural thing for Cartier to use under the circumstances. I owe this note to the Rev. F. E. Brightman of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Here and elsewhere the question arises, whether there were priests with Cartier on his voyages. (1) He several times speaks of Mass being heard or sung. (2) An incomplete list of his crew on the second voyage has been preserved, and includes Dom Guillaume Le Breton and Dom Anthoine, the title usually given to priests, and in Brittany in the sixteenth century especially applied to an unbeneficed priest or chaplain. (3) When the Indians asked Cartier what weather they would have on the way to Montreal, and whether he had spoken to Jesus on the subject, "il repondit que ses Pretres y avoient parlé" (see Chap. xiv.) On the other hand, on several occasions on which we would expect their presence, it is not mentioned ; some of these are so striking that Dr. Dawson (*op. cit.*, pp. 185-187), while leaving the matter open, is inclined to decide in the negative. Thus at Hochelaga, "Cartier himself read the Gospel of St. John and the Story of the Passion out of his book of hours. He stroked the limbs of the paralytic chief and prayed for the conversion of the savages" (Dawson). Amid all the woes of the winter, they are never mentioned as "baptizing, comforting, exhorting, or burying." At Stadaconé, when Donnacona and several others asked for baptism, Cartier replied "That there was no one then who could teach them the faith," but that on another occasion "he would bring priests and chrism." (Lescarbot, book vi., chap. iv.) Belleforest (*Cosmographie Universelle*, ii. 2188) takes this as decisive evidence against their presence. While certainty is of course impossible, my own belief is that the frequent mention of the Mass outweighs the other evidence. The priests may not have gone to Hochelaga, but have remained behind on ship-board. Cartier's refusal of baptism is more difficult to explain, but it is possible that his priests were down with scurvy, in which case they were in a sense the proto-martyrs of the Canadian Church.

France. That day died Philippe Rougemont, a native of Amboise, aged about twenty years.

And for that the said sickness was unknown, our captain ordered the body to be opened to see if we could get any knowledge of it, to preserve if possible the rest of us. We found his heart all white and withered, and about it more than a quart of water as red as a date; the liver healthy, but the lungs black and gangrened, and all his blood drawn into a clot above his heart, for when he was opened, from above his heart sprang a great jet of foul, black blood. Further, his spleen toward the spine was somewhat mortified for about two inches, as though it had been rubbed on a rough stone. After seeing this we made an incision, and cut open his thigh, which was all black on the surface, but the inner flesh was sound enough. This done, he was buried in as seemly fashion as we could. God in His holy grace have mercy on his soul, and on all dead men. Amen.

And thereafter from day to day this sickness so spread that a time came when in our three ships there were not three sound men, so that in one of them there was not a man who could go below deck to draw drink either for himself or for the others. And at this time there were already many dead, whom in our weakness we were forced to bury under the snow, for it was impossible for us at that time to open the frozen ground, so weak were we, and so feeble our strength. And we were also in great dread lest the people of the country should perceive our misery and weakness. And to hide our illness, when they came near our fort, our captain, whom God preserved in continual health, went out to meet them with two or three men, well or ill, whom he made come out behind him. And when he saw them outside the pale, he made pretence of striking them, shouting and throwing sticks at them, sending them on board, making signs to the savages that he was keeping his men at work within the ship, some caulking, others baking, others at

different tasks, and that it would not do for them to come loafing outside ; this the savages believed. And our captain bade the sick men hammer and make a noise within the ships, beating with sticks and stones, pretending to caulk. And at that time so many were down with the disease that we had almost lost hope of ever returning to France, had not God in His infinite kindness and compassion looked on us in pity, and given us knowledge of a remedy against all maladies, the best that was ever seen or found on earth, as we shall now relate. But first you must know that from mid-November to the 18th¹ day of April, we were continuously shut in by the ice, which was more than two fathoms thick ; and on the ground the snow was four feet in height and more than two fathoms thick ;² in so much that it was higher than the sides of our ships, and endured all that time ; so that our drink froze fast in the casks, and high and low within the ships there was four inches of ice upon the wood ; and the whole river was frozen as far up as the fresh water extends, above Hochelaga. In this time we lost to the number of twenty-five of the best and kindest sailors whom we had, who died of this disease ; and there were more than forty of whom we had no hope, and save for three or four all the rest without exception were ill. But God, in His holy grace, looked on us in pity, and sent us a remedy for our health and healing of the kind and in the way that we shall now relate.

One day our captain seeing the plague so rife and his men so greatly overcome by it, had gone out of the fort and was walking on the ice, when he saw approaching a band of the people of Stadaconé,³ and among them Domagaya, whom, ten or twelve days before, the captain had seen very ill of the same sickness as his men ; for one of his legs was

¹ Cartier says 15th ; Hakluyt "until the midst of March."

² The last six words are an error of the printer, whose eye was caught by the preceding line. They are not found in the edition of 1609.

³ Stadaconé is the village of the Canadians. [L.]

swollen to the size of the body of a two years' old child, and all its sinews were shrunk ; his teeth were decayed or gone, his gums rotten and foul. The captain seeing him hale and whole, rejoiced greatly, hoping to find from him how he had been healed, in order so to give aid and help to his men. And when they had come near the fort, the captain asked him how he had cured himself of his disease ; Domagaya replied that he had been cured by the juice of the leaves of a tree, and their dregs, and that this was the only remedy for this disease. Then the captain asked if there were not some of it near at hand, and to point it out to him, to heal his servant who had caught the said disease in the house of the chief Donnacona, not wishing to let him know the number of his sick comrades. Then the said Domagaya sent two women with our captain in search of it, who brought back nine or ten boughs and showed us that one must strip off the bark and leaves from the wood, and set the whole mass to boil in water, and then drink this water every second day and put the grounds on the sick and swollen limbs, and that this tree cured of all diseases. And in their tongue this tree is called Anneda.¹

Thereupon the captain ordered this brew to be made for

¹ Amedda (Cartier). Ameda or Hanneda (Hakluyt). "Some writers suppose this to have been the white spruce (*Picea alba*), and others the white pine (*Pinus strobus*) ; but the *P. alba* is the better anti-scorbutic" (Baxter). Professor Ganong thinks that the reference on the next page to its size points to the white pine, which is the largest tree of Eastern Canada. Dr. Dawson, *St. Lawrence Basin*, p. 174, identifies it with the balsam fir, *Abies balsamea*. The quickness of its operation is not unnaturally exaggerated by the grateful Cartier. On this Dr. Dawson says : "Cartier, with his usual good judgment, limits the miracle to the apparent accident of the way he obtained knowledge of the remedy by his meeting with Domagaya ; but some late writers go further, and, forgetting that the pagan Indians partook of the benefit to an equal extent as the Frenchmen, imagine that the virtues of the tree were specially conferred and did not avail on subsequent occasions." I do not see why it is good judgment to admit the miraculous, but to restrict it to the smallest possible dimensions ; the view that the whole cure was due to the interposition of providence, which is apparently that of Mr. Joseph Pope, *Jacques Cartier*, p. 101 (Ottawa, 1890), is certainly more consistent than that of Dr. Dawson.

the sick men to drink of, but not one wished to try it, save one or two who risked the experiment. Very soon after they had drunk of it they felt better, which was a true and evident miracle. For, after having drunk of it two or three times, from every disease whereby they had been attacked they recovered health and healing; insomuch that some of the crew who had had the French pox for five or six years were clean cured by this medicine. On seeing this all crowded round the said medicine, so that they were like to kill one another in their desire to be the first to take it; in so much that as large and tall a tree as ever I saw was used up in less than a week; which wrought so well that if all the doctors of Louvain and Montpellier had been there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not have done as much in a year as this tree did in a week. For it so profited us that all who were willing to make use of it recovered health and healing, thanks be to God.

CHAPTER XXV

WHILE this sickness and pestilence was rife in our ships, Donnacona, Taiguragni, and various others set off on a pretended hunt for stags and other animals, which in their tongue they call Ajonnesta and Asquenoudo, for the snow was deep and the ice was already broken in the channel of the river, so that they could sail on it. And we were told by Domagaya and the rest that they would stay out but a fortnight, which we believed ; but they were away for two months without returning. For which reason we suspected that they had gone off to collect a multitude to harass us, seeing our weakened state. Yet we had put things in such good order that if the whole might of their land had come, they could have done nothing but look at us. And while they were away much people came daily to our ships, as was their custom, bringing us fresh meat of stags and deer, and fresh fish of all sorts, which they sold us dear enough, preferring rather to take it away, since at that time they had need of victual, the length of the winter having made them eat their provisions and stores.

And on 21st April Domagaya came alongside with a body of fine, lusty fellows, who were strangers to us, and who told us that the chief Donnacona would return on the morrow, and would bring much deer's meat and other venison. And on the morrow came the said Donnacona, bringing in his train to the said Stadaconé a great multitude, why or for what cause we knew not. But as the proverb says, who guards against all, escapes from some ; which we had need to do, for we were so weakened, both by disease and by death,

that we were forced to leave one of our ships behind at Saint-Croix.¹

The captain being advised of their coming, and that they had brought such a throng, and also that when Domagaya came to announce it to him he would not cross the river which was between us and Stadaconé, but made unaccustomed objections to doing so, we began to suspect treachery. Seeing this the captain sent his servant, Charles Guyot by name,² who more than any other was beloved by the people of the whole district, to see who was at the said place, and what they were doing. The servant was to feign that he had come to visit the chief Donnacona, and was bringing him a present, because he had lived for some time with him. And when Donnacona was told of his coming, he feigned illness and lay down, telling the servant that he was very ill. Then the said servant entered the house of Taiguragni to see him, where everywhere he found the houses so full of strangers whom we were not in the habit of seeing, that one could not turn round, and Taiguragni would not allow him to enter the other houses, but accompanied him half-way back to the ships, and told him that if the captain would oblige him by seizing a chief of the country, named Agona, who had affronted him, and carry him to France, he would do anything the captain wished, and bade him return on the following day with an answer.

When the captain understood the great multitude of people who were at Stadaconé, for what end he knew not, he

¹ This was the *Petite Hermine*. In 1843, the remains of a ship of the sixteenth-century type were found in the St. Charles, at the mouth of the Lairet. They were identified with the lost ship of Cartier, and were divided into two portions, one of which was placed in the Museum of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and destroyed by fire in 1854; the other is still in the Museum of St. Malo. Baxter enthusiastically accepts the authenticity of the relics; Dawson is sceptical, the Indians being said by Cartier to have removed the iron nails and bolts from the *Petite Hermine*, whereas in the ship discovered they were still in good preservation.

² "Accompanied by Jehan Poulet," adds Cartier.

resolved to outwit them, and to seize their chief, with Taiguragni, Domagaya, and the leaders, especially as he had already resolved to carry the said chief Donnacona to France to recount to the King what he had seen in these western lands of the wonders of the world; for he assured us that he had been in the land of Saguenay, where is infinite gold, rubies, and other riches, and where the men are as white as in France, and clad in wool. He further said that he had seen another country where the people do not eat, and have no fundament, and relieve themselves only by making water, and also reported that he had been in another country of the Picquenians, and other countries where the people have but one leg, and other marvels long to relate. This chief is an old man, and as long as he can remember has never ceased to go from land to land both by river, stream, and trail.

After the servant had delivered his message and told his master the words of Taiguragni, the captain sent him back on the morrow to bid Taiguragni come to visit him, and tell him all his desire, and that he would give him good cheer and part of his wish.¹ Taiguragni sent back word that he would come on the morrow and bring with him Donnacona, and the man who had affronted him. This he did not do, but was two days without coming, during which time no one from Stadaconé visited the ships, as they had been wont to do, but fled from us as though we wished to kill them, whereby we perceived their ill-will. And when they found out that the people of Stadin were coming and going among us, and that we had abandoned to them the hull of the ship which we were leaving behind to pull the old nails out of, on the third day every one from Stadaconé came to the

¹ This is the translation of Mr. Baxter, and is approved of by Mr. Biggar. Hakluyt says, "for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished." In deference to such authorities I have accepted it; otherwise I would prefer to take "*faire partie*" as meaning "to take part in," and to translate "and that he would give him good cheer, and join in his plan," a much more enticing message.

other side of the stream, and the greater part crossed over in little boats without difficulty; but Donnacona would not come over, and Taiguragni and Domagaya debated together for more than an hour before crossing; but at length they crossed over and came to speak with our captain. And Taiguragni besought him to consent to seize the said man and carry him into France. This the captain refused, saying that the King, his master, had forbidden him to carry man or woman into France, but only two or three small boys to learn the language; but that he would gladly carry him to Newfoundland and put him ashore on an island. These words the captain used to give them confidence, and to induce Donnacona, who had remained on the other side of the stream, to come across. These words greatly rejoiced Taiguragni, who had hoped never more to return to France, and he promised the captain to come back on the morrow, which was the day of the Holy Cross,¹ and to bring the said chief Donnacona, and all the people of Stadaconé.

¹ The Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, *i.e.* of its finding by St. Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, falls on 3rd May. The name Holy Cross Day is more usually given to the Festival of its Exaltation, which falls on 14th September.

CHAPTER XXVI

ON the third day of May, being the festival of the Holy Cross, in honour of the solemn feast day the captain ordered us to set up a goodly cross some thirty-five feet in height, under the cross-bar of which was a shield embossed with the arms of France, and thereon was written in Attic¹ letters "Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex regnat."² And that day about noon there came a crowd of men, women, and children from Stadaconê, who told us that their chief Donnacona, Taiguragni, Domagaya, and others of their party were coming, whereat we rejoiced, hoping to lay hands on them. At about two in the afternoon they came. And when they came over against our ships, our captain went out to greet the chief Donnacona, who on his part gave him glad welcome, but yet kept an eye on the woods, and was in great fear. Soon after arrived Taiguragni, who told the said chief Donnacona not to enter the fort. And then one of their people brought embers out of the said fort, and lit a fire for the said chief. Our captain invited him to come on board the ships to eat and drink as he was wont to do, and Taiguragni also, who said that they would come anon; which they did, and entered our fort. But our captain had been already warned by Domagaya that Taiguragni had spoken adversely, and had told Donnacona the chief not to go on board the ships. And our captain seeing this went outside the palisade where he was, and saw that the women had hurried away at the warning of Taiguragni, and that only the men remained, who were in

¹ I think that he means Antique. (L.)

² Francis I., by the Grace of God, King and Ruler of the French.

great numbers. And the captain bade his men lay hands on Donnacona the chief, Taiguragni, Domagaya, and two others of the head men whom he pointed out; and then to drive away the others. Soon after the said chief came inside with our captain. But on a sudden up came Taiguragni to make him go out. Our captain seeing that there was nothing else for it, at once cried out to lay hands on them, at which cry out rushed his men, and seized on the chief and those whom they had planned to take. The Canadians on seeing this capture, at once took to flight and ran like sheep before the wolf, some across the stream, others into the woods, each man for himself. When we had thus taken those already named, and the others were all scattered, the chief and his comrades were put in sure ward.

At nightfall there came opposite our ships, though with the stream between, a great number of the people of the said Donnacona, yelling and howling all night long like wolves, crying unceasingly, *Agobanna, Agobanna*, hoping to speak with him. This at the time the captain did not permit, nor on the morrow until about midday. Therefore they made signs to us that we had killed and hanged them. And about the hour of noon they returned, in as great numbers as we had seen in our voyage at any one time, keeping themselves hidden in the wood, save a few of them who cried and called aloud on Donnacona. And then the captain ordered the said Donnacona to be brought on deck to speak to them, and bade him be of good cheer, for that after speaking to the King of France his master, and recounting what he had seen at the Saguenay and other places, he would return in ten or twelve moons, and that the King would make him a great present. Whereat Donnacona was glad, and spoke to the others, telling them of this, who thereupon gave three wondrous cries in sign of joy. And then these people and Donnacona made in turn many speeches and ceremonies, which through lack of understanding may not be written

down. Our captain told Donnacona to bid them cross the stream without fear, that they might the more easily speak together, and to reassure them. This Donnacona did. And thereupon a boat-load of the chief men came alongside our ships, who began anew to make various orations, praising our captain; and they made him a present of twenty-four collars of Esurni, which is to them the greatest riches in the world, for they esteem it more than gold or silver.

After they had harangued and spoken one with another to their fill, and seen that there was no means of escape for their chief, and that he must needs go to France, he bade them bring him on the morrow provisions for the voyage. Our captain presented him with two brass frying-pans, and eight hatchets, and other small ware, such as knives and beads; whereat he was to all appearance very glad and sent them to his wives and children. The said captain also gave to those who had come to speak with Donnacona some little presents, for which they gave him great thanks. Anon they withdrew and went off to their lodges.

On the morrow, the fifth of the month, very early in the morning, these people returned in great numbers to speak to their chief, and sent a boat which they call *casurni*,¹ in which were four women but no men, from their fear of being seized. These brought store of provender, to wit, maize, which is the corn on which they live, meat, fish, and other provisions of their fashion; these at their coming on board the captain made welcome, and Donnacona besought the captain to tell them that in twelve moons he would return, and would bring back the said Donnacona to Canada; and this he said to appease them. This our captain did; whereat the women showed great and evident joy, showing the said captain by signs and words that when he returned, bringing back Donnacona and the others, they would make him many

¹ *Casnouy* in Cartier; *Casnoni* in Hakluyt.

presents. And then each of the women gave the said captain a necklace of Esurni, and then departed to the other bank of the stream, where was collected the whole tribe of Stadaconê; then they withdrew, and took leave of their chief Donnacona.

CHAPTER XXVII

ON Saturday, 6th May, we set sail from the harbour of Saint-Croix, and came to anchor at the foot of the Isle of Orleans, about twelve leagues from the said Saint-Croix. And on Sunday we reached Isle aux Coudres, where we remained till Monday the sixteenth day of the month,¹ waiting for the waters to abate, for they were too swift and dangerous to descend the river. During this time we were visited by several boats of the tribes subject to Donnacona, who were coming up from the river of Saguenay. And when informed by Domagaya of the capture, and of the fashion and manner in which Donnacona was being taken to France, they were much amazed, but nevertheless came alongside the ships to speak to the said Donnacona, who told them that in twelve moons he would return, and that he was well treated by the captain and crew. For this they all with one voice thanked our captain, and gave to the said Donnacona three bundles of beaver and seal skins, and a great knife of red copper, which comes from the Saguenay, and other things. They also gave to our captain a necklace of Esurni. In return for these presents the captain ordered them to be given ten or twelve hatchets, whereat they were very contented and joyous, and gave him thanks; then they went away.

The channel is safer and better between this island and the north shore than on the south, for the great number of shallows, banks, and rocks which are there, and the little depth.

On the morrow, 16th May, we set sail from the said Isle

¹ Monday was really the 15th, not 16th.

aux Coudres, and came to anchor at an island about fifteen leagues further on, some five leagues in length ; and on that day we cast anchor there to spend the night, hoping on the next day to pass by the dangers of the Saguenay, which are very great. In the evening we landed on this island, where we found great store of hares, of which we took a number, and therefore called it Hare Island.¹ And in the night the wind came adverse and squally, so that we were forced to put back to Isle aux Coudres whence we had set out, because there is no other channel between these islands, and there we remained till the twenty-first² of this month, when the wind came fair, and we made such good runs that we went right on to Honguedo, between Assumption Island and the said Honguedo ; this channel had not before been discovered, and we ran on till opposite Cape Prato,³ where Chaleur Bay begins. And because the wind was as fair as heart could wish, we sailed day and night. And on the morrow we sailed straight for Brion Island, which we were minded to do to shorten our journey, for the two shores lie S.E. and N.W. a quarter E. and W., and are fifty leagues apart. This island lies in 47° 30' N. Lat.⁴

On Thursday, the 25th of the month,⁵ the festival of the Ascension of our Lord, we came upon⁶ a land and a ridge of low-lying sand, which lie about eight leagues to the S.W. of the said Brion Island, above which are large plains full of trees, and also an enclosed sea, though we saw no entry or opening by which the said sea enters.⁷

And on Friday, the 26th, the wind having changed toward

¹ Still so called, or more usually Isle aux Lièvres.

² Lescarbot omits the date, which I have supplied from Cartier.

³ See p. 48, n. 3.

⁴ 47° 48'.

⁵ Lescarbot has here corrected an error in the original, which says 26th.

⁶ The text says *trouvames à*, doubtless a mistake for *traversames à* of the original.

⁷ One of the Magdalen group, probably East Island. The enclosed sea was Great Lagoon, or Grand Entry Harbour, entered by a narrow channel to the south of Coffin Island.

the coast, we returned to the said Brion Island, where we remained till 1st June, and then sailed close to a high land lying to the south-east of the said island, which seemed to us to be an island, and we coasted it for about twenty-two leagues and a half, and by the way we had sight of three other islands lying toward the Sands; and also perceived that these Sands are an island, and that this land which is high and level, is the mainland trending to the north-west. These things discovered, we returned to the cape of the said land, which divides into two or three headlands wondrous high; there is great depth of water, and so strong a tide that nothing can be more so. This cape we called Cape Lorraine, which lies in Lat. $46^{\circ} 30'$, to the south of which are flats and apparently a river mouth, but no harbour of any worth; above the flats to southward lies a cape which we called Cape St. Paul, in $47^{\circ} 15' W.$ Lat.¹

¹ The preceding paragraph has given rise to much controversy. After careful study of the maps, and as the result of personal knowledge of the coast, I am convinced that Mr. Biggar and the late Sir John Bourinot are right, and that both Dr. Dawson and Mr. Baxter have in some points gone astray. The high land lying to the S.E. is Cape Breton Island. With this Dr. Dawson agrees. Mr. Baxter considers it to be "the high land east of Grosse Isle" (*i.e.* Grosse Isle of the Magdalen Group), which with all deference is absurd. How could they coast along a few miles of the Magdalens for $22\frac{1}{2}$ leagues? It is true that the printed version says $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, but all the MSS. and Lescarbot say $22\frac{1}{2}$, and this is the reading adopted by Mr. Baxter.

On the way they had sight of three other islands lying toward the Sands. The Sands are "the ridge of low-lying sand" previously mentioned, and the islands are three of the Magdalen group, probably Alright, Entry and Amherst Islands. With this Mr. Baxter agrees. Dr. Dawson thinks them "three lofty capes on the Cape Breton Coast," which is possible, but very unlikely.

After coasting along the Cape Breton shore, Cartier returned to the cape of the said land, which, he says, "we called Cape Lorraine." To distinguish between "the cape of the said land" and "Cape Lorraine," as is done by both Dr. Dawson and Mr. Baxter, seems to me quite impossible. Cape Lorraine is certainly the northern extremity of Cape Breton, dividing into the bold promontories of Cape St. Lawrence and Cape North. Mr. Baxter identifies the "cape of the said land" with "the East Cape of the Magdalens, which has, when approached from a certain direction, the appearance of being three islands; hence they are frequently called by fishermen the Junks of Pork." He then goes on to identify Cape Lorraine with Cheticamp, though not

On Sunday the third day of the month,¹ the feast of Pentecost, we caught sight of the E.S.E. coast of Newfoundland, distant about twenty-two leagues from this cape. And because the wind was contrary, we entered a harbour which we called the Harbour of the Holy Ghost,² till Tuesday, when we set sail and explored this coast as far as the islands of St. Peter.³ While holding this course, we found along this coast many very dangerous islands and shoals, which lie E.S.E. and W.N.W., at two, three, and four leagues to seaward. We anchored at the said islands of St. Peter, where we found a number of ships both of France and Brittany, from the 11th of June, St. Barnabas day, till the sixteenth of the month, when we set sail from the said islands of St. Peter, and reached Cape Race, and entered a harbour named Rongnoui,⁴ where we took on board wood and water for our voyage; and there we left one of our boats, and from this harbour we set sail on Monday the nineteenth day of the month; and with good weather we crossed the sea; so that

absolutely refusing Dr. Dawson's hypothesis that it was Cape Ray on Newfoundland. I have a very high regard for the cautiousness and thoroughness of Dr. Dawson's work, but here he seems to me to make the double error of separating the "cape of the said land," which he rightly identifies with the bold northern cliffs of Cape Breton, from Cape Lorraine, whereas Cartier says they were the same, and, when compared with the beginning of the next paragraph, of getting his voyagers across to Newfoundland too soon.

The river entry and low-lying lands to the south are probably Cheticamp. Dr. Dawson, pursuing his theory, is compelled to suppose them to be the *barachois* near Cape Ray. Cape St. Paul is one of the various headlands south of Cape North, probably Cape Egmont. Dr. Dawson, following his theory that they had now crossed to Newfoundland, identifies it with the St. Paul Islands, midway between Cape North and Cape Ray. Mr. Baxter thinks that Cape St. Paul is the north point of Cape Breton, and that "to southward" is an error for "to northward." It is certain that if Cape Lorraine was in $46^{\circ} 30'$, Cape St. Paul to the south of it cannot have been in $47^{\circ} 15'$. The most probable emendation is in the former case to read, with Hakluyt, $47^{\circ} 30'$.

¹ Really the 4th.

² Probably Port aux Basques, though perhaps Le Poil Bay further east, as Mr. Baxter thinks.

³ The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, still owned by France.

⁴ Now Renews. Spelt Rongnouse, Rognoso, in early maps.

on 16th July we reached the harbour of St. Malo, thanks to our Creator, whom we pray, on ending our voyage, to give us His grace, and Paradise at the last.¹

¹ In the edition of 1545 there follows here a dictionary "of the country and kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada." A. Lefranc, *Les Navigations de Pantagruel* (Paris, 1905), shows that Rabelais had carefully studied these voyages of Cartier, and that Pantagruel had come to the St. Lawrence.

CHAPTER XXVIII

HAVING brought Captain Jacques Cartier back to France, we must now go in search of Champlain, whom we left at Tadousac, that he may give us some news of what he has seen and heard among the savages since we left him. And that he may the better please his listeners, I see Monsieur Prevert of St. Malo waiting at Isle Percée with a fine story for him ; and if that is not enough for him, to add to the fable about the Armouchiquois the pretty story of the *Gougou* who frightens babies, in order that later on Monsieur Cayet the Historiographer may join their band and take the tale for truth.¹ This, then, is how the said Champlain speaks of it at the end of his voyage.

On reaching Tadousac we found the savages whom we had met at the river of the Iroquois, who at the first lake had fallen in with three Iroquois canoes, and defeated them, and brought to Tadousac the scalps of the Iroquois. Only one Montagnais was wounded, and he in the arm with an arrow ; if he dreamt anything, all the ten others were forced to carry it out to content him, believing also that his hurt would be the better thereby. If this savage dies, his relations will avenge his death, either on their own tribe or on others, or else the chiefs must make presents to the dead man's relatives to content them, or else, as I have said, they will employ revenge, which is a great wickedness among them. Before these Montagnais set out to war, they all gathered together in their richest coats of the fur of beaver and other

¹ Literally "taking this money for good coin." (See p. 175, n. 3.)

beasts, decked out with beads and ribbons of divers colours, and gathered together in a great open space, headed by a chief named Begourat, who was their leader in the war. They were in ranks one behind the other, with their bows and arrows, clubs and round shields, wherewith they equip themselves for battle, and one after the other they went leaping, with many movements of their body, and many snail-like involutions; then they began to dance in their accustomed manner, which I have described above; then they held their feast, and this done the women stripped stark naked, adorned with their best *matachias*, and thus naked and dancing embarked in their canoes, and then put out from shore, striking each other with their paddles, and throwing much water over each other, yet doing themselves no hurt, for they parried the blows which they heaped upon one another. After all these ceremonies the women withdrew to their lodges, and the men went off to war against the Iroquois. On 16th August we left Tadousac, and on the 18th reached Isle Percée, where we found Monsieur Prevert of St. Maio on his way from the mine, which he had reached with much difficulty, from the fear the savages had of meeting their enemies the Armouchiquois, who are savage men and most unnatural in shape, for their head is small and their body short, their arms as thin as those of a skeleton, and their thighs the same, their legs thick and long and all of a size, and when they squat down on their heels, their knees are more than six inches higher than their heads, which is a strange sight, and seemingly unnatural, yet they are very agile and resolute, and own the best lands on all the coast of Acadia. Thus the Souriquois fear them greatly. But with the confidence given them by the said Monsieur de Prevert, he took them right up to the mine, whither the savages guided him. It is a very high mountain, extending somewhat to seaward, shining bright in the sunlight, with much verdegris coming from the said copper-mine. He said that at the foot of the mountain, at

low tide, there were many bits of copper, such as he showed us, which fall from the mountain-top. This place where the mine is lies a little north of 45° N. Lat.¹

There is another strange thing worthy of record, of the truth of which many savages have assured me. It is that to southward, near Chaleur Bay, lies an isle where lives a dreadful monster called by the savages Gougou, which they told me had a woman's shape, but very terrible, and so tall, said they, that the top of the masts of our vessel would not have reached her waist, so tall do they describe her, and that she has often devoured, and still devours, many savages, whom she puts in a great pouch when she can catch them, and then eats them; and those who had escaped the peril of this unchancy beast said that this pouch was so large that she could have put our vessel in it. This monster, whom the savages call Gougou, makes horrible noises in this island; and when they speak of it, it is always with a strange and unequalled fear, and many have assured me that they have seen it. The said Monsieur Prevert of St. Malo himself told me that on his way to explore the mines he had passed so near the lair of this dreadful beast, that he and all his crew heard strange hissing noises made by it, and that the savages with him told him that it was the same beast, and were so afraid that they ran everywhere to hide themselves for fear that it had come to carry them off; and I am led to believe their tale by the general fear which all the savages have of it, and the strange tales they tell of it, in so much that if I were to set down all they tell, it would be thought fabulous; but I hold it to be the haunt of some devil who torments them in this fashion. This then is what I have learned of this Gougou.

We left Gaspé on the 24th of August. On the 2nd of September we calculated that we were as far on our way as

¹ This was Advocate's Harbour, in Minas Basin. See Slafter, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 27.

Cape Race. The fifth day of that month, we were on the banks where the fishing is carried on. On the sixteenth we reached soundings, some fifty leagues off Ushant; on the twentieth, by the grace of God, to the joy of all, and with the wind steadily fair, we reached the haven of Havre de Grace.

CHAPTER XXIX

NOW to go back to the Armouchiquois, and that evil beast the Gougou,¹ in this case there has befallen Champlain what Pliny writes of Cornelius Nepos, whom he says believed with greed (*i.e.* of his natural inclination) the monstrous lies of the Greeks, in his account of the town of Larah, or Lissa, which, on the faith and word of another he describes as strong and much larger than Carthage the great, and other tales of a like dye. So the said Champlain, trusting the tale of Monsieur Prevert of St. Malo, who gave himself free rein, has written the account which we have just set down of the Armouchiquois and the Gougou, and likewise of the brilliance of the copper-mine. All which things the said Champlain has since admitted to be fabulous.² For as to the Armouchiquois, they are as good-looking men (comprising under this word both sexes) as ourselves, well built and agile, as we shall see later. And as to the Gougou, I leave its credibility to the reader, for though a few savages speak of it, and hold it in dread, it is in the same way that some feeble-minded folk at home dread the Phantom Monk of Paris. For the truth is that these tribes who live at constant war, and are never out of danger—bearing with them this curse for that they are forgotten of God—often have dreams and vain imaginings that the enemy is at the gate; and the reason that they are thus full of forebodings is that they have no walled towns, wherefore they find themselves

¹ Lescarbot has here omitted some further stories of Monsieur Prevert.

² *i.e.* by omitting them in his edition of 1613. Of Champlain's credulity Charlevoix says, "It is the fault of upright minds. . . . As it is impossible to be faultless, it is well to have only those faults that would be virtues were all men what they should be."—Shea, *Charlevoix* (1902), vol. ii. p. 90.

often, indeed usually, surprised and overcome ; which being so, one must not wonder that from time to time they have panic terrors and imaginations, like those of hypochondriacs, thinking, like them, that they see and hear things which are not ; as I remember to have seen certain men of good heart who could on occasion go valiantly into the breach, but who yet by some mental malady, though they ate and drank well, were tortured with continual dread that an evil demon incessantly followed them, buffeted them, and settled upon them. So we see some who think themselves to be werewolves. So many people, young and old, when alone are afraid of spirits if a mouse moves. So sick persons whose imagination is troubled say sometimes that they see now a Virgin Mary, now a devil, and other phantoms which come before their eyes ; this is caused by defective nourishment, whereby the brain is filled with melancholy vapours, which bring these imaginations. And I incline to rank with them many of the ancients who by long fastings (whereof St. Basil disapproves) had visions, with which they have filled whole books, and which they have given us as certain facts. But as we have said, the same thing may happen to those who are sound in body. Of this the causes are in part external, in part internal. The external are worry and ennui, the internal are the use of heavy and unhealthy meats, whereby malignant and unwholesome vapours rise to the brain, which vapours pervert the senses, trouble the memory, and lead astray the understanding. These internal causes also come from a blood which is melancholic and inflamed, shut up in an overheated brain, or dispersed through all the veins, and the whole extent of the body, or which abounds in the hypochondria, in the spleen, and in the mesentery ; whence arise the black and smoky exhalations which make the brain obscure, murky, confused, blacken it and cover it over neither more nor less than clouds do the face of the sky ; whence it at once follows that these dark and smoky vapours can bring

nothing to those whom they cover but fears and dread. Now according to the diversity of these exhalations which arise from a diversity and variety of blood, whereby are produced this smoke and soot, there arise divers sorts of apprehensions and melancholies, which attack in divers ways, and prevent the whole operation of the faculty of imagination. For as the variety of the blood diversifies the understanding, so the changed action of the soul changes the humours of the body.

From this change and peijoration of humours, especially in melancholic temperaments, arise the fantasies and strange imaginings caused by these vapours or black soots, engendered of this melancholic humour.¹

Such is the nature and humour of many savages; for their whole life is sullied with mutual bloodshed, more especially with that of their enemies in war, and thus they have great fears, and invent for themselves a Gougou, who is the torturer of their consciences; even as Cain, after the murder of his brother Abel, had the wrath of God ever at his heels, and could nowhere find ease of soul, thinking ever that he had this Gougou before his eyes; so that he was the first who tamed the horse wherewith to flee, and who shut himself in with walls in the town which he built; so also was it with Orestes, of whom the story goes that he was driven by the Furies for the parricide wrought by him upon

¹ The medical science of Lescarbot is taken from the school of Galen, though the rudiments of it are found in Aristotle. E. T. Withington, *Medical History from the Earliest Times* (London, 1894), gives in Appendix IV. a translation of the *Introduction to Medicine* of the Arab physician, Honain ben Isaac (Joannitius), which gives an excellent account of the Galenic and mediæval medical theories. T. Bright—*A Treatise of Melancholy. Contayning the causes thereof, and reasons of the straunge effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the Physicke cure, and spiritual consolation for such as have thereto adjoynd afflicted conscience. The difference betwixt it, and melancholy, with diverse philosophicall discources touching actions, and affections of soule, spirit, and body.* (London, 1586)—argues at length along the semi-materialistic lines of Lescarbot. His work is of interest as having largely influenced Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

the body of his mother. And one may well believe that the devil by whom these tribes are possessed fills them with many illusions. But indeed, and to speak frankly, what gave credence to the idea of the Gougou was the story of Monsieur Prevert, who one day told Monsieur de Poutrincourt a fable wrought of the same stuff, declaring that he had seen a savage playing at lacrosse with a devil, and that he had clearly seen the crosse which the devil used, but as for the Old Gentleman himself, he remained invisible.¹ Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who was much amused at his talk, made pretence of believing him in order to lead him on.

And as for the copper-mine shining in the sun, it is far from being equal to the Emerald of Makhé, of which we spoke in the account of the second voyage made to Brazil.² For one sees only a cliff, at the foot of which are found bits of raw copper such as we brought back to France; and here and there in the cliff copper is seen, but not so shining as to dazzle the eyes.

But though Champlain was indeed credulous, a learned person, whom I highly esteem for his great attainments, is far more deeply at fault, having inserted in his "Seven Years' History of the Peace," printed in the year 1605,³ the whole narrative of the said Champlain without the name of the

¹ From very early times, *la crosse* was a favourite game of the French youth. Though the rules were indefinite and variable, it seems to have closely resembled modern hockey. From it are derived both golf and cricket. If the words here are, as I have ventured to take them, a reference to the national game of Canada, it is the first in literature. See J. J. Jusserand: *Les Sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1901), pp. 284 *sq.*, in which interesting contemporary representations are given.

² See Book ii., Chap. v.

³ Pierre Victor Palma Cayet, a voluminous French writer, was born in 1525, and died on 10th March 1610. Originally a Protestant, in 1595 he joined the Catholic Church, and in 1600, at the age of seventy-five, took holy orders, for which Huguenot chroniclers have not spared his memory. He seems really to have been a kindly and enlightened man, something of a mystic, yet with a touch of humorous insight. Pierre de L'Estoile in his *Journal* gives a very touching account of his death. His chief works are the *Chronologie Novenaire*

author, and having given as good money the fables of the Armouchiquois and the Gougou. I am sure that had the story of the devil playing lacrosse been also in print, he would have believed it, and set it down with the others.

Pliny tells us that Hanno, a Carthaginian captain, given a commission to explore the whole of Africa, and to sail round about it, had left ample commentaries of his journey, indeed too ample, for they contained more than the truth, and were well named commentaries, being attended with mendacity. And according to Pliny, various Greeks and Latins have followed him and trusted his commentaries, and thus given them credence in the minds of many who came after. One must needs believe, but not everything; and one must first consider whether the story is in itself probable or not. In any case, to cite one's authority is to go free from reproach.

Some are afflicted with that disease which the poet Juvenal calls the incurable itch for scribbling, and write long but wholly indigested accounts; I am myself perhaps not wholly guiltless in this chapter, having had no leisure to read over what I have written; of this I would here to some extent accuse Monsieur de Belleforest, were it not for the esteem in which I hold his memory. For having had descriptions from Captain Jacques Cartier, and having probably made fragmentary extracts from those which I have already written down, he has hurried into print without always well understanding what had happened; as when in the first of the said voyages he says that the islands of Newfoundland are separated by small streams; that the River of Boats is in Lat 50°; when he calls Labrador the country around Chaleur Bay, which bay he had already placed in the land of Norom-

(Paris, 1608, 3 vols.), giving the history of France from 1589 to 1598; and the *Chronologie Septenaire* (Paris, 1605), which brings the story on to the end of 1604. In the latter work he gives a résumé of the voyage of Champlain to Canada in 1603 (pp. 415-424, in edition of 1605; pp. 450 *seq.* in reprint of 1836).

bega, and when he says that it is warmer there than in Spain, though every one knows that Labrador is in Lat. 60°. So too when, in his account of Cartier's second voyage, he conjectures that the Canadians offer human sacrifices, because Cartier when visiting a savage captain (whom Belleforest calls King) saw the scalps of his enemies stretched on boards like parchment. Also that the Canadians (who have store of vines, and in whose country is the Island of Orleans, also called the Isle of Bacchus) have the same climate as the countries of Denmark and Norway; that the tobacco which they are wont to use is of the nature of pepper and ginger, and is not tobacco; that they eat their meat raw. And on that, my opinion is that even though they did so, as may sometimes happen, they do not therein greatly differ from us; for I have often seen our sailors take a stock-fish, and bite it with good appetite. Again, when he places on an island the town of Stadaconé, in which he says is the royal palace of the Canadian Chief, when you must remember that they were only cabins of bark; likewise when he places the land of Bacalaos, *i.e.* Cod-fish Land, opposite Saint-Croix where Jacques Cartier wintered, and Labrador to the north of the Great River, though he had previously placed it to the south of it. Again when he says that the River Saguenay forms islands whereon is store of vines; which his authority did not say. Also that the savages of the river of Saguenay approached the French in friendly fashion and showed them the way to Hochelaga. Also that the Canadians thought the French to be children of the sun. Again, it is a good joke when in the town of Hochelaga he places fifty palaces, as well as the royal dwelling, with three stories. Also that the Christians called the town of Hochelaga Mount Royal. Also that the village of Hochelay is on a point at the mouth of the river of Saguenay, and between Lat. 55° and 60°. Also when he says that the savages worship a God, whom they call Cudouagni; for in truth they have no ritual of worship.

Also when he sets down that ten men, in sign of honour, brought the King of Hochelaga on a skin before the French captain, without saying that he was a paralytic. Likewise that he made himself understood by an interpreter, whereas Jacques Cartier says the contrary, and that for lack of an interpreter he could not understand the people of Hochelaga. Also that the King of Hochelaga besought the said captain to aid him against his enemies, &c.

Now when I consider that these errors of haste befall such an author as Monsieur de Belleforest, a man of sound wit, I am not surprised that they are found here and there in the ancients, and that things are found in them whereof we have as yet no experience. In my opinion one should be content to repeat the errors of the original authors, whom one must needs follow, without going aside to matters not found in them, and wandering beyond the bounds of what they have written; especially when such wandering is at random and serves no good purpose.

One might accuse Captain Cartier of having wantonly indulged his fancy in saying that all the ships of France could be loaded with birds from the island which he named Bird Island; and in truth I deem that a little hyperbolical. But it is certain that on that island there are so many that it is marvellous. We ourselves saw similar islands on our voyage, where all one had to do was to knock down, pick up, and load our boat. Likewise when he says that he chased a two-footed beast, and that in the land of Saguenay are men dressed like us in woollen cloth, others who eat no food, and have no rectum, and others who have but one leg; likewise that further west is a land of Pygmies, and a fresh-water sea. As to the two-footed beast, I am in doubt what I should believe, for there are stranger wonders in nature than that; moreover those lands are not so well explored that one can pronounce on all they contain. But in any case he has his authority who recounted them to him, an old man, who had

passed his life in travelling through many lands. And this authority he forced to come with him before the King, to recount these things to him with his own mouth, in order that every one might judge for himself. As for the fresh-water sea, it is the great lake at the head of the Great River of Canada, of which none of the savages on this side of it has reached the western end; and we have seen by the report made to the said Champlain that it is thirty days' journey in length, which at ten leagues a day makes three hundred leagues. That may well be called a sea by those people, taking sea to mean a great expanse of water. As for the Pygmies, I know by the report of several persons that the savages of the said Great River say that in the mountains of the Iroquois are little men of great valour, whom the more eastern savages fear, and upon whom they dare not make war. As for the men armed to the finger-tips, the same persons have told me that they have seen armour like that described by Cartier, which will resist an arrow. The only point I question in the account of Cartier's voyages is when in speaking of Chaleur Bay he says that the heat there is greater than in Spain. To this I reply that just as one swallow does not make a spring, so one hot day in that bay does not make this a general rule. I question also the statement of the same Cartier that there are meeting-houses and, as it were, colleges, wherein the girls are prostituted, until they marry; and that widows do not re-marry, which we have reserved to speak of in its place.¹ But to return to Champlain, I wish that in addition to the Gougou he had not written that the savages of New France when pressed by hunger devour each other; nor so many discourses on our Holy Faith, which neither through an interpreter nor otherwise can be expressed in the savage tongue. For they have no words which can represent the mysteries of our religion, and it would be impossible to translate even the

¹ Book VI., chap. xii.

Lord's Prayer into their language save by paraphrase. For of themselves they do not know what is sanctification, or the kingdom of Heaven, or supersubstantial bread (which we call daily), or to lead into temptation. The words glory, virtue, reason, beatitude, Trinity, Holy Spirit, angels, archangels, resurrection, paradise, hell, Church, baptism, faith, hope, charity, and an infinity of others are not in use among them. So that at the beginning there will be no need of great Doctors. For of necessity they must needs learn the language of the tribes whom they wish to reduce to the Christian faith ; and to pray in our vulgar tongue, without attempting to impose on them the heavy burden of tongues unknown. This being a matter of custom and of human ordinance, and not of any divine law, it will be the part of prudence in the pastors to teach them carefully and not in ways fantastical, and to seek out the shortest path to their conversion. God grant the means to those that have the will !

CHAPTER XXX

AFTER the exploration of the great river of Canada by Captain Cartier, in the manner related by us above, in 1540, the King appointed as his Lieutenant-General in the new lands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and others adjacent thereto, Messire Jean François de la Roque, known as Monsieur de Roberval, a gentleman of the country of Vimeu in Picardy, to whom he sent his commission on 15th January of that year,¹ empowering him to colonise these lands, to build forts in them, and to take over settlers. With this object his Majesty sent him 45,000 livres by the hand of Master Jean du Val, Treasurer of his Exchequer. Jacques Cartier was named by his Majesty Captain-General and Master-Pilot on all ships employed in this enterprise, which were five in number, of four hundred tons burden, as I find by the accounts of the said sums presented by the said Cartier, which were communicated to me by Monsieur Samuel Georges, burgher of La Rochelle.

Now as I have been unable hitherto to recover this commission to Roberval, I shall content myself with giving my readers that issued shortly afterwards to Cartier, the tenor of which is as follows : ²—

¹ As in the reign of Francis I. the new year still began at Easter, this was really 15th January 1541. The custom of beginning the new year on 1st January began in France with an edict of Charles IX. in 1563. Failure to notice this has led Lescarbot and many other students into error. See Abbé H. Verreau, *Jacques Cartier : Questions de Calendrier civil et ecclésiastique* (Royal Society of Canada, vol. viii., 1890).

The Gregorian calendar was introduced into France and the other Catholic countries in 1582–83. In England the Julian calendar was used, and the year began on 25th March, until 1752.

² Cartier's commission, dated 17th Oct. 1540, was not really given "shortly afterwards," but some months before that of Roberval, which was issued on

*Commission to Captain Jacques Cartier for his voyage of colonisation to the new lands of Canada, Hochelaga, &c.*¹

FRANCIS, by the grace of God King of France, To all those who shall see these present letters, Greeting. Since for the desire to have knowledge and understanding of many countries, said some to be uninhabited, and others to be possessed by savage tribes living without know-

15th January 1541, and will be found in H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie, et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1872), and in translation in Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-23. Roberval's commission thus annulled Cartier's, expressly stating: "and if heretofore we have given any letters or authority to any person contrary to the tenor of his [Roberval's] said letters, these we have at present as at the time revoked, and do revoke, cancel, and annul by these said presents, except as much and for as long as our said lieutenant may wish to tolerate and suffer them." It seems evident that Cartier and his friends had projected an enterprise of their own, when the court favourite stepped into their shoes. Dr. Dawson (*op. cit.*, p. 193), says "this, as pointed out by the late Abbé Verreau (one of the most painstaking and learned scholars of Canada), could only have been caused by the disgrace of Cartier's patron, the Admiral Chabot de Brion. Never was disgrace more unmerited, but it reacted upon Cartier." (See Verreau, in R.S.C., viii., 1890.)

With Dr. Dawson's praise of the Abbé Verreau I am in the fullest accord, but in this case it seems clear that Chabot's disgrace had almost certainly very little to do with it. Dr. Dawson himself points out that, as late as 12th December 1540, Cartier's plans were progressing smoothly; but Chabot had been in prison since early in the year, and in November a special commission had been appointed to adjudge his case. At most it is true that, had he still been in power, Roberval's claim might have been thwarted. On the merits of Chabot, see p. 19, n. 1.

¹ No French account of this third voyage of Cartier to Canada is known to exist. Fragmentary accounts of it, and of the voyage of Roberval are given by Hakluyt, doubtless translated from a lost French original (see Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. viii., pp. 263-89: Glasgow, 1904). The industry of Messrs. Alfred Ramé, Harrisse, Joûon des Longrais, Baxter, and others has discovered a number of documents which throw light on many points, but much still remains obscure. The most complete collection of these documents is given by Mr. Baxter (*op. cit.*), but others still unpublished are in the possession of Mr. Biggar. The best discussion of the various questions in dispute is that of Dr. Dawson (*op. cit.*, pp. 192-209). See also N. E. Dionne, *Jean-François de La Rocque, Seigneur de Roberval*, in R.S.C. for 1899.

ledge of God or usage ¹ of reason, we had long since, at great cost and expense, sent to explore the said lands many good pilots, and others our subjects of good understanding, knowledge, and experience, who from those countries have brought back to us divers whom we have long kept in our kingdom, causing them to be instructed in the love and fear of God, and of His holy law and Christian doctrine, with intent to have them restored to their countries in company with many of our subjects who had good will thereto,² the more easily to persuade the other tribes of those countries to accept our holy faith; and among others we have sent thither our dear and well-beloved Jacques Cartier, who explored the great extent of the lands of Canada and Hochelaga, which are the extreme point of Asia on our westward: which countries he has found, as he has reported to us, rich in many good commodities, and the tribes thereof well made in body and limb, and well disposed in spirit and understanding, of whom he has in like manner brought several to us, to whom we have long granted to behold and to be instructed in our holy faith among our subjects. In consideration whereof, and of their good disposition, our resolve and purpose is to send the said Cartier back to the said lands of Canada and Hochelaga,

¹ An improper use of the word [L.]

² Nothing is said of this repatriation of the Indians in Roberval's commission. The reason is given in the account of the voyage preserved by Hakluyt (vol. viii., p. 263, 1904): "His Majestie was advertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were tenne in number) saving one little girle about tenne yeeres old." So pass from history Donnacona, Taiguragni, and Domagaya. Of the little girl Mr. Baxter says, "This was the little girl given by the chief of Achelaiy to Cartier when on his way to Hochelaga. It would seem probable that Cartier took her with him on his third voyage, as she would be the only medium of intercourse between him and the natives. Nothing in the narrative, however, indicates this." Mr. Baxter's suggestion seems to me unlikely. In the Hakluyt narrative (vol. viii., p. 269), Cartier sets out at some length a visit which he made to this chief, "which in the former voyage had given unto the said Captaine a little girle (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had carried into France)." Surely if she had been on board, some mention would have been made of her.

and as far as the land of Saguenay,¹ if he can penetrate thither, with good store of ships and of men of all kinds, arts, and industries, to push further inland into these countries, to converse with the inhabitants, and if need be to dwell among them, the better to carry out our said purpose, and to do what is agreeable to God our Creator and Redeemer, and to the increase of His holy and hallowed name, and of our mother the Holy Catholic Church, whose eldest son we are called and named. Wherefore it is necessary, for the better order and prompt despatch of this said enterprise, to appoint and establish a Captain-General and Master-Pilot over these ships, who shall have control thereof, and of the persons, officers, and soldiers appointed and provided thereto. Be it known therefore that we, fully trusting in the person of the said Jacques Cartier, and in his good sense, ability, loyalty, prudence, courage, great diligence, and full experience, have for these causes and others moving us thereto, appointed, constituted, and ordained, and do by these presents appoint, constitute, ordain, and establish him Captain-General and Master-Pilot of all the ships and other sea-going vessels ordered by us to be taken on this enterprise and expedition, that the said Jacques Cartier may have, hold, and exercise the said position and charge of Captain-General and Master-Pilot of these ships and vessels with such honours, prerogatives, precedences, franchises, liberties, emoluments, and benefits as shall be by us set aside for him thereto, during our good pleasure. And we have given him and do hereby give him power and authority to place, establish, and appoint over the said ships such lieutenants, masters, pilots, and other officers necessary for the handling and conduct thereof, and in such number as he shall see and know to be needful and necessary

¹ As Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 193, points out, this does not mean the country about the Saguenay River, "but the upper regions from whence the great river came which Cartier saw from the top of Mount Royal—the region where copper was found, and where there was a real fresh water sea of which no man had seen the end."

for the good of the said expedition. Further by these presents we give command to our Lord-Admiral, or Vice-Admiral, that having taken and received from the said Jacques Cartier the due and customary oath, they shall in our name put and place him, or cause him to be put and placed in possession and seisin of the said rank of Captain-General and Master-Pilot ; and that thereof, as likewise of the honours, prerogatives and precedences, franchises, liberties, profits, and benefits which shall be by us to this end ordained, they cause, suffer, and allow him to enjoy and to use fully and peaceably, and that obedience and attention be given him by all such and in such manner as shall be fitting in regard to matters which touch and concern the said rank and charge. You are, moreover, to cause, suffer, and permit him to take our small pinnace named the *Emerillon*, which is now in his possession and which is already old and unseaworthy, to use in repairing such of the ships as shall have need thereof, and it is our will that it shall be taken and used by the said Cartier for the above-mentioned purpose, without his being held to render us any further account or balance-sheet ; of which account and balance-sheet we have discharged and do discharge him by these presents ; by which we do also command our Provosts of Paris, Bailiffs of Rouen, Caën, Orleans, Blois, and Tour, Seneschals of Maine, Anjou, and Guyenne, and all our other bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, judges,¹ and others, our justiciars and officers, both of our kingdom and of our realm of Brittany united thereto, in whose hands are any prisoners accused of or charged with any offence whatsoever, save with the crimes of treason towards our sacred person, or of coining base money, that they straightway for the good of our service in the said enterprise and expedition deliver up, and give over into the hands of the said Cartier, or of his clerks and deputies bearing these presents or a duplicate

¹ The *alloué* was the second judicial officer in a district, and came between the seneschal and the lieutenant.

thereof, such of the said prisoners as he shall think proper, suitable, and capable to serve in the said expedition, to the number of fifty persons,¹ and according to the choice the said Cartier shall make, after they have first been judged and condemned according to their demerits, and to the heinousness of their crimes, if this has not already been done ; and also after satisfaction has first been given to the civil parties interested, if not already done ; on which account, however, it is not our wish that the delivery of their persons into the hands of the said Cartier, should he find them useful, be retarded or delayed, but that the said satisfaction be had from their possessions alone. And it is our will that this delivery of the said accused or charged prisoners be made into the hands of the said Cartier for the above-mentioned purpose by our justiciars and officers respectively, and by each of them in his office, power, and jurisdiction, notwithstanding any oppositions or appeals whatsoever, made or to be made, registered or to be registered, and without the said delivery in the said manner being by this means in any way deferred. And that more may not be taken than the said fifty, it is our will that the delivery made by each of our officers to the said Cartier be written and certified in the margin of these presents, and that further a register thereof be made by them and sent straightway to our well-beloved and trusty Chancellor, that he may know the number and quality of those who have been handed over and delivered. For such is our good pleasure. In witness whereof we have ordered our seal to be affixed to these presents. Given at Saint-Pris² the seventeenth day of October, in the year of

¹ By an order of 12th February 1540-41, given in *Harris*, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-64, and in translation in *Baxter*, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-32, Roberval is allowed to take an unlimited number of prisoners, and a great deal is said of the King's desire to give them a fresh start in a new world "that by this they may recognise the Creator by rendering Him thanks, and amending their lives."

² St. Prix in the department of Seine-et-Oise. It stands on a hill in the forest of Montmorency just north of Paris. Francis I. remained there 10-17 October 1540.

grace 1540, and of our reign the twenty-sixth. Signed thus upon the fold, by order of the King, in the presence of you, my lord the Chancellor, and of others, De la Chesnaye. And sealed with yellow wax upon a strip of the fold.¹

Matters thus arranged, De Roberval and Cartier set sail for Newfoundland, and fortified themselves on Cape Breton, where traces of their dwelling still remain.² But, trusting too much to the favour of the King, without seeking how to live from the country itself; and the King occupied with great matters which at that time distressed France,³ it was not possible to send fresh stores of provisions to those who should have made the country itself capable of supporting them, after such fair encouragement from his Majesty. It may be, too, that De Roberval was summoned to serve the King in Europe, for I find by Cartier's accounts that he took eight months to go in search of him after he had remained there seventeen months.⁴ And I venture with some confidence

¹ The bottom of the parchment was turned up (*le repli*). The seal was then affixed to a strip of the turned-up part, cut partly away, and left hanging by one end. This mode of sealing was rare. Usually, if the bottom was turned up, the seal was affixed to a separate strip of parchment, passed through a hole in the document; if the seal was affixed to a strip, the bottom was not turned up. See A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 626-28.

² This is certainly incorrect. Cartier sailed in May 1541 in advance of Roberval, waited for a time at Newfoundland, and then went on to St. Croix. Roberval did not sail till April 16, 1542, and after touching at Newfoundland, went on up the St. Lawrence as far as Cap Rouge. Theories have been formed that Roberval sailed later in 1541 to Cape Breton, fortified himself, and then returned to France. But records since discovered show that he was in France during the whole of 1541, and the story of his colonising Cape Breton must be given up. Probably Lescarbot confused Cap Breton with Cap Rouge (see Bourinot, *Cape Breton and its Memorials*: Montreal, 1892).

³ War between France and the Emperor broke out again in 1542. One is struck by the way voyages begun in an interval of peace are rendered fruitless by European war. Verazzano's discoveries of 1524 are forgotten amid the rout of Pavia; in the troubled peace from 1530 to 1536 Cartier sets out; from 1536 to 1538 there is war; in the time of quiet which succeeds he again sets out, and again war rings down the curtain.

⁴ In the judgment given by the commissioner to whom were referred Cartier's accounts, and also the decision of a financial dispute which arose

to think that the settlement of Cape Breton was not less disastrous than had been six years before that of St. Croix in the great river of Canada, where Cartier had wintered. For this district is situated in the lands first reached, and on the Gulf of Canada, which is frozen over yearly till the end of May,¹ and there is no manner of doubt that it is wondrous

between Cartier and Roberval (see H. Michelant and Alfred Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534*, pp. 24-32 : Paris, 1865), occur the words : "et en ce qui est du tier navire mettrés pour dix sept mois qu'il a esté audict voiage dudict Cartier, et pour huict mois qu'il a esté à retourner querir ledict Roberval audict Canada." This is assumed by Lescarbot and by many other writers (e.g. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, p. 17), to prove that Cartier made a fourth voyage to Canada to bring back Roberval. If so, this can have been only in the spring of 1543. But various circumstances combine to render such a voyage unlikely. (1) As the late Abbé Hospice Verreau (R.S.C., viii., 1890) pointed out, while the sentence in question shows that one of Cartier's ships went to bring back Roberval, it does not necessarily imply that Cartier himself sailed, and indeed by associating his name with the third voyage and not with the fourth, rather points to his not having gone in person. (2) Documents cited by M. Joüon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier, Documents nouveaux* (Paris, 1888), show that Cartier was present at a baptism on 25th March 1543, and was witness in a lawsuit on 3rd July 1543, in both cases at St. Malo. While it is just possible that his presence at either or both may have been by procuration, this seems very unlikely. (3) H. HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, cites a commission given by the King on 26th January 1543, to Roberval's lieutenant, Paul d'Auxillon, Seigneur de Saineterre, who was at the time in France, to go in search of his master with two ships, and a letter of 11th Sept. 1543, of Roberval to Saineterre, to dispose of the two ships as shall seem best. I agree with Dr. Dawson that this is strong proof that the relief expedition was sent under Saineterre, not under Cartier. (4) It may be added that Cartier and Roberval had parted in anger at Newfoundland in 1542, that Cartier had stolen off to France by night, not without suspicion of treachery, and that he was little likely to go in search of his choleric chief. My opinion, therefore, is that while Saineterre took Cartier's vessel and very likely some of his crew, Cartier himself was not present. Mr. Biggar thinks that the expression used in 1587 by Jacques Noël, Cartier's nephew : "I will not faile to informe myselfe, if there be any means to find out those descriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada," must refer to a third and fourth voyage. But in 1587 Hakluyt knew of Cartier's second voyage only in Ramusio, and in Florio's translation of this Italian version (*vide* Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, 1582, Preface), and I do not see why the "two last voyages" may not have been the second, of the original account of which Hakluyt was at the time in search, and the third.

¹ The Strait of Belle-Isle is blocked by ice till early in June. "The first steam vessels enter the strait between the 9th June and the 25th July, and

harsh and rude, and beneath a sky full merciless. So that this enterprise did not succeed, for lack of being placed in a temperate climate. Which could easily have been done, for the province was of such extent that he could have chosen a spot to southwards, as easily as toward the north.

the last pass outwards between the 11th and 25th November" (*The Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, 4th edition, London, 1907).

Cabot Strait is never frozen over, but from 1st January to 30th April it is unsafe for all save specially built vessels. Sealers attempt it at all times, but are often stuck for days in the ice. "Nearly every year in the spring, or from about the middle of April to the middle of May, a great rush of ice out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence causes a block between St. Paul Island and Cape Ray; this block, which sometimes lasts for three weeks and completely prevents the passage of ships, is known as the Bridge" (*Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, p. 23, 4th edition).

Cape Breton is free from ice at an earlier date. *The St. Lawrence Pilot* (7th edition, London, 1906) says of Sydney and North Sydney:—

"The harbour is usually frozen over between 16th January and 28th February, closing navigation; and it is clear of ice between 25th February and 2nd May. In 1892 and 1895 the harbour was open all the winter. Field ice comes in with easterly winds only. The last vessel usually departs before navigation closes from 16th January to 16th February, and the first vessel arrives after navigation opens from 15th March to 2nd May.

"From 1892 to 1905 the earliest and latest dates of closing and opening of harbour were, at Sydney, closed 25th December 1904 and 8th February 1893, opened 22nd January 1902 and 27th April 1905; at North Sydney, closed 21st January 1900 and 15th February 1898, opened 8th February 1899, and 13th April 1905, but North Sydney was continuously open during the winters of 1900 to 1904."

The evidence seems to show that the climate was still more severe in the times of Cartier and Champlain.

CHAPTER XXXI

IF the project to colonise the land of Canada has hitherto not succeeded, we must not find fault with the land, but accuse our own inconstancy and cowardice. For see how, after the death of King Francis I., voyages were undertaken to Brazil and to Florida, which have had no better success, though these provinces are without winter, and enjoy perpetual verdure. True it is that the universal enemy¹ forced our settlers to leave that country, but that is no excuse for us, and cannot shield us from blame. While hopes were entertained of these more southerly enterprises, and those beyond the equator, the discoveries of Jacques Cartier were forgotten; insomuch that many years passed by during which we French slept, and did nothing memorable at sea; not that there lack adventurers who might have done gallant deeds, but they are neither aided nor upheld by those without whose aid every enterprise is vain. So in the year 1588, when Monsieur Chaton de la Jaunaye and Jacques Noël, Cartier's nephews and heirs, resolved to continue at their own expense the wanderings of their uncle, they suffered great loss, three or four of their boats being set on fire by their own countrymen, insomuch that they were compelled to appeal to the King, to whom they presented their petition, praying to be granted a commission similar to that of their uncle Cartier, quoted above, in consideration of his services, and that in his voyage of 1540 he had expended the sum of sixteen hundred and thirty-eight livres beyond the money he had received, and had not been repaid; asking also as a

¹ The legal term *hostis humani generis*, strictly used only of pirates, was often applied by her enemies to Spain.

help in forming a French settlement a monopoly for twelve years of the trade with the savages of these lands, and especially of the peltry which they collect yearly; and that orders should be issued forbidding all the King's subjects to intervene in this traffic, or to trouble them in the enjoyment of the said monopoly, and of some mines which they had discovered in the interval. This was granted them by letters patent and their commission issued on 14th January 1588. But after all their pains in getting it, they had little, or rather no satisfaction. For straightway see the jealousy of the merchants of Saint-Malo, who took up arms to ruin all they had done, and to hinder the advancement alike of Christianity and of the French name in those lands; as they have since known full well to do in a like manner towards Monsieur de Monts.¹ As soon then as they had word of the said commission, granting the said monopoly, straightway they presented to the King's Privy Council their petition for its revocation. Whereupon the stay which they desired was granted on the 5th of May following.²

It is said that no hindrance must be put upon the liberty to trade with these tribes across the water, which is the natural right of every man. But I should like indeed to ask which is more to be preferred, the Christian religion and the spread of the French name, or the private gain of a merchant

¹ All through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in England, France, and Spain, the struggle went on between the Free Traders and the Monopolists, who upheld the advantages of a "well-regulated trade." The Malouins were Free Traders as against the Monopolists, but owing to Cartier's discoveries claimed certain special privileges for themselves. For their opposition to De Monts, see Books IV. and V., *passim*, and Champlain, *Voyages*, *passim*.

² For the history of this attempt, see Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, pp. 34-35, and the documents cited by Michelant et Ramé, *Relation Originale*, &c. (1867), Joûon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, &c. Hakluyt (vol. viii. pp. 272-74, 1904), has two interesting letters of Jacques Noël.

Biggar, *op. cit.*; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv. (1886); or Justin Winsor, *Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America, 1534-1700* (1894), give good accounts of the progress of discovery from Cartier to Champlain.

who does nothing for the service of God or of the King ? And nevertheless this fair lady, Liberty, has hitherto been the sole hindrance to the spread of Christianity among these poor nomad tribes, and to the planting among them of French colonies, which would have received many of our people, who have since gone to teach our arts and crafts to the Germans, Flemings, English, and other nations. And this same liberty is the cause that through the jealousy of the traders, beavers sell to-day at ten livres apiece,¹ which at the date of Chaton's commission could be bought for about fifty sous. In truth, regard for the faith and the Christian religion well deserves a grant of some favour to those who spend their lives and fortunes in its furtherance, and in a word for the public good. And nothing is more just than that he who lives in a country should eat of the fruit thereof.²

¹ "Eight and a half," in the edition of 1611-12.

² Chapters XXX. and XXXI. appear first in the edition of 1611-12. In that of 1609 Lescarbot does not give Cartier's commission, and has the following picturesque but inaccurate account of Roberval (pp. 433-34) :—

"Mais (comme le Roy témoigne lui même par sa commission) cette entreprise ne fut mise à fin pour les grandes affaires qui seroient survenuës en ce Royaume, ausquelles sa Majesté avoit besoin de ses hommes vaillans et de courage (au premier rang desquels je mets ceux qui suivent la marine) tel qu'estoit ce Roberval, lequel apres avoir commencé quelque batiment au Cap Breton, fut arreté à son retour en France pour le service de son Prince et de sa patrie, à ce d'autant plustot induit qu'il consideroit qu'il valoit mieux conserver ce qui estoit acquis et certain, que de le laisser perdre en cherchant une chose incertaine, et de difficile execution, suivant ce que dit un Poete Latin,

'Non minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri.'

"Joint que ces entreprises sont œuvres de Roy : et le Roy avoit assés à quoy employer son argent aux frais des guerres qu'il avoit à soutenir, ausquelles ce Roberval acquit tant de credit entre la Noblesse de son pais, que le Roy l'appelloit Le petit Roy de Vimeu, à ce que j'ay entendu du sieur De la Roque à present Prevôt de Vimeu, qui se dit de la parenté dudit sieur de Roberval. Il avoit un frere nommé Pierre de la Roque, lequel pour sa valeur eut aussi un soubriquet honorable, estant appelé par le même Roy le gendarme d'Annibal. Je croy qu'il n'estoit pas loin de l'autre en l'expédition de la Nouvelle France. Apres que les guerres eurent pris quelques *interim* par deçà, ces deux champions, qui ne pouvoient demeurer en repos, equipperent quelque navire pour continuer l'entreprise, et sont encore à revenir. Je croy

qu'ils se perdirent contre quelques bancs de glaces, ainsi qu'il arrive quelquefois. Car depuis on n'en a point eu de nouvelles."

"But, as the King himself bears witness by his Commission, this enterprise was not brought to conclusion because of the great matters which soon came to pass in this Kingdom, wherein his Majesty had need of his men of valour and courage (in the first rank of whom I put those who follow the sea) such as was this Roberval, who, after making some beginnings of a fort at Cape Breton, was employed on his return to France for the service of his Prince and country, to which he was the more inclined as of opinion that it was better worth to save what was already won and certain than to let it be lost in searching for what was uncertain and of difficult achievement, following the maxim of a Latin poet that there is 'Virtue no less to keep what one has won.'

"Moreover such enterprises are royal undertakings; and the King had ample employment for his money in the expenses of the wars which he had to sustain, wherein this Roberval won so much renown among the nobles of his district that the King used to call him the little King of Vimeu, as I have heard from Monsieur de la Roque, now Provost of Vimeu, who claims relationship with the said M. de Roberval. He had a brother named Pierre de la Roque, who for his valour had also an honourable nickname, being known by the same King as Hannibal's man-at-arms. I am of opinion that he was not far from his brother's side in the voyage to New France. When the wars on this side of the ocean had a short recess, these two champions, who could not remain idle, fitted up a ship to continue the enterprise, from which they are yet to return. In my opinion they foundered upon an iceberg, as has been known to occur. For they have not since been heard of."

CHAPTER XXXII

INASMUCH as hitherto we have spoken only of vain attempts, not duly supported, I shall add here yet another to finish off this book, that of the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, full of zeal, but to whom the promises made to help in carrying out his plan were not kept.

In the year 1598, the King renewed to the said Marquis the patent of Lieutenant-General in the lands of which we are speaking, granted to him by King Henry III., and gave him his commission, whereupon he embarked with about sixty men, and having as yet no knowledge of the country, disembarked on Sable Island, which lies twenty-five or thirty leagues off Canso. This island is narrow, but some 20 leagues in length, and lies in lat. 44° ; it is more or less barren, but on it are numbers of cattle and swine, as we have told elsewhere.¹ Having disembarked his men and goods, the next thing to do was to seek out some good harbour on the mainland; to this end he went off thither in a small boat, but on his way back was overtaken by a wind so strong and violent that he was compelled to run before it, and in ten or twelve days found himself in France. And to show the small size of his boat, and that he was compelled to yield to the fury of the storm, I have often heard M. de Poutrincourt say that from the deck he used to wash his hands in the sea. On reaching France he was made prisoner by the Duke of Mercœur; and he who had found pardon from the most cruel of gods, Æolus and Neptune, finds no humanity ashore.

¹ Book I., chap. iii.

Meanwhile his colonists remain for five years in misery in the island, quarrel among themselves, and cut each other's throats, so that their numbers grow daily less. During these five years they lived on fish, and on the flesh of the animals of which we have spoken, some of which also they domesticated and from these obtained milk and other little comforts. When the Marquis was set free, he narrated to the King at Rouen what had befallen him. The King bade the pilot Chef-d'hôtel go to the rescue of these poor men when on his voyage to Newfoundland. This he did and found twelve alive, to whom he did not reveal the King's command, wishing to get possession of a large store of hides and sealskins, which they had got together during these five years. In short, on their return to France, they appear before his Majesty clad in these sealskins. The King ordered a sum of money to be given them, and they withdrew. But a suit arose between them and the pilot about the hides and furs which he had wrung from them, though they afterwards came to a friendly settlement.¹ And since through lack of funds the Marquis did not continue his voyages, and died soon after, I purpose to add here only his certified commission, as follows :—

¹ The best account of the attempt of La Roche is given by Mr. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, pp. 38-41. He had made an earlier attempt in 1584; his imprisonment by the Duc de Mercœur was apparently from 1589 to 1596. Mr. Biggar supposes that his long delay before seeking his convict colonists was due to lack of funds; it is, however, quite possible that so turbulent a person may have undergone a second imprisonment between 1599 and 1603. In the edition of 1609 no mention is made of the imprisonment, and La Roche is strongly condemned as a *Fainéant* for leaving his men so long in misery.

For Sable Island, see Rev. George Patterson in R.S.C., vol. xii. (1894), and New Series, vol. iii. (1897).

It is interesting to note that in 1597 an Englishman, Charles Leigh, made an attempt to colonise the almost equally unsuitable Magdalen Islands. See Hakluyt, vol. viii. pp. 166 *sq.* (ed. 1904), *Dictionary of National Biography*, and British Museum Add. MSS. 21,505, f. 477.

The King's edict setting forth the powers and commission granted by his Majesty to the Marquis of Coëtarmoal and of La Roche, for the conquest of the lands of Canada, Labrador, Sable Island, Norombega, and countries adjacent.

HENRY, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, to all those who shall see these present letters, greeting. The late King Francis I., on the information given him that in the isles and lands of Canada, Sable Island, Newfoundland, and others adjacent, lands very fertile and abundant in all sort of pleasant things, there were many different tribes well made in body and limb and well disposed in spirit and understanding, who live without any knowledge of God, to extend his knowledge thereof ordered these lands to be explored by various good pilots and men of experience. And having found it to be true, and being driven by his zeal and affection for the exaltation of the name of Christ, on 15th January 1540 he gave powers to Jean François de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, for the conquest of these lands. But as this was not carried out, either then or since, so great were the trials which came upon this Crown, we have therefore resolved in order to complete so good a work, and so holy and laudable an enterprise, to give the charge of this conquest, in the room of the said Lord of Roberval now deceased, to some valiant and skilful person, whose fidelity and affection to our service is known to us, with the same powers, authority, prerogatives, and pre-eminences as were accorded to the late Lord of Roberval by the said letters patent of the late King Francis I.

Wherefore we make known that for the great and entire confidence which we have in the person of our well-beloved and trusty Troilus du Mesgoüez, Knight of our Order,¹

¹ *L'Ordre royal du Saint Esprit*, the Royal Order of the Holy Ghost, founded by Henry III. in 1578. See A. Chérueil, *Dictionnaire des Institutions de la France* (1855).

Councillor in our Council of State, and captain of fifty men-at-arms in our Household Cavalry,¹ Lord of La Roche, Marquis of Coëtarmoal, Baron of Laz, Viscount of Carentan and of St. Lo in Normandy, Viscount of Trevallo, Lord of La Roche, Gommard, and Kermoalec, of Gonidec, Bontéguigno and Liscouët, and in his laudable virtues, qualities, and merits; also in the entire affection which he has to the good of our service and the advancement of our affairs; for these causes and others moving us thereto, in conformity to the will of the late King our immediate predecessor, our much honoured lord and brother, who had already made choice of his person, for the carrying out of this enterprise, we have made, and do by these presents signed by our hand, hereby make, create, ordain, and establish him our Lieutenant-General in the said lands of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the river of the great Bay,² Norombega, and the lands adjacent to the said provinces and rivers, which are of great length and extent, and uninhabited by the subjects of any Christian prince. And for this holy work and the increase of the Catholic faith, we do establish him as guide, chief, governor, and captain of the said enterprise: likewise of all ships and sea-going vessels, and also of all persons, whether soldiers, sailors, or others appointed by us, who shall be chosen by him for the said enterprise and undertaking; with power and special command to pick out and choose the captains, ship-masters, and pilots; to command, ordain, and dispose of the same under our authority; to take, carry off, and cause to set forth from the ports and havens of our realm the ships and vessels, rigged, fitted-out, and provided with

¹ The Compagnies d'Ordonnance were the first regular cavalry established in France, having been founded by Charles VII. in 1439. As they were closely attached to the King's person, and were largely recruited from the nobility, "Household Cavalry" seems to me the best English equivalent. They played a leading part in the wars of the sixteenth century. See A. Chéruel, *op. cit.*

² This is the river of Canada [L.].

men, provisions, artillery, and other things necessary for the said enterprise, with power in virtue of our commissions to levy the necessary soldiers, and to have them led by their captains to the place of their embarkation, to go and come, pass and repass, to the said foreign parts, to disembark and enter them, and to take possession thereof for us as well by peaceful means and friendly arrangement if such may be, as by force of arms, violence, and all other unfriendly means, to storm towns, castles, forts, and settlements, to reduce them to our obedience, to found and erect others ; to make laws, statutes, and political ordinances, to see that they are kept, observed, and maintained, to punish evil-doers, to pardon and absolve them as he shall see fit, provided always that these lands be not occupied, or under the subjection and obedience of any princes and potentates our friends, allies, and confederates.¹ And in order to augment and increase the goodwill, courage, and affection of those who shall be of service in the execution and carrying out of this enterprise, and especially of settlers in those lands, we have given him power that out of those lands which he may win for us on this voyage he may grant leases to be held by those to whom they are made out and their successors in full right of property : to wit, to the noblemen and those whom he shall judge men of worth, he may grant fiefs, seigniories, castellanies, counties, viscounties, baronies, and other dignities to be held of us, such as he shall judge suitable to their services, on condition that they shall be subject to military service for the protection and defence thereof ; and to the others of less condition, on such annual charges and payments as he shall think fit, whereof we are willing that they should be quit for the first six years, or for such other time as our said lieutenant shall think fit and shall deem necessary ; saving always their duty and service in war. Also that on the return

¹ See Abbé H. Verreau, *Jacques Cartier ; Questions de droit internationale* (R.S.C., 1891).

of our said lieutenant he may share among those who have made the voyage with him the gains and personal profits arising from the enterprise, and shall make a present of one-third to his fellow-voyagers, shall retain one-third for his own expenses and disbursements, and shall assign the other third to be expended on public works, fortifications of the country, and military expenses. And that our said lieutenant may be the better assisted and seconded in his enterprise, we have given him power to summon the assistance in his said array of all noblemen, merchants, and others our subjects who shall wish to take part in or to share in the voyage, to pay for men and sailors, and to equip ships at their own expense. This, or any trade thither, we most strictly forbid them to engage in without the knowledge and consent of our said lieutenant, on pain if found guilty of loss of all their vessels and merchandise. We also pray and require all princes and potentates our allies and confederates, their lieutenants and subjects, in case our said lieutenant have any need or necessity thereof, to give him aid, succour, comfort, and favour in his enterprise. We enjoin and command all our subjects who may chance to meet him by land or sea, to aid him herein and to join forces with him ; revoking from henceforth all powers which may have been given both by the Kings our predecessors and by ourselves to any persons for any cause or occasion whatsoever to the prejudice of the said Marquis our Lieutenant-General. And inasmuch as in the execution of the said voyage it will be necessary to execute various contracts and letters, we have from this moment validated and approved them, and do hereby validate and approve them, as likewise the signatures and seals of our said lieutenant and of others commissioned by him to this end. And inasmuch as some mischance may come upon our said lieutenant, through sickness or absence, and as on his return he must leave behind one or more lieutenants, it is our will and intention that he may name and appoint such in writing

or in such other way as to him shall seem good, with power equal or inferior to that we have given him. And in order that our lieutenant may the more easily bring together the number of persons of either sex necessary to him for the said voyage and enterprise, we have given him power to take, choose, select, and levy in our said kingdom, lands, estates, and seigniories, such persons as he shall judge to be fitting, useful, and necessary for the enterprise, who shall agree to go with him, whom he shall march and lead from the places where he has levied them to the place of embarkation. And since we can have no particular knowledge of the said countries and strange peoples to specify more precisely the power which we intend to give to our said Lieutenant-General, it is our will and pleasure that he have the same power, might, and authority as was granted by the late King Francis to Monsieur de Roberval, though they be not here specified in such detail ; and that in this charge he may do, arrange, and ordain all matters ordinary and extra-ordinary pertaining to the said enterprise, as he shall judge to be for our service, and as the necessity of the case demands, and all in the same form and manner as we ourselves would and could do if we were there present in person, although the case might require a more specific command ; making valid from henceforth all that shall by our said lieutenant be done, said, decreed, ordained, and established, contracted, capitulated, and settled, whether by arms, friendship, alliance, or otherwise in whatever mode and manner may or can be for the purpose of the said enterprise, whether by sea or land ; and by these presents we have approved, sanctioned, and ratified all thereof, and do hereby approve, sanction, and ratify it ; we do avow and accept it, and it is our will that it be held good and valid, as if it had been done by ourselves.

Moreover we give command to our trusty and well-beloved lord, the Count of Chiverny, Chancellor of France,¹

¹ Philippe Hurault de Chiverny (1528-1599).

and to our trusty and well-beloved councillors, and to all in office in our High Courts, our great Council, bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, judges, and their lieutenants and all others our justiciars and officers each in his right, as is his duty, that as we have this day taken and received from our said lieutenant the oath customary in such a matter, they shall cause, allow, and suffer him to enjoy and to make full and peaceable use thereof, and shall obey and pay attention to him, and to all those to whom it shall appertain in matters which touch and concern our said lieutenancy.

Further we command all our lieutenant-generals, the governors of our provinces, our admirals, vice-admirals, masters of ports, harbours and channels, that they give to him and to such as he shall authorise, each within the extent of his jurisdiction, aid, comfort, passage, succour, and assistance, whereof he shall have need. And inasmuch as these presents may require to be shown in various and divers places, it is our will that to a copy of them, duly collated by one of our trusty and well-beloved councillors, notaries, or secretaries, or made in presence of notaries royal, credence be given as to the present original. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof we have ordered our seal to be attached to these presents. Given at Paris the twelfth day of January, in the year of grace 1598, and of our reign the ninth.

(Signed) HENRY.¹

ROYAL LETTERS MANDATORY TO THE SUPREME COURT OF ROUEN

HENRY, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre : to our trusty and well-beloved councillors, officers

¹ Book III. of the edition of 1617-18 ends here, but we have added two documents given by Lescarbot in his edition of 1609.

This charter to La Roche, and that to De Monts at the beginning of Book IV., may be compared with the letters patent issued in 1606 by James I. and VI. of Great Britain to the Virginia Company, given in Alex. Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (1890).

of our Supreme Court of Rouen, Greeting. Having recently, in imitation of our predecessor, the late King Francis I., for the increase of our holy Christian faith, and for various other considerations moving us thereto, resolved to carry out the enterprise begun in the time of the late King Francis for the conquest of Sable Island, Norombega, the new-found-lands of Canada, and other countries adjacent ; and having given the charge of this conquest to our trusty and well-beloved Troilus de Mesgoüez, Knight of our Order, Councillor in our Council of State, and Captain of fifty men-at-arms in our Household Cavalry, Lord and Marquis of La Roche, whom we have made and appointed our Lieutenant-General in the said enterprise ; and wishing to furnish our said lieutenant with the means of aiding us therein, as he has goodwill so to do, and fully to equip the armies which we shall send thither to this intent with men taught to war and to all other arts and crafts, and also with some of the common people of both sexes, to people and dwell within the said land ; and inasmuch as for the great distance of these lands, and the fear of shipwreck and of mishaps at sea, as well as for the regret which many have to leave behind their goods, parents, and friends, they fear to make the said voyage, or after making it of their free will, would be loth to remain in the said lands after the return of our said lieutenant, whereby through lack of a sufficient number of servants and other volunteers to people the said lands, the said voyage cannot successfully be accomplished so soon as we desire ; wishing to provide against this we have thought good to order that there be given and delivered over to our said lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, as many criminals and malefactors of either sex as he shall choose, who are detained in the prisons and gaols of our Supreme Courts, Chief Council, or of all such other our jurisdictions as shall seem good to him, or to his said clerks and deputies, and such as they shall judge fit, useful, and necessary to transport to the said lands, whose trials have

been held and completed, and upon whom judgment of death has been pronounced and not appealed against; and in case of appeal, after the sentences have been confirmed by our sovereign courts, save always the criminals in prison, whom we have not been wont to pardon, but to set free only at our solemn entries.¹ Likewise we have set aside and destined for him the said malefactors who, as we have said, have been condemned to everlasting banishment, or to the galleys for life; it being always understood that all the said criminals shall be required to provide for the outlays and expenses of their provisions and other necessities for the first two years, and for the freighting of the ships which carry them to the said lands over-seas, and also for their safe conduct to the havens and towns whence our armies shall set forth, for which they may treat with our said lieutenant and his clerks, for which purpose we grant unto them release and deliverance of their goods which were taken and seized by reason of crimes and offences by them committed, with exception always of the interests of private parties concerned therein, and of the fines adjudged to Ourselves, yet without deferring the delivery of their persons into the hands of our said lieutenant, his clerks or deputies; on condition also, that should the said prisoners return from the said voyage without our express permission, the sentence to which they were at first condemned shall be executed upon them, without hope of mercy; reserving nevertheless the right to take into consideration the services which they shall render us on the said voyage, as shown by the report made to us thereof by our said lieutenant; and it is our will that these criminals be made known to and received by our commissioners appointed or to be appointed to take the oath from those who shall go upon the said voyage. And to the end that our said

¹ This is apparently the meaning of this obscure passage. What class of criminals were specially reserved for the royal pardon at the King's accession, first entrance into Parliament, and other such occasions, I cannot say.

lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, may make choice and selection of the prisoners, of any age, quality, or condition whatsoever, it is our will and pleasure that by the clerks of each district and jurisdiction, the jailers of the said dungeons and the others to whom it shall pertain, the registers of the said prisoners and the causes of their imprisonment, shall be shown to them without refusal, delay, or respite.

Likewise We do command, ordain, and enjoin upon you that you cause the said condemned prisoners of whatever rank, quality, or condition they may be, as is set forth above, to be delivered to our said lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, and that you cause the import of the above order to be observed, kept, and maintained in all points, staying and making stay of all troubles and hindrances to the contrary, imposing with this object perpetual silence on our Attorneys-General, their substitutes, and all others. All this is to be done notwithstanding any oppositions or appeals whatsoever, for which and without prejudice to which it is our will that no stay be made, and notwithstanding any ordinances, letters mandatory, prohibitions and orders contrary hereto, all which in this regard we have annulled and do hereby annul. And since our lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, may have need of these presents in many and divers places, it is our will that to a certified copy thereof duly compared with the original, credence be given as to the original itself; for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris, 12th January, in the year of grace 1598, and of our reign the ninth.

(Signed) HENRY.

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF ROUEN

The Court, in its chambers assembled, has scrutinised the letters patent given at Paris on 12th January and the other letters and royal declarations of the same day, whereby our

Lord the King, having resolved, in imitation of the late King Francis I., for the increase of the holy Christian Faith, and for many other considerations to carry out the enterprise begun in the time of the said King Francis, for the conquest of the isles of Sable, Norombega, the new-found-lands of Canada and other lands adjacent, and has given the charge of the said conquest to Messire Troilus de Mesgoüez, Knight of the Royal Order, Councillor in his Council of State, Captain of fifty men-at-arms in his Household Cavalry, Lord and Marquis of La Roche, whom our said Lord the King has made and appointed his Lieutenant-General in the said enterprise. And wishing to provide for carrying out the said enterprise, and for peopling the said lands, the said Lord and King has among other things thought good that there be handed over and delivered to his said lieutenant, his clerks and deputies, such a number as he shall think good of criminals and malefactors of both sexes, detained in the prisons and gaols of the High Courts, great Council, and all other such jurisdictions as shall seem good to him and to his said clerks and deputies, and whom they shall judge fit and necessary to transport to the said lands, whose trials have already been held and perfected, and upon whom sentence of death has been pronounced and not appealed against; and in case of appeal, after the sentences have been confirmed by our sovereign courts; save always the criminals in prison, whom our said Lord the King has not been wont to pardon but to set free only at his solemn entries. Likewise, he has set aside and destined for him the said malefactors who, as has been said, have been condemned to everlasting banishment or to the galleys for life, on the charge and condition that where the said prisoners shall return from the said voyage without the express permission of the said Lord our King, the sentence passed upon them shall be executed without hope of mercy, which our said Lord the King reserves to himself to grant to them according to the service which

they shall render him on the said voyage ; and on other charges and conditions, as in the said letters is more at large expressed. On due consideration the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney-General is :—

The said Court in its chambers assembled has ordered and does hereby order that the said letters patent shall be enregistered in its registers to be executed and exercised by the said Mesgoüez, Marquis de la Roche, according to their form and tenor, and to hold good until the end of the year 1599 only, as regards the delivery of the prisoners, criminals, and malefactors, who during that time shall be detained in the prisons of the dungeon ¹ of the said Court, and other prisons of this jurisdiction, who shall be delivered to the said Marquis de la Roche or his clerks, to take them from the prisons or cause them to be so taken, and to cause them to embark one week after they have come forth from the prisons, save and except the prisoners who shall be detained for case and crime of high treason in the first degree, and counterfeiting coin, and those condemned to the galleys. Saving always that if the said criminals who have been condemned to the galleys for life are not removed by the commissioners of the said galleys within three months of their condemnation, they also shall be delivered to the said Marquis de la Roche or his clerks ; saving also that for other crimes order may be given by the said Court in each particular case, and that the inferior judges shall be forbidden to deliver up any prisoners guilty of capital crimes till they have first sent to the said Court the records of their trial, and the charges and informations laid against the prisoners, that fit and proper deliberation may be had thereon, and order made. Provided always that delivery of the said prisoners to the said Marquis de la Roche, his clerks and deputies, shall only be made in the presence of

¹ The meaning of *conciergerie* here is doubtful. It may mean simply "the prisoners in charge of the porter," just as in England prisoners of the Privy Council were often committed to the care of a messenger.

the royal officers of the district called thereto, and on presentation previously made by the said clerks of the power given them by the said De Mesgoüez, Marquis de la Roche, and on their leaving both with the clerks and with the guards and jailors of the said prisons respectively receipts for the prisoners whom they have taken. Provided also that to the said judges in ordinary of the places where the said prisoners are embarked, or to other commissioners thereto appointed, they shall give an attested certificate of the names and surnames of the said prisoners, a list whereof shall be kept by the said judges who shall send it to the clerk's office of their Courts and jurisdictions, that recourse may be had thereto when need be, and to this end the certified copies of the said letters, as also the present order, shall be sent to the bailiffs of this jurisdiction, or to their lieutenants, to see to the execution thereof, and to give assistance, comfort, and aid to the said Marquis de la Roche, his clerks and deputies, wherever needful and necessary, for the accomplishment of the said letters, and of the King's will, who shall be supplicated to deign to provide money to take upon the said voyage, and to settle in the said country a certain number of healthy paupers of both sexes. Ordered at Rouen in the said High Court, 2nd March, 1598.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED THE VOYAGES
OF MONSIEUR DE MONTS AND OF
MONSIEUR DE POUTRINCOURT

CHAPTER I

IN this book I wish to tell the story of an enterprise at once the most valiant and the least assisted and helped of all that we French have attempted in the colonisation of new lands over sea.¹ The story centres round Monsieur de Monts, by name Pierre du Gua, a nobleman of Saintonge,²

¹ From this point on I have had the advantage of comparing with my own the translation of Erondelle. See Translator's Preface, p. xviii. Large extracts from it are given in Purchas, vol. xviii., pp. 226-297 (1905-7).

² Pierre de Gua, or du Guast, was born in Saintonge about 1560, and fought on the Protestant side in the wars of religion, receiving as a reward from Henry IV. the governorship of Pons in Saintonge. He seems to have made several voyages to Canada, and was a passenger in Chauvin's expedition of 1600 (see Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, p. 42). After the failure of his plans of colonisation, he retired to his governorship of Pons (see Champlain, ed. Laverdière, vol. v. p. 229; p. 885 of continuous pagination), where Champlain visited him in 1611. The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* says that he died at Paris, heart-broken at the failure of his enterprise, in 1611, and this mistake has been frequently copied. He was certainly alive in 1617, when he drew up articles for the new Company (Champlain, in Laverdière, v. p. 312; continuous pagination, 968), and wrote a letter to the well-known Louis Hébert (see Harris, *Notes pour servir, &c.*, pp. 44-45). According to the Abbé Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* (1861-65), vol. i. p. 201, he was, in 1622, living in retirement in Saintonge, but took a share in the new company with De Montmorency at its head. According to Charlevoix (Shea's *Charlevoix*,

who,¹ seeing the quiet in France caused by the happy issue of the peace negotiations at Vervins,² my own birthplace, proposed to the King a plan for establishing a permanent colony in the said lands over-sea without in any way drawing on his Majesty's purse.³ The privileges for which he asked differed little from those which, as we have already seen, had been granted to Etienne Chaton, Sieur de la Jaunaye, and to the sea-captain Jacques Noël, the nephews and legatees of the late Jacques Cartier; though of this previous request of theirs Monsieur de Monts was quite ignorant. His plan having been approved of, letters patent were at once sent him constituting him Lieutenant-General of the King in such of the lands comprised under the name of New France as lay within certain degrees of latitude; and as a necessary consequence other letters forbidding all subjects of his Majesty save the said Monsieur de Monts and his associates to traffic in furs or aught else with the inhabitants of these districts, under pain of heavy penalties. These letters ran as follows: ⁴—

1144) the voyage made to Canada in 1628 by Champlain was due "à quelques intérêts de M. de Monts." He had, however, died before Champlain published his edition of 1632 (Laverdière, v., p. 324; continuous pagination, 1308). Mr. Biggar quotes Beaurepaire, "Notes sur Pierre de Gua," in *La Normandie* (Rouen, 1893), pp. 10-11; this I have been unable to consult.

¹ The edition of 1611-12 says here "lequel ayant le cœur porté à choses hautes," "daring and adventurous by nature." Lescarbot's reason for omitting this compliment in his later edition is unknown.

² The peace of 1598 between Henry IV. of France and Philip II. of Spain. See Introduction.

³ Such a proviso was indispensable in any colonial proposition made to Henry IV., as it was later with his grandson, Charles II. of England. In his introduction to the edition of 1609, Lescarbot speaks of "*le Roy qui ne veut rien déboursier*" (p. 451). Henry himself knew and frequently jested about his own niggardliness.

⁴ The letters are taken from a small volume of documents relative to De Monts' undertaking, published at Paris in 1605, now extremely rare. See H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir, &c.*, No. 15. In the *Massachusetts Archives; Documents Collected in France*, i., p. 435, is a copy of De Monts' proposition to the King, dated 6th November 1603, with the King's remarks, and of the letters patent granted him, signed at Paris on 18th December 1603.

De Monts did not get his patent without the opposition of the King's great

The King's Commission to Monsieur de Monts for the colonisation of the lands of La Cadie,¹ Canada, and other places in New France (together with the prohibition forbidding all others to traffic with the savages of the said lands).

HENRY by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, to our dear and well-beloved Monsieur de Monts, Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the King's Chamber, Greeting. As our greatest care and labour is now and has ever been, since our accession to this Crown, to maintain and preserve it in its ancient dignity, grandeur, and splendour, and so far as lawfully may be to extend and widen the bounds and limits thereof; we therefore, being long since informed of the situation and condition of the countries and territory of La Cadie; moved more especially by a singular zeal and by a pious and steadfast resolution which we have taken, with the aid and assistance of God, who is the Creator, Dispenser, and Protector of all kingdoms and states, to bring about the conversion to Christianity of the tribes inhabiting this country, who are now God-less barbarians, without faith or religion, and to lead and instruct them in the belief and profession of

minister, Sully. "Comme la navigation du Sieur de Monts pour aller faire des peuplades en Canada, du tout contre notre avis, d'autant que l'on ne tire jamais de grandes richesses des lieux situez au dessous de quarante degrez," "wholly against our advice, for much wealth is never drawn from regions north of the fortieth parallel."—Sully, *Œconomies Royales* (Paris, 1664), ii. chap. xxvi. p. 246.

¹ This is the earliest reference to this name in a public document. Champlain spells it in different ways in different places, though invariably with an *r* in his voyage of 1603. Arcadie, Accadie, Acadie, L'Arcadie, L'Accadie, L'Acadie, are found in writers of the time, and several Latinised forms ending in *ia*. It is a common Indian termination; e.g. Shubenacadie, Tracadie, Passamaquoddy, &c., which is almost certainly the Micmac word for a place, or region. Professor Ganong, however, gives strong reasons for considering the resemblance to be a mere coincidence, and for considering Acadie to be a corruption of Arcadie or Arcadia. See Denys, *Description and Natural History*, &c., ed. Ganong (Champlain Society, 1908), p. 126 n.

our faith and religion, and to bring them out of the ignorance and infidelity in which they are sunk; having also long since seen, by the report of the ship-captains, pilots, merchants, and others who for many years have visited, frequented, and trafficked with the various tribes of these parts, how fruitful, advantageous, and useful to us, our estates, and subjects would be the occupation, possession, and colonisation thereof, for the great and evident profit to be drawn from the great and frequent intercourse which will arise with the tribes who dwell there, and from the trade and commerce which by this means can with assurance be begun and carried on; for these causes We, with full confidence in your great prudence, and in the knowledge and experience which you have of the character, condition, and situation of the said country of La Cadie, drawn from the different navigations, voyages, and visits which you have made to these lands and to others neighbouring and adjacent thereto; with full assurance that when this our resolution and intention is entrusted to you, you will with wisdom execute and carry it out to the perfection which we desire, with courage and valour no less than with diligence; we have therefore expressly commissioned and appointed you, and do by these presents signed with our hand, commission, order, make, constitute and appoint you our Lieutenant-General to represent our person in the countries, territories, coasts, and confines of La Cadie, commencing from the fortieth degree unto the forty-sixth; and within the said limits or any part of them, as far and to such distance inland as may be possible, to establish, extend, and make known our name, power, and authority, and to subject, submit, and render obedient thereto all the tribes of this land, and those adjacent; and by this means and all others that are lawful to summon and instruct them, provoke and rouse them to the knowledge of God and to the light of the Christian faith and religion, to establish it among them, and in the exercise and profession thereof to maintain, keep, and

preserve the said peoples and all others that dwell in those parts ; and in peace, repose, and tranquillity to bear rule there as well by sea as by land ; to issue ordinances and decisions, and to carry out everything which you shall judge expedient and practicable to maintain, keep, and preserve the said regions under our power and authority by the forms, ways, and means prescribed in our ordinances. And that they may have regard thereto, we do further empower you to commission, appoint, and constitute, in the first instance, all officers, whether for war or for justice and police, and thenceforward to nominate and present them to us that we may place them, and may grant such letters, titles, and provisions as shall be necessary. And we do further empower you, as need shall arise, on taking the advice of prudent and capable persons, to prescribe, subject to our good pleasure, laws, statutes, and ordinances, conformable in all possible respects unto our own, more especially in regard to such matters and affairs as are not therein provided for ; in the same manner to treat for and to make peace, alliance, and confederation, lasting friendship, correspondence and communication with the said peoples and their princes, or such others as have power and rule over them ; to form, maintain, and sedulously observe the treaties and alliances upon which you and they shall agree, provided that they on their part do likewise, and failing this, to make open war upon them to constrain and bring them to such terms as you shall judge necessary for the honour, obedience, and service of God, and the establishment, maintenance, and preservation of our authority among them ; so far at least as may ensure that you and all our subjects may go out and in among them in full assurance, liberty, intercourse, and communication, and may there trade and traffic in friendship and in peace ; to give and grant them favours and privileges, positions and honours. It is our further wish and decree that the whole of this said power shall be exercised by you over all our subjects and others who shall voyage thither with intent to

dwell, traffic, trade, and reside in these parts ; that you may hold, take, reserve, and appropriate for yourself whatever of the said lands you wish, and shall see to be the most advantageous and fit for your control, rank, and use, that you may divide off such parts and portions as you see fit, giving and attributing to them such titles, honours, rights, powers, and liberties as you shall deem necessary, in accordance with the character, condition, and merits of the people of the country, or of others. You shall especially people, cultivate, and settle the said lands as promptly, carefully, and wisely as time, place, and circumstance will permit ; with this end in view make or cause to be made explorations and surveys along the sea coasts and other districts of the mainland, which you shall order and enjoin within the said region extending from the fortieth degree unto the forty-sixth, or otherwise so far and to such distance inland as may be possible, along the said coasts and on the mainland ; you shall carefully cause to be sought out and surveyed all manner of mines, of gold, silver, copper, and other metals and minerals, causing such metals to be dug, raised, refined, and purified, that they may be brought into commercial use and disposed of in accordance with the prescriptions of the edicts and regulations which we have made in this kingdom concerning the profit and emolument to be drawn from them, by you or by those thereto appointed by you, reserving for ourselves only the ten per cent. royalty on the gold, silver, and copper, granting to you all our dues from the other said metals and minerals, to assist you in sustaining the great expense which this position may bring.¹ It is, however, our will that for the surety and convenience both of yourself and of all those our subjects who shall go to the said lands whether to dwell or to trade, as generally for that of all others who shall settle

¹ By the charter granted in 1606 by James I. of England to the Virginia Company, they were to pay him a royalty of 20 per cent. on the gold and silver, and of 6½ per cent. on the copper.

there under our power and authority, you shall cause to be built and constructed one or more forts, public places, towns, and all such other houses, dwellings, and places of habitation, ports, harbours, shelters, and barracks as you shall deem fit, useful, and necessary for the execution of the said enterprise ; and shall establish garrisons of armed men for their protection. For which purposes you are permitted to make use of and to impress all vagabonds, idlers, and masterless men, both in town and country, and all criminals condemned to perpetual banishment, or to exile from the kingdom for at least three years, provided always that the said impressment be with the knowledge and consent and on the authority of our officers. And besides all this, and all such other prescriptions, commands, and ordinances as have been laid upon you by the commissions and powers given to you by our well-beloved cousin, M. d'Anville,¹ Lord High Admiral of France, in all that regards the office and charge of the Admiralty in the arrangement, furtherance, and execution of the above-mentioned affairs, we do further in general empower you to do in our name and authority for the conquest, settlement, colonisation, and preservation of the said land of La Cadie, and of the coasts and territories neighbouring and dependent thereon, everything which we ourselves would and could do if we were present in person, should the case require a more special ordinance than we have enjoined by these presents ; to the contents whereof we do command, order, and most expressly enjoin all our justiciars, officials, and subjects to conform themselves ; to obey and give heed to you in all and sundry things above-mentioned or analogous, under all circumstances ; and further in the execution thereof to render you all aid and comfort, armed assistance, and help whereof you shall stand in need, and whereof you shall make

¹ Charles de Montmorency, Baron de Damville, younger brother of the Duc de Montmorency, became Admiral of France in 1593. In 1610 his barony was raised to a dukedom.

requisition, on pain of rebellion and of disobedience. And to the end that no one may allege ignorance of this our intention, or seek to interfere with the whole or any part of the charge, dignity, and authority which by these presents we do give you, We have of our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, revoked, withdrawn, and declared null and void henceforth and from this present, all other powers and commissions, letters and orders given and delivered to any person whatsoever for discovery, conquest, settlement, and colonisation throughout the whole extent of any of the said lands from the fortieth degree unto the forty-sixth. And we do further command and order all our said officers of whatever quality and condition that these presents, or an authorised copy thereof, duly compared with the original by one of our well-beloved and trusty counsellors, notaries, and secretaries, or other notary royal, they shall at your request, pursuit, and earnest desire, or at that of our law officers, cause to be read, published, and registered in the registers of their jurisdictions, powers, and districts, putting a stop in so far as in them lies, to all troubles and hindrances contrary thereto. For such is our pleasure.

Given at Fontainebleau the eighth day of November, in the year of Grace 1603, and of our reign the fifteenth.

(Signed) HENRY.

Lower down : By order of the King, POTIER. Sealed on a strip of the parchment in yellow wax.¹

¹ Letters patent at this time bore the King's signature, the counter-signature of his secretary, and the Great Seal. A seal might either be attached to the parchment by strings, or strips of tape or leather (*sur double queue*), or, as in this case, be attached to a strip of the parchment itself, partially but not wholly cut away for the purpose (*sur simple queue*). Letters patent and other documents of a permanent nature were sealed with green wax ; those of a temporary nature generally with yellow. To this rule there were occasional exceptions ; the Edict of Nantes was sealed with yellow wax. See Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 627-28, 759, 771-75.

COMMISSION FROM THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL¹

CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY, Lord of Damville and of Meru, Count of Escondigni, Viscount of Melun, Baron of Chateauneuf, Gounord, Mesles, and Savoisi, Knight of the Royal Orders, Councillor in his Majesty's Council of State and Privy Council, Captain of one hundred men-at-arms in his Household Cavalry, Admiral of France and of Brittany, to all who shall see these present letters, Greeting. Monsieur de Monts has given us to understand that, impelled by the singular desire and devotion which he has ever had for the service of the King, and seeking every possible occasion again to give to his Majesty some faithful proof thereof, he has thought that he could not bear more certain witness thereto, now that it has pleased God to grant his kingdom a firm and happy peace, than to take in hand a voyage, such as he has already made, in order to discover far-off coasts and lands, whether unpeopled or inhabited by races as yet savage, barbarous, and without religion, laws, or culture, there to dwell and fortify himself, and to seek to lead the nations thereof to the profession of the Christian faith, to civilisation of manners, an ordered life, practice and intercourse with the French for the gain of their commerce; and finally to their recognition of and submission to the authority and domination of the Crown of France, and especially for the discovery and colonisation of the coasts and countries of La Cadie, both in view of the climate, the goodness of the soil, the advantageous situation of the said province, the intercourse and friendship already begun with some of the tribes found there; and also on the advice and report lately made by the captains recently returned thence of the number and quantity of good mines found therein, the

¹ This is not given in the editions of 1611-12 and 1617-18, but has been reprinted from that of 1609.

working of which will bring much profit and advantage ; for these reasons, considering how greatly this virtuous and praiseworthy design of the said M. de Monts is worthy of all recommendation, and how greatly the happy issue thereof under the conduct of a man of such valour and merit, and impelled by so pure an affection, may one day be of use and advantage to the service of his Majesty, the profit of his subjects, and the honour of France ; and having also received information from various quarters that certain strangers design to go to set up colonies and plantations in and about the said country of La Cadie, should it remain much longer, as it has hitherto remained, deserted and abandoned ;¹ for these causes, and being well and duly informed of the will and intention of his Majesty, who on the representation made thereof by us to him, has given a most prompt and favourable assent to carrying out this enterprise, and has granted to the said M. de Monts to explore and colonise all the said coasts and shores of La Cadie, from the 40th to the 46th degree, and as far inland as he shall go, and this as our Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant-General both by sea and land in all the said countries ; We in virtue of our power and authority as Admiral, in accord alike with the old and new regulations of the navy and with the decision to-day given in this matter in the Council of State of his Majesty, have commissioned, ordained, and deputed, and do commission, ordain, and depute by these presents the said M. de Monts, to be our Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant-General in all the seas, coasts, islands, roadsteads, and shores found in and about the said province and district of La Cadie, from the 40th degree to the 46th, and as far inland as he is able to explore

¹ In 1602 and 1603 several English voyages were made to what is now New England, and in 1606 the two companies, the London and the Plymouth, were granted charters bestowing on them the territory then known as Virginia, and lying between 34° and 45°. They were thus brought into conflict with the French patentees. See A. Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (1890), and E. Channing, *History of the United States* (1905), vol. i. p. 32.

and colonise ; with power to gather together, both this first year and for the future, such captains and pilots, sailors and artisans, and such number of ships with their equipments, and such quantity of arms, tackle, provisions, and munitions as he shall see fit, to lead and guide them among all the said coasts, seas, islands, roadsteads, and shores, as he shall find to be most expedient for the accomplishment of the said enterprise ; and as occasion shall require, to distribute, divide, or leave the vessels at the stations where need shall arise ; whether for the exploration of the country, discovery of mines, guard of lands and approaches, or for trade with the savages, in and about the Bay St. Clair, the river of Canada, or other countries ; to build forts and fortresses, in such manner and places as he shall judge fittest ; as also to prepare ports, havens, and all else necessary for the safe retreat of French vessels from hostile designs and piratical incursions ; to appoint in the said places such captains and lieutenants as need shall be ; likewise also captains and guards of the coasts, islands, harbours, and approaches ; and likewise to commission officers to dispense justice and to maintain order, laws, and ordinances ; and in short that the said M. de Monts may so act, undertake, and behave in the fulfilment of the said charge of our Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant-General in all that he shall judge to be for the advancement of the said explorations, conquests, and settlement, and for the good of his Majesty's service and the establishment of his authority in and about the said seas, provinces, and regions, and with the same power, might, and authority as we ourselves should use were we present in person, and as if all were herein expressly and in detail specified and declared. To perform this we have given him, and do by these presents give him, full charge, power, commission, and special order. And therefore we have made him substitute and surrogate in our lieu and place, provided that with equal care he cause to be observed the edicts and ordinances of the navy by all those under his

charge and authority during the whole execution of this enterprise, and cause all the captains of the vessels which he shall wish to take with him, both for the design of the exploration of the said coast and country of La Cadie, as also of those which he shall wish to send on the fur-trade granted to him by his Majesty for ten years in and about the Bay of Saint-Clair and river of Canada to obtain our special permits, and cause good and faithful report to be made to us on all occasions, of all deeds and exploits in the said enterprise; that prompt account thereof may be given by us to his Majesty, and such orders and amendments made as may be requisite. Therefore we pray and request all princes and potentates and foreign lords, their Lieutenants-General, Admirals, Governors of provinces, chiefs and leaders of their forces both by land and sea, captains of their towns and coast forts, ports, coasts, havens, and straits; we give command and direction to our other Vice-Admirals, Lieutenants-General and special, and the other officers of our Admiralty, captains of the coasts and of the navy and others who are under our rule and authority, each in his jurisdiction and as pertaineth to him, to give to the said Monsieur de Monts, for the full and entire effect, execution, and accomplishment of these presents, all support, succour, assistance, asylum, help, favour, and aid if need shall be, and wherein requisition may be made by him. In witness whereof we have to these presents, signed by our hand, caused the seal of our arms to be affixed. Given at Fontainebleau, October 31, in the year of Grace 1603. Signed, CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY. And on the reverse: From my Lord Admiral, signed DE GENNES, and sealed with the seal of the arms of the said Lord.

Prohibition issued by the King to all his Subjects other than Monsieur de Monts and his Partners, to traffic in furs or otherwise with the Savages within the confines of the Government allotted by him to the said Monsieur de Monts and his Partners, under heavy penalties.

HENRY, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, the officers of our Admiralty of Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, and Guyenne, to each of them in his office, and within his district and jurisdiction, Greeting. We have, for many good reasons, appointed, commissioned, and established Monsieur de Monts, Gentleman-in-Ordinary of our chamber, to be our Lieutenant-General, to colonise and settle the lands, coasts, and districts of La Cadie, and other adjacent countries, from the 40th unto the 46th degree ; and to establish there our authority and in other ways to settle and establish himself ; so that our subjects may henceforward be received there, and may there visit, reside, and traffic with the savages inhabiting the said regions ; as we have more expressly set forth in our letters patent sent and delivered to this effect to the said Monsieur de Monts on the eighth day of November last, in accordance with the conditions and stipulations under which he has taken upon him the conduct and execution of this enterprise. To aid him and his partners in the which, and to give them the means and help to bear the expenses of the same, we have thought right to permit and confirm unto them that to no other of our subjects save to those who enter into partnership with him and incur the said expense, shall it be allowed during ten years to traffic in furs or other merchandise in the lands, regions, harbours, rivers, and approaches within the extent of his rule. Such is our sovereign will. We, for these causes and other considerations moving us thereto, do command and order you each within the extent of his power, jurisdic-

tion, and district, to issue on our authority, as We of our full Royal power and authority do now issue most express injunctions and prohibitions, to all merchants, ship-masters and ship-captains, sailors and others our subjects of whatever state, quality, and condition they may be (always excepted those who have entered into partnership with Monsieur de Monts for the said enterprise, in accordance with the stipulations and agreements for the same accepted by us as aforesaid), to fit out any vessels, and in them either personally or through agents to traffic and barter in furs and other merchandise with the savages ; to visit, trade, and hold intercourse during the said space of ten years from Cape Race¹ to the 40th degree, including the whole confines of La Cadie, Cape Breton, and the land adjacent, the Bays of Saint-Clair² and Chaleur, Ile Percée, Gaspé, Chischedec,³ Miramichi, Les-quemin,⁴ Tadousac, and the river of Canada, upon either bank, and all the bays and rivers which have their mouths within the said confines : On pain of disobedience, and of complete confiscation of their vessels, provisions, arms, and merchandise, to the profit of the said Monsieur de Monts and of his partners, and of a fine of 30,000 francs. For the assurance and execution whereof, and for the repression and punishment of their disobedience, you shall permit, as we also have permitted and do hereby permit, the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners, to seize, apprehend, and arrest all who shall contravene our present prohibition and ordinance, and also their vessels, merchandise, arms, and provisions, to bring them home and hand them over to justice, that fit procedure may be taken against both the persons and the goods of the said transgressors. Such is our will, and this we command and order you to have at once published and read in all the districts and public places of your powers and jurisdictions where you shall deem necessary, in order that none of our

¹ See p. 29, n. 4.

³ See p. 73, n. 4, 5, 6.

² This I cannot identify.

⁴ Now Les Escoumins.

said subjects may be able to plead ignorance, but that each may in this yield obedience and conformity unto our will. To do this we have given, and do hereby give you power and commission and special mandate. For such is our pleasure.

Given at Paris, the eighteenth December, in the year of Grace 1603, and of our reign the fifteenth.

Thus signed : HENRY.

Lower down : By order of the King, POTIER, and sealed with the great seal of yellow wax.

These letters were confirmed by a further second prohibition of 22nd January 1605.

As for the merchandise coming from New France, the tenor of the letters patent of the King, granting them exemption from customs, was as follows :—

THE KING'S DECLARATION

HENRY, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved Counsellors who control our Court of Aids¹ at Rouen, our Harbour-masters, the Lieutenants, Judges, and Officers of our Admiralty, and of our customs established in our province of Normandy, to each of you in his office, Greeting. We have already, by our letters patent of 8th November 1603, whereof a copy is annexed under the counter-seal of our Chancellary, appointed and established our dear and well-beloved Monsieur de Monts as our Lieutenant-General to represent our person in the coasts, territories, and confines of La Cadie, Canada, and other districts in New France, to colonise the said lands, and by this means to lead to the knowledge of God the people who are there, and to establish therein our authority. And to provide for the necessary expenses, by our other letters

¹ The Court of Aids had supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction in matters of taxation. That of Rouen was in 1629 united to the High Court (*Parlement*) (see Chéruel, *op. cit.*).

patent of the 18th December following, we have granted, allowed, and accorded to the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners in this enterprise the trade in furs and other merchandises, which are bartered with the savages of the said lands, as is fully specified in the said letters patent, whereby we gave clearly to understand that the said countries were by us taken under our control, and that we held and proclaimed them as dependencies of our kingdom and Crown of France. Nevertheless, our customs officers, still perchance ignorant of our will, attempt, in prejudice thereto, to constrain the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners to pay upon the merchandise coming from the said countries the same customs as are due upon those which come from Spain and other foreign countries, and are not content that on the said merchandise there has been paid our entrance dues payable at the points of unloading, and at such other places of our kingdom as they have since passed through, at the rate due by merchandise produced in our other provinces and the lands in our subjection.¹ And indeed a certain François le Buffe, one of the mounted guards of the custom-house at Caën, had on this pretext, on the eleventh day of November last, at the place named Condé-sur-Noireau, stopped twenty-two bales of beaver-skins, the property of the said Monsieur de Monts and of his partners, in transit from the said lands of La Cadie and Canada, claiming to confiscate the said merchandise for the Farmer-General of the said foreign import dues of Normandy; conduct which is and would be greatly to the prejudice of the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners, disappointed in the hope of promptly turning the said merchandise into money, to be employed and used in the purchase of provisions and munitions of war and other necessities, which should be sent this year, as well as numerous men for the carrying out of the said enterprise; the consummation

¹ These inter-provincial custom-dues were partially abolished by Colbert, and finally by Turgot on the eve of the Revolution.

whereof remaining for this reason frustrated and interrupted, to the prejudice of our service, and wishing to apply a remedy thereto, and to make known to all our intention in this matter, that in the future none may allege ignorance as the cause; for these causes and for the worth and particular merit of this undertaking, from the good success of which, through the prudent conduct of the said Monsieur de Monts, our hope is that very great good may result to the glory of God, the salvation of the savages, the honour and grandeur of our estates and seigneuries, we have declared, and by these presents do declare, that all merchandise which shall in future come from the said countries of La Cadie, Canada, and other districts within the limits of the power granted by us to the said Monsieur de Monts, and specified by our abovesaid letters of 8th November and 18th December 1603, which are brought by the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners from the said places into our kingdom, in accordance with the permission which they have, or by others with their will, leave, and express consent, shall not pay other or any larger sums than the entrance dues, and those which are ordinarily paid upon merchandise passing from one of our provinces, of which it is the produce, into another. And as for the twenty-two bales of beavers, seized and stopped as aforesaid by the said Francis le Buffe at the said place of Condé-sur-Noireau; for the same reasons and considerations above mentioned, we have made, and do now make, to the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners full and complete restitution thereof. And it is our will and pleasure that prompt and complete restoration and deliverance thereof shall be made, provided always that they make payment of the entrance dues into our province of Normandy, payable on the said merchandise according to the tariff set up at the office established at La Barre, into the hands of our Farmer-General of the said import dues, or of his clerk at the said office at Caën, without other disbursements or expense. And in doing this it is our will and order that

each of you in the matters pertaining to him shall assist, suffer, and allow the said Monsieur de Monts and his partners, fully and peaceably to enjoy the full and immediate effect of our present declaration, will, and intention. Therefore it is our command that you publish, read, and register these presents, each of you within the extent of his jurisdiction as need shall be, at the suit of the said Monsieur de Monts and of his partners ; ceasing and causing others to cease all troubles and hindrances contrary thereto ; forcing and causing others to force all concerned in the matter to do, allow, and carry out this, more especially the said Le Buffe, and also our said Farmer of the office at Caën and his clerks, to deliver up and restore the said twenty-two bales of beaver-skins, and also to discharge all pledges and securities, if any have been given for the safety of the said beaver-skins, and in general to force all others who in this matter must be forced by all due and reasonable methods, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal, for the which and without prejudice to which you shall make no delay. To do this we have given, and do hereby give, you power, authority, commission, and special mandate. And since these presents will be required in several localities, it is our will that a certified copy thereof duly made by one of our trusty and well-beloved counsellors, notaries, and secretaries, or other notary royal, shall be accepted as equivalent to the present original. For such is our pleasure.

Given at Paris, the eighth day of February, in the year of Grace 1605, and of our reign the sixteenth.

Thus signed : HENRY.

Lower down : By order of the King, POTIER. Sealed on a strip of the parchment with the Great Seal of yellow wax.

The said letters patent of 18th November¹ and 18th December 1603, and others of 19th January 1605, were verified in the High Court of Paris, 16th March 1605.

¹ 8th. See p. 216.

CHAPTER II¹

MONSIEUR DE MONTS, after publishing the said commissions and prohibitions throughout France, and more particularly in the coast towns of this kingdom, fitted out two ships, one under the command of Captain Timothy of Havre de Grace, the other under Captain Morel of Honfleur. In the former he himself embarked with a large number of gentlemen, of whom not a few were of noble birth. And inasmuch as Monsieur de Poutrincourt² had for a long time been desirous to see these lands of New France, there to choose a spot to which he might retire with his household, his wife and children, having

¹ The period covered in the remainder of this book is also described by Champlain in the first half of his edition of 1613. See Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 1-133 (cont. pag. 135-280): Slafter, vol. ii. pp. 1-157; and in Book II. of the edition of 1632. See Laverdière, v. pp. 55-108.

² Jean de Biencourt, Seigneur de Poutrincourt, "was descended from a certain André de Biencourt, who was prior of Biencourt in 1142. Many of its members had held offices of importance in Picardy, and Florimond de Biencourt, the father of Lescarbot's friend, had been a gentleman of the household of Francis I. Under Henry II. he held the office of governor of the duchy of Aumale, and in 1549 was sent as ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. to marry Anne, daughter of Hercules of Este, by procuration, for the son of the Duke of Guise. By his wife, Jeanne de Salazar, Florimond had nine children, four boys and five girls. The eldest boy, a page to Henry II., was never heard of after the battle of Dreux, and Charles, the third son, was killed at the battle of Moncontour in 1569. Jacques, the second son, inherited the title, while Jean, the fourth son, became famous as the coloniser of New France. Jean, who had received in 1565 the seigneurie of Marsilly-sur-Seine, served as squire to the Duc d'Aumale. He also enjoyed the confidence of Henry IV., who appointed him Chevalier of the King's order, and *maître de camp* of an infantry regiment." H. P. Biggar in *American Historical Review* for July 1901, pp. 675-76. See also De la Chesnaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, 3rd edition, Paris, 1864, vol. iii. pp. 193 *sqq.*

For Poutrincourt's after career and fate, see Lescarbot, Books IV. and V. *basim*, and vol. iii. of this edition, Appendix.

no mind to be among the last in assisting and taking part in the glory of so fair and generous an enterprise, he was seized with a longing to go, and embarked with the said Monsieur de Monts. He took with him for his own count a quantity of arms and of munitions of war, and on the seventh day of March ¹ 1604 they weighed anchor from Havre de Grace ; but setting out thus early in the season, before winter had put off his robe of snowy fur, they soon found store of icebergs, against which they were in danger of crashing to death ; but God, who so far has shown favour to the prosecution of these voyages, preserved them.

One might wonder, and not without cause, why there is more ice in this sea than off the coast of France, since they are in the same parallel. My answer is that the icebergs met with in that said sea do not originate in that region, that is to say, in the great bay of Canada, but come from the North, driven without hindrance on the expanse of this wide sea by the billows, squalls, and furious waves raised in winter and spring by the east and the north winds, which drive them toward the South and the West. But the sea of France is sheltered by Scotland, England, and Ireland. and this is why the icebergs cannot reach it. There may be another reason drawn from the motion of the sea, which tends rather toward those parts, because of the greater distance there is to travel toward America than toward the lands on this side. Now the danger of this voyage lay not only in meeting with the said icebergs, but also in the tempests which vexed them, of which one broke the stern-gallery of the ship. And amid all this a carpenter was carried overboard by a wave on the way to perdition, but clung fast to a rope which happened to be hanging down the ship's side.

¹ Champlain says 7th April, and Parkman (*Pioneers of France in the New World*, ed. 1899, p. 250) follows him. Professor Ganong has called my attention to the nearly contemporary article in *Le Mercure Français*, which gives 7th March. Lescarbot is almost always more accurate than Champlain in details.

Contrary winds lengthened this voyage, a rare mishap to those who leave in March for the Newfoundlands, for they are usually driven by the east or the north winds, which are favourable for the journey to these lands. Having set their course to the south of Sable Island to avoid the said icebergs, they were like to fall from Charybdis into Scylla, and to run aground on the said island during the thick fogs which are usual in this sea.

Finally, on the 6th of May, they made land at a certain harbour in 44° of latitude, where they found one Captain Rossignol of Havre de Grace, who was bartering for furs with the savages, contrary to the King's inhibition. The result was that they confiscated his ship, and called the harbour Port Rossignol; whereby in this disaster he had the consolation that a good and safe harbour on those coasts bears his name.¹

Thence, coasting and exploring the shore, they came to another very fine harbour, which they called Port Mouton,² because a sheep which was drowned was brought back again and eaten as fair prize. Similarly in olden times many names were given, on the spur of the moment and without much forethought. Thus the Capitol at Rome got its name, because in digging there a skull (*Lat.* caput) was found.³ In the same way the town of Milan has its name of Mediolanum, *i.e.* half-wool, because the Gauls, when founding the city, came upon a sow half covered with wool.⁴ Many other examples could be given.

At Port Mouton they built huts, as do the savages, while waiting for news of the other ship, in which were the pro-

¹ Champlain puts this on 12th May. The harbour is now called Liverpool; the river flowing into it still bears the name of Rossignol.

² Still so called.

³ This derivation goes back to very early times. See, *e.g.*, Livy, I. chap. lv. Modern antiquarians prefer to derive the name from *caput*, in the sense of the head, or chief place of the locality.

⁴ The derivation of the name of Milan has been much disputed.

visions and other things necessary for the support and maintenance of those who were to winter in the country, in number about one hundred men. In this harbour they waited for a month in great perplexity, in fear lest some fatal accident had befallen the other ship, which had left France on March 10th, carrying Captain du Pont of Honfleur, and the said Captain Morel. This was the more important, because on the coming of this ship depended the success of the whole affair; for, owing to this long delay, the question actually arose whether or no they should return to France. Monsieur de Poutrincourt said that he would rather die where they were; so likewise said Monsieur de Monts. Meanwhile some went off hunting and others fishing, to keep the larder stocked. Near the said Port Mouton is a place so full of rabbits that they ate hardly anything else. Meantime Champlain¹ was sent on ahead in a ship's boat to look for a fit place for their permanent quarters; and he was such a time away on this expedition that, when deliberating about returning, they thought of leaving him behind. For the provisions had run out, and they ate those found on Rossignol's ship, without which they would have been forced to give up the game and break off a goodly enterprise at its birth, or else die on the spot of hunger after hunting the rabbits, which would not have held out for ever. Now the cause of the delay in the arrival of the said M. du Pont and of Captain Morel was twofold; first, because having no boat they wasted their time in building one at the spot where they first arrived, which was English Harbour;² second, because on reaching Canso Harbour they found four Basque³ ships bartering with the savages in defiance of the above prohibitions. These they rifled and

¹ In former editions he had been *le sieur Champlain*; the omission of the title here and elsewhere marks their quarrel.

² Now Louisbourg. According to Champlain, it had been agreed to rendezvous at Canso, but De Monts changed his plans when half-way across.

³ "Men of Saint John de Luz," says Erondelle. Both French and Spanish Basques frequented the coast at this time, chiefly for the whale-fishing.

carried their masters to the said M. de Monts, who treated them with great humanity.

After three weeks had passed, Monsieur de Monts, having no news of the ship for which he was waiting, decided to send along the shore to look for them, and with this object despatched certain savages, to whom he gave a Frenchman to accompany them with letters. The said savages promised to return at the time fixed within a week, whereof they failed not. But as the harmonious intercourse of man and woman is a powerful motive, these savages, before starting, took thought for their wives and little ones, and asked to be given provisions for them also ; which was granted. On setting sail, after some days they found those for whom they were seeking in a spot called The Bay of Islands. These were in no less grief for the said M. de Monts than he for them, since on their journey they had not found the marks and signals which had been arranged for ; for Monsieur de Monts, on passing Canso, should have left there a cross of some sort or a letter tied to a tree. This he had not done, but had gone some distance beyond the said place of Canso, having, as we have already said, set too southerly a course, on account of the icebergs. So after reading the letters, the said Captains du Pont and Morel unloaded the provisions which they had brought for the maintenance of those who were to winter in the country, and went back toward the great river of Canada to engage in the fur-trade.

CHAPTER III

THE whole of New France being at length assembled in two ships, they weighed anchor from Port Mouton to pass the time before the winter in exploring the country as far as they could. They rounded Cape Sable,¹ and set sail thence for St. Mary's Bay,² where our friends anchored for a fortnight, which was spent in exploring the shores, inlets, and rivers. This bay is a very fair place to dwell in, especially as one can sail straight out to sea without tacking. Iron and silver ore is found there, but of low grade, according to the analysis made both on the spot and in France. After they had remained there twelve or thirteen days a strange accident befell, which I shall now relate.

A young churchman, a Parisian of good family, had been seized with a desire to sail with Monsieur de Monts, much, it was said, against the will of his relatives, who had sent express to Honfleur to stop him and bring him back to Paris. And yet his zeal was praiseworthy ; for there are many matters in which, if one followed the advice of stay-at-homes, one would lose many a fair occasion of well-doing. Now, while the ships were at anchor in the said St. Mary's Bay, he joined a band who were on their way to make merry in the woods. Stopping at a brook to drink he left his sword behind, and went on with the others before noticing his loss. Thereat he turned back in search of it, but when he had found it, forgetful whence he came, and not noticing whether he should go east, west, or otherwise, for pathway there was none, he turned his back upon his fellows, and missed his way. In

¹ The southern extremity of Nova Scotia, still so called ; not to be confused with Sable Island, lying out in the Atlantic off the Nova Scotian coast.

² Still so called.

his comings and goings he wandered about so much that he found himself on the sea-shore ; and there, seeing no ships, for they were on the other side of a tongue of land jutting out into the sea, and called Long Island, he imagined they had deserted him, and sitting down on a rock began to lament his fate. At nightfall, when all had gone to bed, he was missed ; inquiry was made of those who had been in the woods, who told in what manner he had left them, and that since then they had had no word of him. Already they accused a certain man of the so-called Reformed religion of having murdered him, for they had had more than one quarrel over the said religion. In brief, the bugle was blown up and down the forest, and cannon were fired. In vain ; the roar of the sea, louder than all else, drowned the sound of the cannons and bugles. Two, three, four days passed ; not a sign of him was seen. Meanwhile the season bade them be off, so that, after waiting till all looked on him as dead, they weighed anchor in order to go on farther, and explore the interior of a bay some forty leagues in length and fourteen or at most eighteen in breadth, which was called French Bay.¹

In this bay, in lat. 45°, is the entrance to a harbour which our friends wished to explore. There they made some stay, during which they had the pleasure of hunting a moose, which was swimming leisurely across a broad sea-basin which makes the harbour. On the north side this harbour is shut in by mountains, which extend more than fifteen leagues north-east and south-west ; toward the south lie hills, down the sides of which and of the said mountains flow a thousand

¹ Now the Bay of Fundy. Mr. Biggar informs me that in all early maps it is known as Baie Française, and that its present name first occurs in *A Description of the Bay of Fundy, showing ye Coast-Islands, Harbours, Creeks, Coves, Rocks, Shoals, Soundings and Anchorings, &c., observed by Nat. Blackmoore in ye years 1711 and 1712. By Her Majesties Special Comand* [circa 1720]. The origin of the word is doubtful. "Rio fondo," spoken of by Sebastian Cabot, is merely a small inlet further up the coast. Mr. Henry Stevens, of Great Russell St., London, suggests that it is a New England corruption of *fin de baie*, a local name for the upper part of it best known to early traders.

streamlets, which make the spot more pleasant than any other in the world. There are also very fine waterfalls to drive mills of every sort. To the east, between the hills and the mountains is a river, up which ships can sail for fifteen leagues or more, and throughout all this distance, on both sides of the said river, are meadows. This river was called Rivière de l'Equille,¹ because that was the first fish caught there. But the said harbour was for its beauty called Port-Royal,² not by the choice of Champlain, as he boasts in his account of his voyages, but by that of M. de Monts, the King's Lieutenant.³ M. de Poutrincourt, having found this spot to his liking, asked it (with the lands adjacent) of M. de Monts, to whom, in the commission given above, the King had granted the distribution of the lands of New France from the fortieth degree to the forty-sixth. M. de Poutrincourt received his grant, and since then has taken out letters of confirmation from the King, and intends to retire thither with his household, there to establish the name of Christ and of France as far as his power shall extend and God grants him the means. The said harbour measures eight leagues in circuit, not counting the Rivière de l'Equille, now called the Dauphin's River. Within the harbour are two most fair and goodly islands, one at the mouth of the said river, in my opinion about one French league in circumference,⁴ the other close to the mouth of another river, which when it enters the said port is as wide as the River Oise, or the Marne.⁵ This island is almost as

¹ The Annapolis River. The *Equille*, known also as the *lanson*, is a local name given along the Normandy coast between Caën and Honfleur to the sand-eel.

² Annapolis Basin. Annapolis was long called Annapolis Royal.

³ These words are not found in the earlier editions. See Champlain's edition of 1613 (Laverdière, iii. p. 18). Champlain still claimed the credit in his edition of 1632 (Laverdière, v. p. 61).

⁴ Goat Island, called by Lescarbot Biencourville. The earlier editions say "about the size of the town of Beauvais."

⁵ Bear Island, at the mouth of Bear River. Lescarbot called it Ile d'Hébert, after his friend Hébert, who was one of the French settlers at Port Royal (edition of 1609, pp. 840-41), and afterwards one of the first settlers at Quebec; it is possible that Bear Island is a corruption of this name.

large as the former ; both are well-wooded. In this harbour, opposite the first island, we lived two years after this voyage. We shall speak of it at greater length later on.

Leaving Port Royal, they set sail for the copper mine of which we have already spoken.¹ It is a high rock, between two bays of the sea, where one finds embedded in the stone very beautiful and very pure copper, resembling that which is called rose-copper. Several goldsmiths in France who have seen it said that beneath the copper there might well be gold-quartz.² But it is not yet the season to fritter away one's time in looking for it. The first mine is to have bread and wine and cattle, as we pointed out at the beginning of this history. Our good fortune does not lie in mines, especially of gold and silver, which are of no use in the tillage of the soil, nor in the exercise of handicrafts. On the contrary, their abundance is but a load, a burden, which keeps man in continual unrest, so that the more gold he has, the less he has of quiet, and the less security of life.

Before the Peru voyages, one could lock up infinite riches in a little room, whereas to-day gold and silver have become cheapened by their abundance, and one must have large coffers to lock up what could once have been put in a small wallet. Formerly one could make a long journey purse in hand ; to-day one must have a bag and a pack-horse expressly for the purpose.³ As to this, Bodin, in his *Republic*, says that he had verified in the Court of Exchequer that in the time of

¹ See Book III., chaps. xxviii. and xxix.

² In the edition of 1609, there follows here : "Ce qui est bien croyable. Car si ces excremens que la Nature pousse au dehors sont si purs, mèmement des morceaux qui se trouvent sur le gravier au pied de la roche lorsque la mer est basse, il n'y a point de doute que le metal qui est au ventre de la terre ne soit beaucoup plus parfait."

"Which is very probable. For if those excrements that nature expels be so pure, namely, small pieces found on the gravel at the foot of the rock at low tide, there is no doubt that the metal in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect."

³ The fall in the value of the precious metals caused by the discovery of America is noted by several authors of the time.

St. Louis the Lord High Chancellor of France was allowed only seven Paris sous a day for himself, his horses and grooms, their oats and complete establishment.¹ Considering this we may well curse the hour when greed for gold took the Spaniard westward, for the woes which have thereby come upon us. For when I consider that by his greed he has kindled and fed the flame of war throughout all Christendom, and has set himself to destroy his neighbours, and not the Turk, I must needs conclude that only the devil himself was the adviser of their voyages. And do not allege in reply that their motive was religion. For, as we have already said, they have extirpated the original people of the country with the most inhuman tortures that the devil could devise, and by their cruelties they have made the name of God a name of scandal among these poor people, and have blasphemed it continually every day among the Gentiles, even as the Prophet reproaches the children of Israel. Witness the savage who had rather be damned than go to the Spaniard's heaven.

It is true that the Romans, whose greed was always insatiable, made war upon the nations of the earth to possess their riches, but I find no trace in their histories of such cruelties as those of the Spaniards. They contented themselves with plundering the peoples whom they conquered, and left them their lives. A bygone Pagan author, making trial of his poetical vein, finds no greater crime in the Romans than that, when they found a people with gold, they considered them their enemy. The verses of this author have so good a grace that I must needs give them a resting-place here, though it is far from my intention to quote much Latin :—

“Orbem jam totum Romanus victor habebat,
Quâ mare, quâ terra, qua sidus currit utrumque,
Nec satiatu erat ; gravidis freta pulsa carinis
Jam peragrabantur ; signis sinus abditus ultra,

¹ This sentence appears first in the edition of 1617-8.

Si qua foret tellus quae fulvum mitteret aurum,
Hostis erat ; fatisque in tristia bella paratis,
Quaerebantur opes."¹

But the words of the wise Son of Sirach teach us a very different doctrine. For seeing that the riches sought even in the very caves of Pluto are, as has been said, provocative of woes, he pronounces that man "happy that hath not gone after gold, and hath not put his hope in silver and treasures," adding that "we will call him blessed ; for wonderful things hath he done among his people, who hath been tried thereby and found perfect." And on the other hand that man to be unhappy who doeth otherwise.

Now to return to our mines, among these cliffs of copper are sometimes seen small rocks studded with diamonds clinging to them. Of their purity I cannot speak, but they make a pretty sight. There are also certain transparent blue stones, of no less value than turquoises.² Monsieur de Champdoré, our guide in our naval explorations in that country, cut from the rock one of these stones, which on his return from New France he broke in two and gave one half to M. de Monts and the other to M. de Poutrincourt. These they had set, and they were thought worthy to be presented, one to the King by the said M. de Poutrincourt, the other to the Queen

¹ These lines are the beginning of a poem on the Civil War in chap. cxix. of the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter. In a translation of Petronius by Mr. Addison, published in 1736, they are thus translated : —

"Now haughty Rome reigned Mistress of the Ball,
Where'er the Aether shines with heavenly fires ;
Or Earth extends, or circling Ocean rolls ;
Yet still infuriate, her winged navies ploughed
The burdened Main, to each unplundered shore,
For to the Rich she bore immortal hate."

It is possible, though improbable, that the translator was the celebrated Joseph Addison. See Bohn's edition of Addison, vol. vi. p. 738, note.

² The diamonds are, of course, quartz crystals ; the blue stones are amethysts, very abundant and fine in the rocks of this region.

by the said M. de Monts, and were very well received. I remember that a jeweller offered fifteen crowns to M. de Poutrincourt for the one which he presented to his Majesty.

Many other beautiful things lie hidden in these countries, knowledge of which has not yet been given to us, but which will be discovered as the province grows in population.

CHAPTER IV

AFTER exploring the said mine, the company crossed to the other side of French Bay, and sailed towards its head; then, turning back, they sailed to the River St. John, so called in my opinion because they arrived there on 24th June, the day and the feast of St. John the Baptist.¹ Here there is a fine harbour about a league in length, but unless one knows the approaches the entrance is dangerous,² and at the head of the harbour the said river takes a fierce leap, hurling itself down the rocks when the tide is low, with a wondrous noise; for sometimes when we were out at sea at anchor we heard it at a distance of more than two leagues. But at high tide large vessels can sail past the spot.³ This river is one of the most beautiful to be seen anywhere, being full of islands and alive with fish. Last

¹ Champlain definitely states that this was the reason. See Slafter, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 28. The river is still so called. At its mouth is to-day the city of St. John, the chief commercial city of New Brunswick. See the description given in Denys, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-120, and the note of Professor Ganong.

² The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 continue: "par ce que hors icelle entrée il y a un long banc de rochers qui se découvrent seulement de basse mer, lesquelz servent comme de rempart à ce port, dans lequel quand on a esté une lieuë, on trouve un saut impetueux, &c.," "because just outside it is a long bank of rocks, which are uncovered at low tide only, and which act as a rampart to the harbour. Proceeding up it for a league, one finds that the said river," &c.

³ "The waters of the river at low tide are about twelve feet higher than the waters of the sea. At high tide, the waters of the sea are about five feet higher than the waters of the river. Consequently at low tide there is a fall outward, and at high tide there is a fall inward, at neither of which times can the fall be passed. The only time for passing the fall is when the waters of the sea are on a level with the waters of the river. This occurs twice every tide, at the level point at the flood and likewise at the ebb. The period for passing lasts about fifteen or twenty minutes." (Slafter, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 29.)

year, *i.e.* in 1608, Champdoré,¹ with one of M. de Monts' men,² went up it for some fifty leagues, and their testimony is that along the shore grow great quantities of vines, but that the grapes are smaller than in the country of the Armouchiquois; onions also are found, and many other good herbs. As for the trees, they are the finest possible. When we visited it we found cedars in great numbers. As for fish, the same Champdoré told us that they would put the kettle on the fire and catch enough fish for dinner before the water was hot. Moreover, since this river extends far into the country, the savages make use of it greatly to shorten their long voyages. For in six days they go to Gaspé, reaching finally the Bay or Gulf of Chaleur, carrying their canoes for a few leagues only. And by a branch of the same river, which comes from the north-west, they reach Tadousac in eight days, so that by this means at Port Royal one can in fifteen to eighteen days get news of the French, who dwell along the great river of Canada, which could not be done by sea in a month, nor without danger.³

Leaving the River St. John, and following the coast for twenty leagues, they came to a large river (really an arm of the sea), where they encamped on a small island in the middle of the said river.⁴ Seeing that it was naturally strong and easily defended, considering also that the season was beginning to grow late, and that they must therefore think of settling down without wandering further, they resolved to

¹ See B. F. da Costa, *The Voyage of Pierre Angibaut, known as Champdoré*, 1608 (Albany, 1891).

² Ralleau, secretary to De Monts. (See Slafter, *op. cit.*, ii. 30.)

³ The headwaters of the St. John interlock with numerous streams, of which it is impossible to tell which is meant here. There were three portages: Touladi—Trois Pistoles; Ashberish—Trois Pistoles; St. Francis—Rivière du Loup, all of which were used. The old Indian portage routes have been carefully worked out by Prof. W. F. Ganong in R.S.C. for 1899 and 1906, in articles on *Historic Sites in New Brunswick*.

⁴ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 add here "which Monsieur Champlain had already explored."

remain there. It is not my business to inquire minutely into the reasons which led this man or that to decide upon this spot, but I shall always be of opinion that any man who goes into a country to possess it should not settle down in islands to make himself a prisoner therein.¹ For before everything else one must set before oneself the tillage of the soil. And I should like to ask how it is to be tilled if at all hours, morning, noon, and night, one must painfully cross a wide expanse of water to seek whatever may be required from the mainland? If an enemy is expected, how shall the man at work in the field, or at anything else where necessity takes him, escape if pursued? For one does not always find a boat in the nick of time, or two men to row it. Moreover, our life having need of many commodities, an island is not a

¹ This, and what follows, show Lescarbot at his best, and justify the eulogy of Charlevoix: "Mark Lescarbot, an advocate from Paris, a man of ability, strongly attached to M. de Poutrincourt, had had a curiosity, quite unusual in men of his profession, to see the New World; and he was highly instrumental in putting and retaining things in this happy state. He encouraged some; he touched the honour of others; he won the goodwill of all, and spared himself in naught. He daily invented something new for the public good. And there was never a stronger proof of what advantage a new settlement might derive from a mind cultivated by study, and induced by patriotism to use its knowledge and reflections. We are indebted to this advocate for the best memoirs we possess of what passed before his eyes, and for a history of French Florida. We there behold an exact and judicious writer, a man with views of his own, and who would have been as capable of founding a colony as of writing its history" (Shea's *Charlevoix*, i. pp. 257-58, ed. 1902).

On this passage Dr. Shea, doubtless alluding to Lescarbot's championship of De Poutrincourt against the Jesuits, has this note: "M. Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, p. 104 n., not inaptly observes that Charlevoix did not know the later editions of Lescarbot, or he would certainly have been less eulogistic." In any case, Charlevoix's eulogy is well deserved. Almost alone among his contemporaries, Lescarbot saw that Canada should be made a *colonie de peuplement*. In this he was far more enlightened than Champlain, who was too much occupied in the search for mines and military strongholds, or at best for suitable posts for the fur-trade. The very unsuitable site at St. Croix was chosen largely at the instance of Champlain. Similarly he would have preferred to settle, not on the site of the present city of Montreal, but on the adjacent island of St. Helen (Laverdière, iii. p. 245; Slafter, iii. p. 14). Even in Quebec he saw rather a fur-trading post than the nucleus of a nation.

good place in which to begin the establishment of a colony, unless there are springs of fresh water for drinking and household purposes, and these are not found in small islands. One must have wood for fuel, and this also is not to be found there. And above all one must have shelter from harsh winds and from the cold, and this can hardly be found in a small space surrounded on all sides by water. Nevertheless the company settled there in the middle of a wide river, where the north and north-west winds beat at will. And because two leagues higher up streams coming down form a cross where they empty into this large arm of the sea, this island where the French settled was called Sainte-Croix, lying twenty-five leagues beyond Port Royal.¹ Now, leaving them meanwhile to fell and lay low the cedars and other trees of the said island in order to make the necessary buildings, let us retrace our steps, and seek for Master Nicholas Aubry, lost in the woods, and long since given up for dead.

When they were ready to leave the island, Champdoré² was sent back to St. Mary's Bay with a mining engineer who had been brought along to extract silver and iron from the ore.

¹ Sainte-Croix, *i.e.* Holy Cross, so called from the physical configuration. The streams are Warwig Creek from the east, Oak Bay from the north, and the river of the Etechemins, now called the St. Croix, from the west. The island, now belonging to the United States, is usually known as Dochet Island, but at the recent celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of its settlement it was resolved that it be henceforth called St. Croix Island. See *Tercentenary of De Monts' Settlement at St. Croix Island, June 25, 1904* (Maine Historical Society, Portland, Me., 1905).

In 1796-97 the vexed question between the British and American boundary commissioners, appointed in virtue of the Jay treaty of 1794, as to which river was really the Saint Croix, was set at rest by the discovery of the outlines of De Monts' original fortifications. See J. B. Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the U.S. has been a Party*, vol. i. (1898), and the illustrated monograph of Professor Ganong, *Dochet Island*, in R.S.C., 1902 (second series, vol. viii.).

² The edition of 1609 adds: "duquel nous ferons d'orenavant mention pour avoir demeuré quatre ans par dela conduisant les voyages qui s'y sont faits," "of whom we shall hereafter make mention, by reason he dwelt four years in those parts, as conductor of the voyages made there."

They set off, and after crossing French Bay entered the said St. Mary's Bay by a narrow passage between the land on which is Port Royal and an island called Long Island.¹ One day, after they had been there some time, as they were out fishing, the said Aubry caught sight of them, and began in a feeble voice to cry out as loudly as he could; and to aid his voice he took thought to do as once Ariadne did to Theseus, as Ovid tells us in these verses :—

“On a long stick a cloth of white I tied,
To make them think anew of Theseus' bride.”²

For he put his handkerchief and his hat on the end of a stick, which made him easier to recognise; for when one of them, hearing his voice, asked the others if this could by any chance be Monsieur Aubry, he was laughed at. But when they saw the waving of the flag and of the hat, they decided that there might be something in it, and drawing near they recognised perfectly that it was his very self, and took him into their boat with great joy and satisfaction, on the sixteenth day after he had gone astray.

Many recent writers, with too good an opinion of themselves, have stuffed their books and histories with many miracles not so wonderful as this. For during these sixteen days he lived solely on a few small berries, like stoneless cherries,³ which are found, though only here and there, in these woods. I think that they are those which the Latins call *Myrtillus*, and the Burgundians *du Pouriau*.⁴ But one

¹ Petit Passage. Long Island is still so called.

² “Candidaque imposui longae velamina virgae,
Scilicet oblitos admonitura mei.”

—Ovid, *Heroides*, Ep. x.

In the edition of 1609 Lescarbot quotes the original, and does not name his author.

³ Earlier editions add: “but not so delicate.”

⁴ The partridge-berry, *Mitchella repens*, is evidently the berry on which Aubry fed. It is indigenous to America. *Myrtillus* is *vaccinium myrtillus*, the whortleberry, bilberry, or blaeberry. *Pouriau* is given by Littré as old French for the leek, which can hardly be meant here.

cannot suppose that that alone was sufficient to sustain a man of good appetite for meat and drink, but must rather confess that God therein wrought beyond the power of nature.¹ And truly in these last voyages the special grace and favour of God have been manifest on many occasions, of which we shall speak as occasion offers. Poor Aubry—I call him so because of his affliction—was terribly weakened, as you may suppose. He was given food in small quantities, and brought back to the company on the island of St. Croix, whereat all received an incredible joy and consolation, and particularly M. de Monts, whom it concerned more than any other. Nor is it in point here to cite against me the story of the maid of Confolens in Poitou, who some six years ago went without food for two years; nor of another near Berne in Switzerland, who in the year 1601 lost her appetite for the rest of her life; nor of other such cases; for these are accidents caused by an aberration of nature. As to Pliny's story that at the furthest confines of India, in the lowlands of Asia, near the springs and source of the Ganges, there is a nation of Astomes, *i.e.* Mouthless Folk, who support life solely by the smell and exhalation of certain roots, flowers, and fruits which they draw in through the nose, I could with difficulty believe it;² nor do I give greater credence to the tale of Captain Jacques Cartier when, in accordance with the report of the savage Donnacona, whom he brought into France to tell of it to the King, he speaks of certain peoples of the Saguenay, whom also he affirms to have no mouth and to take no food, with other tales void of common sense. And even if it were true, such people are adapted by nature for this manner of life, which was not so in this case. For the said Aubry by no means lacked appetite, and yet lived sixteen days nourished

¹ These two sentences are not found in earlier editions.

² The edition of 1609 adds: "et penseroy plustot qu'en flairant ilz pourroient bien mordre dans lesdites racines et fruits," "and would rather think that in smelling they might well take a bite of the said root and fruits" (Pliny, liv. vii. chap. 2).

partly by some sustaining power which is in the air of that country, and partly by those little berries of which I have spoken. God gave him strength to support this long famine without crossing the confines of death; this I consider stranger, and so it certainly is. But in the histories of our times, collected by M. Goulart¹ of Senlis, things are told which seem worthy of greater marvel. Among others is one of a certain Henry de Hasseld,² a merchant trading from the Low Countries to Bergen in Norway, who, having heard a gluttonous preacher³ mock at miraculous fasts, as though it were no longer in the power of God to do what he did in times past, became indignant and endeavoured to fast. He abstained from food for three days, at the end of which, overcome by hunger, he took a piece of bread intending to wash it down with a glass of beer; but the whole mouthful so stuck in his throat that he was forty days and forty nights without eating or drinking. At the end of that time he spat out of his mouth the meat and drink which had stuck in his throat. So long a fast enfeebled him so greatly that he had to be sustained and restored with milk. The Governor of the country having heard of this marvel, sent for him and inquired into the truth of the matter; and being unable to give it credence, he

¹ Simon Goulart was born at Senlis on 20th Oct. 1543. He spent the greater part of his life as a Protestant preacher at Geneva, and produced over fifty books in prose and verse, some of them in several volumes. The one here spoken of is *Thrézor d'Histoires admirables et memorables de nostre temps, recueillies de divers auteurs, mémoires et avis de divers endroits* (Paris, 1600; 2 vols.).

² John Wier, in his treatise *De jejunis commentitiis* [L.]. Wier was a writer on medical subjects, was born in 1515 in Brabant, died in 1588 in Westphalia, and was for the last thirty-two years of his life court physician to the Duke of Cleves. He holds a noble place in history as having struggled all his life to show that so-called cases of witchcraft and of possession by devils, which at the time were treated with frightful cruelty, were really cases of hysteria or insanity. His treatise *De jejunis commentitiis* was published in 1577 at Basle, second edition 1582. His collected works were published at Amsterdam in 1660. Goulart had studied his works, and translated one of them, and Lescarbot may have known of him only in Goulart.

³ "A belly-god preacher" (Erondelle).

wished to make fresh trial of it, and having had the man carefully guarded in a room, found that the thing was true. This man is commended as of great piety, especially toward the poor. Some time after, having come on business to Brussels in Brabant, one of his debtors, to save his debt, accused him of heresy, and had him burnt in the year 1545.

And since then a canon of Liège, wishing to make trial of his powers of fasting, continued until the seventeenth day, when he felt himself so reduced that had he not on the instant been revived with a good tonic, he would have gone under altogether.

A young girl of Buchold, in the district of Munster in Westphalia, a prey to melancholia and unwilling to budge from the house, was beaten for this by her mother, which so redoubled her misery that she lost her sleep, and was four months without drinking or eating, save that at times she mumbled a baked apple and washed her mouth with a little herb-tea.

The histories of the Church,¹ among a great number of fasters, make mention of three holy hermits named Simeon, who lived in wondrous asceticism, and long fastings of eight and fifteen days, yea more, and had for their only dwelling a pillar on which they lived and spent their lives; by reason of which they were named Stylites, *i.e.* the men of the pillar, because they dwelt on pillars.

¹ Evagrius, Book I. ch. xiii., *De Historia Ecclesiastica*. Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum*, 9th January [L.].

Evagrius Scholasticus, *i.e.* Evagrius the lawyer (536 A.D.—*circa* 600) was an ecclesiastical historian, living at Antioch. The Greek original of his ecclesiastical history was first published at Paris in 1544 by Robert Estienne; in 1549 and in 1562 a Latin translation by Wolfgang Musculus was published at Basle. John Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, wrote another, which was published after his death by Edward Godsalvus at Louvain in 1570 in octavo, and the same year at Cologne in folio. In 1571 this was reprinted at Paris with scholia by J. Carterius. Various reprints of both translations appeared before 1609. An English translation by Meredith Hanmer appeared at London in 1577. He has been frequently reprinted; the best edition is that of MM. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898).

The other reference is to the edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* by Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1538–1607). Cf. Introduction, p. 10.

But all these good people had partly made up their minds to such fasts, and partly accustomed themselves to them little by little, and it had ceased to be strange to them to fast so long, which was not the case with him of whom we are speaking. And therefore his fast is all the more wonderful, in that he had in no way prepared himself for it, and had never practised these long austerities.¹

Now after they had feasted him and had remained there some time longer to finish their business, and explore the country in the neighbourhood of the island of St. Croix, they discussed the return of the ships to France before the winter, and thereupon those who had not come for the winter set about getting ready to return. Meanwhile the savages from all the country round came to look at the ways of the French, and willingly came among them; in certain disputes they even made M. de Monts judge of their quarrels, which is a beginning of voluntary subjection, whence one may conceive a hope that these peoples will soon adopt our manner of life.

Among other things which occurred before the departure of the said ships, it chanced one day that a savage named Bituani, finding the kitchen of the said M. de Monts to his liking, remained there, and made himself of some use; and for all that made love to a girl with a view to marriage, but not being able to win her with the goodwill and consent of her father, he carried her off and took her to wife. Great altercation thereupon. Finally the girl is taken away from him, and brought back to her father.² A great squabble was brewing, but Bituani, having laid a complaint regarding this wrong before M. de Monts, the others came to defend their case, *i.e.* the father assisted by his friends saying that he would not give his daughter to a man who had no trade whereby to

¹ It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Maître Aubry was a bit of a *bon vivant*, and that in some of his comments Lescarbot was poking fun at him.

² *Remendée* (1617-18); *retourne* (1609, 11-12). The slight difference in meaning shows how carefully Lescarbot revised this edition.

support her and the children who might be born of the marriage, that as for Bituani he could not see that he knew how to do anything whatever, but trifled away his time in the kitchen of M. de Monts, and did not go a-hunting. In short, that he should not have the girl, and should be well satisfied with what he had got already. M. de Monts, after hearing both parties, pointed out to them that he was not detaining Bituani, who after all was a kindly soul, and would go a-hunting to give proof of his powers. But for all that they would not give him back the girl until he had shown by his actions the truth of the promises of M. de Monts. In short he goes a-fishing, and catches store of salmon ; the girl is restored to him, and the next day back he comes to the fort which was being built for the French, clad in a fine new cloak of beaver, well trimmed with wampum, bringing his wife with him, like a victor in triumph, having won her in fair fight ; and ever since he has cherished her very dearly beyond the custom of the other savages, showing that hard won is dearly prized.

By this act we see that the two greatest points in matters of marriage are observed among these peoples, guided solely by the law of nature : to wit, the authority of parents and the duty of husbands to work ; a thing which has more than once roused my admiration, seeing that in our Christian Church, by I know not what abuses, the world lived for several centuries, during which the authority of parents was set at nought and made light of, until at last the Councils of the Church took the bandage from their eyes, and recognised that such conduct was against nature itself ; and our Kings by their Edicts restored in its fulness this paternal authority, which nevertheless in spiritual marriages and in religious vows has not yet regained its former lustre, and herein is supported solely by the decisions of the Supreme Courts, which have often compelled the detainers of children to restore them to their parents.

CHAPTER V

BEFORE speaking of the return of the ships to France, we must needs say that the Isle of St. Croix is difficult to find on one's first visit, for there are so many islands and large bays to pass before coming to it, that I wonder how they had the patience to push on so far to reach it. On the shores are three or four mountains overtopping the others ; but towards the north, whence the river flows, there is but one solitary peak, more than two leagues distant.¹ The woods on the mainland are beautiful and wonderfully high, as is also the grass. Opposite the island are some very pleasant brooks of fresh water, where divers of M. de Monts' people did their household work and camped out. As for the nature of the soil, it is very good and as fruitful as one could wish. For M. de Monts ordered a certain plot of ground to be tilled and sown with rye (I have seen no wheat there), but was unable to wait for its ripening and gather it. Nevertheless the grain fell to earth, and grew and increased so wonderfully that two years afterwards we gathered therefrom rye as good, as large, and as heavy as there is in all France, which the soil had brought forth without tillage ; and it still continues to flourish lustily every year. The said isle is about half a French league in circuit ; at the end facing seawards is a knoll and what might be called a separate islet, where the cannon of the said M. de Monts were set up. There also

¹ "These mountains are evidently the loftier ones along the Canadian shore, Chamcook and Greenlaw, with McLaughlans, Simpsons, and Leightons. The sharp-pointed one two leagues distant is plainly on Cookson's Island in Oak Bay, and his special reason for mentioning it in this way is no doubt to show how unprotected was the island from the north winds." Ganong, *Dochet (St. Croix) Island*, p. 181.

stands the little chapel built after the Indian fashion. At the foot of the isle is marvellous store of mussels, which can be gathered at low tide, but they are small. My opinion is that M. de Monts' party did not forget to pick out the largest, and left only the seedlings and small fry. Now touching the activities and occupations of our French folk, while they were there, we shall treat of them briefly after we have brought the ships back to France.

The naval expenses in such enterprises as this of M. de Monts are so great that any man not having sturdy loins will quickly go under ; and to avoid these in any way one must submit to many inconveniences and run the risk of losing caste among nations whom one knows not, and, what is worse, in a land which is untilled and all overgrown with forests. And therefore this action is the more generous, in that, though they see danger threaten, they cease not to set fortune at defiance, and to overleap the many thorns which spring up in their path. With the ships of M. de Monts on their way back to France, consider his situation, in a desolate place with a skiff and a long-boat only. And although they have promised to send for him at the end of a year, who can give surety for the fidelity of Æolus and of Neptune, two evil masters, raging, fickle, and pitiless. Such was the state to which M. de Monts was reduced ; nor has he had promotion from the King as had those, save and only the late Marquis de la Roche, whose voyages we have already recounted. And yet it is he who has done more than all the rest, for to this moment he has not thrown up the game. Yet I fear that in the end he may be forced to give up all, to the great scandal and reproach of the French name, which by such conduct is made a laughing-stock and a by-word among the nations. For as though their wish was to oppose the conversion of these poor Western peoples, and the advancement of the glory of God and of the King, we find a set of men full of avarice and envy, who would not draw a sword in the service

of the King, nor suffer the slightest ill in the world for the honour of God, but who yet put obstacles in the way of our drawing any profit from the province, even in order to furnish what is indispensable to the foundation of such an enterprise, men who prefer to see the English and Dutch win possession of it rather than the French, and would fain have the name of God remain unknown in those quarters. And it is such people, who have no God, for if they had they would show zeal for His name, who are listened to, who are believed, and who win their suits.¹

Up now, make ready and set sail with speed. Monsieur de Poutrincourt had crossed the ocean with some gentlemen of fashion, not to winter there, but as it were to stake out his dwelling, and explore a region which would suit him. This done, he had no need to stay longer. Therefore, his ships being ready to return, he and his company went on board one of them. During this time on our side of the water rumour everywhere had it that he was doing great deeds in Ostend, which for three years had been besieged by their Highnesses of Flanders.² The voyage was not without storm and great perils. Among these I shall relate two or three which might be considered miraculous, were it not that accidents at sea are common enough; not that I wish in any way to dim the special favour which God has always shown toward these voyages.

¹ The 1609 edition adds: "*O tempora, O mores!*"

² The defence of Ostend against the Spanish is celebrated in the struggle for Dutch independence. The city was invested on 5th July 1601, and was not thought to be able to hold out for a fortnight. The bravery of the Dutch, and the skill of the governor, Sir Francis Vere (see *Dictionary of National Biography*), enabled it to resist till 22nd September 1604, when the crumbling ruins were surrendered on honourable terms to Spinola. The defence was rendered possible by England's command of the sea, which enabled reinforcements and provisions to be supplied. The siege is said to have cost Spain 100,000 men. The picturesque story of the vow of the Archduchess Isabella, and of the colour named after her, is usually associated with this siege, but has been shown by Sir James Murray (see *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Isabella) to be chronologically impossible.

The first is of a squall which in mid-ocean during the night suddenly struck their sails with such violence and fury as to lay the ship over in such wise that the keel was almost out of water, and the sail swimming upon it, without means or time to haul it in or to let go the halliards.¹ Immediately the sea was as if on fire; sailors call this St. Goudran's fire.² And as ill-luck would have it, in this surprise not a single knife could be found to cut the halliards or the sail. Meanwhile the poor ship in this hap lay in the state that we have described, tossed up and down.³ In short, more than one expected to drink their friends' health in sea-water, when on a sudden a fresh blast of wind tore the sail into a thousand pieces useless thereafter for aught. Lucky sail to have saved all this multitude by its destruction! For if it had been new, the peril would have been far greater.⁴ But God often tries His own and leads them to the very door of death, that they may recognise His power and fear Him. Thus the ship began little by little to right herself, and to regain a safe position.⁵

¹ These are technical terms. To haul in means to let down. The halliards are the ropes which keep the sail taut [L.].

² *Goudran* is a sailor's form of *goudron*, pitch. I can find no other reference to this apparently eponymous saint. The edition of 1609 adds: "et les matelots mêmes tout mouillés sembloient estre environnez de flammes, tant la mer estoit irritée," "and the very sailors were so drenched that they looked as though clad in flames, so angry was the sea."

³ The edition of 1609 reads: "Le pauvre vaisseau cependant en ce fortunat demeuroit renversé, porté continuellement tantot sur les montagnes d'eaux, tantot avallé aux enfers," "meanwhile in this hap the poor ship lay overturned, carried continually now upon mountains of water, now swallowed up in hell." In 1611-12 this and other touches in the shipwreck are omitted. Either Lescarbot had been twitted for his rhetoric, or had come to suspect that the peril of his friends was not so extreme as he had supposed.

⁴ The edition of 1609 reads: "et jamais n'en eust esté nouvelle," "and no news had ever been heard of them."

⁵ The edition of 1609 adds: "et bien vint qu'il avoit le ventre creux, car si c'eust esté un flibot à plat fonds et ventre large, il eust esté renversé c'en dessus dessous, mais le laist qui estoit demeuré en bas aida à redresser celui-ci," "and well was it for them that she was deep-keeled, for if she had been a flyboat with a flat bottom and a broad belly, she had been quite turned upside down, but the ballast, which remained in the bottom, helped to set her upright."

The second was at the Casquets,¹ an uninhabited island, or rock, in the form of a casque, between France and England. When they had come within three leagues of this, jealousy broke out between the masters of the ship (an evil which often brings men and enterprises to ruin), one saying that they would easily round the said Casquets, the other that they could not, and that they must fall off a little from their course in order to pass under the island. In this case the trouble was that, by reason of the fog, it was so dark that they did not know the time of day, and therefore did not know whether it was ebb or flood. Now if it had been flood-tide, they would easily have rounded the island, but it chanced that the tide was running out, and in consequence the ebb had kept them back and prevented them from keeping up. So that when they came near the said rock they saw no hope of saving themselves, and that they must needs dash against it. Then all fell to their prayers, and to asking pardon of each other, and as a final consolation, to bemoaning their fate. Whereupon Captain Rossignol, whose ship, as we have related, had been seized in New France, drew a great knife to kill Captain Timothy, the captain on this voyage, saying: "So you are not content with having ruined me, but want to drown me here as well!" But he was held back, and kept from his intent. And truly this was great folly, or rather madness, on his part, to set about killing a man who was on the point of death, and he who wished to strike the blow in the same danger. At last, just as they were about to crash upon the rock, M. de Poutrincourt² asked the man in the main-top if there was no hope; and was told that there was none. Then he shouted to some of them to aid him to shift the sails. Only two or three of them did so, and there was barely

¹ A very dangerous group of islands. It was here that the White Ship, carrying the only son of Henry I. of England, went down. See Rossetti's ballad.

² The edition of 1609 adds: "qui des-ja avoit recommandé son ame et sa famille à Dieu," "who had already commended his soul and his family to God."

water enough for the ship to come about in, when the favour of God came to their aid and turned aside the vessel from this imminent danger. Some had stripped off their jackets to attempt to save themselves by climbing up the rock. But for this once they got off with the fright, save that some hours later, being near a rock called the Eagles' Nest, in the darkness of the fog, they wished to come alongside it, under the idea that it was a ship. But from this also they escaped, and at length reached the spot whence they had set out. M. de Poutrincourt had left his arms and munitions of war in the Island of St. Croix, in charge of M. de Monts, as an earnest and pledge of his desire to return.

But I may also very well set down here another wondrous danger from which this same ship was saved soon after leaving St. Croix, and this by a chance error which God turned to good. For a man with a perpetual thirst went secretly by night down the hatchway into the hold to drink his belly full, and fill his bottle with wine. There he found all too much to drink, and the ship already half full of water. In this peril all bestirred themselves, and worked at the pumps, till after much toil they overcame it, and found a great leak near the keel, which with all diligence they stopped with tow.¹

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 read: "de sorte que le peril estoit eminent; et eurent de la peine infinie à l'ètancher avec la pompe. En fin en estans venus à bout," &c. This is a good example of changes made for reasons of style alone.

CHAPTER VI

DURING the above voyage M. de Monts worked away at his fort, which he had placed at the foot of the island, opposite the end on which, as we have said, he had lodged his cannon. This was well thought on, in order to control the whole river both up stream and down. But the trouble was that the said fort faced the north, and was without any shelter, save the trees along the shore of the island, which in the vicinity of the fort he had forbidden to be cut down. And outside the said fort was the barracks for the Swiss, large and spacious, and other small buildings like a suburb. Some had built log-huts on the mainland near the stream. But inside the fort was the dwelling of the said M. de Monts, built of fair sawn timber, with the banner of France overhead. Elsewhere within the fort was the magazine, wherein lay the safety and the life of each, built likewise of fair timber, and covered with shingles. And opposite the magazine were the lodgings and dwellings of MM. d'Orville, Champlain, Champdoré, and other notable persons. Opposite the quarters of the said M. de Monts was a covered gallery, to be used either for sports or by the workmen in wet weather. And the whole space between the said fort and the battery was taken up with gardens, at which every man worked lightheartedly. Thus passed the whole autumn; and it was not bad progress to have built their houses and cleared the island before winter, while in these parts pamphlets were being circulated under the name of Master William,¹ stuffed with

¹ Maitre Guillaume was the court fool of Henry IV. For many years after his death in 1605, anonymous pasquinades on persons too powerful to be attacked openly were circulated in his name. The exact passage referred

all sorts of news, wherein among other things this prognosticator said that M. de Monts was pulling out thorns in Canada. And when all is well considered, it may truly be called pulling out thorns to take in hand such enterprises, full of toils and of continual danger, care, vexation and discomfort. But virtue and the courage which overcomes all such obstacles make these thorns to be but gilly-flowers and roses to those who

o by Lescarbot I owe, with very much else, to the kindness of Mr. H. P. Biggar:—

LA | RESPONSE | DE MAISTRE | GUILLAUME AU | soldat Français. |
Faictè en la presence du Roy, à | Fontainebleau, le huictiesme Septemb.
mil six cens quatre. | M.DCV. Pp. 58 in 12°.

P. 8.—Ie le bannissois de nostre compagnie [ce Soldat enragé au diable, qui se fait aimer seur le premier feuillat de son livre]: mais Noé me dit, mon nepveu, mon amy, laissez-le entrer pour accomplir la nombre des bestes, tout cecy se fait par mysteres: de luy sortira Judas, les couvretiers, les gabeleurs, les sergents, & telles autres sortes de personnes pour exercer les bons à la vertu. Neantmoins nous en eusmes deslors bien du mal: Car ayans mis pied à terre de l'Arche, comme nobles bourgeois qui vont par eauë de Paris à Rouen, ou de Nantes à Angers, le corbeau s'estant amusé à la charogne, nous enuoyasmes ce croquant descouvrir les terres du pays, afin de cognoistre les quatre saisons de l'an, & quand il y faisoit bon de planter des choux: estans aussi nommeaux en ce pays-là que Monsieur de Monts est en son royaume de Canadas où il est contraint luy mesmes de bescher tous les iours des espines. Ce Dragon ayant pris la campagne, donne des esperons à son bidet, comme un arquebusier à cheval qui part d'un gros: au lieu de prendre langue, court de village en village en retardant les barrates des bonnes gens, etc.

"I was well-nigh banishing him from our crew (this soldier possessed of a devil, who wins our good graces on the very first page of his book); but Noah said to me: 'My nephew and friend, suffer him to come in, that he may make up the number of the beasts; all this is wrought darkly; from him shall come forth Judas, knaves at the receipt of custom, extortioners of excise, officers of the law, and all other such persons who are to exercise the good unto virtue. Yet from that time forth we suffered from him not a little ill; for having gone ashore from the ark, like honest burghers who go by water from Paris to Rouen, or from Nantes to Angers, when we found that the raven was lingering over his carrion, we sent forth this rascal to spy out the length and breadth of the land, that we might discover the four seasons of the year, and the appointed time for the planting of cabbages; for we were as menial in that country as was M. de Monts in his realm of Canada, where he must needs pull out thorns with his own hand all his days. This dragoon, having gained the open country, put spurs to his nag, like an arquebuseer who sets off at a gallop; nor did he hold converse but dashed from village to village, knocking off the caps of the good people, &c.'"

set themselves to these heroic deeds in order to win glory in the memory of men, closing their eyes to the pleasures of those weaklings who are good for nothing but to stay at home.

Having done the things of greatest urgency, and grey-bearded father Winter being come, they needs must keep indoors, and live every man under his own roof-tree. During this time our friends had three special discomforts in this island, to wit, want of wood (for that on the said island had been used for the buildings), want of fresh water, and the night watch for fear of a surprise from the Indians who were encamped at the foot of the said island, or from some other enemy; for such is the evil disposition and fury of many Christians, that one must be more on one's guard against them than against the infidel. This it grieveth me to say; would indeed that I were a liar herein, and that I had no cause to speak it. Thus when water or wood was required they were constrained to cross the river, which on either side is more than three times as broad as the Seine at Paris. This was both painful and tedious; so that very often one had to bespeak the boat a day in advance before being able to get the use of it.¹ On top of this came cold and snow and frost so hard that the cider froze in the casks, and each man was given his portion by weight. As for wine, it was only given out on certain days of the week. Some lazy fellows drank melted snow without troubling to cross the river. In short, unknown diseases broke out, like those which Captain Jacques Cartier has already described for us, of which for fear of vain repetition I shall therefore not give an account. No remedy could be found. Meanwhile the poor patients lay suffering, pining away little by little, without any such delicacies as a diet of milk or soup, to sustain stomachs which could not receive solid food, being hindered by a foul flesh which grew very abundantly in their mouths, and which, when they

¹ Erondelle translates: "in such sort that it was needfull to keepe the boat a whole day, before one could get those necessaries."

thought to root it out, renewed itself daily more abundantly than before. As for the tree called *Annedda*, of which the said Cartier speaks, the savages of these regions know it not. So that it was most pitiful to see all save a very few in misery, and the poor patients, who could in no way be relieved, die all full of life. Of this sickness thirty-six died, and thirty-six or forty more were stricken, but recovered with the aid of the spring, at its first approach. The season of mortality for this illness is the end of January, the months of February and March, during which the patients generally die, each in turn according to the time at which the first symptoms appeared ; so that he who falls ill in February or March may escape, but he who is in too great a hurry, and takes to his bed in December, or January, is in danger of dying in February, March, or the beginning of April, after which date there is hope and good prospect of recovery.¹

On his return to France M. de Monts consulted our doctors upon this illness ; which in my opinion they thought to be quite new, for I cannot find that on our voyage, which was later, our apothecary was given any prescription with which to cure it. Yet it seems that Hippocrates had knowledge of it, or at least of one very like it, for in his work *De internis affectionibus*, he speaks of a certain illness during which the belly, and later on the spleen, swell and harden, and feel short stabs of pain ; the skin becomes a pallid black, like the colour of an unripe pomegranate ; the ears and gums stink, and the gums become loosened from the teeth ; ulcers break out on the legs ; the limbs waste away, etc.

The northern nations are more subject thereto than the more southerly, witness the Dutch, Frisians, and the

¹ The edition of 1609 adds : " Neantmoins il en est demeuré à quelques uns des indispositions, pour en avoir esté trop vivement touchés." " Yet some, who had been too sharply stricken, have retained some permanent weakness."

Champlain gives a fuller account of this attack of scurvy, and justly attributes it to the lack of fresh meat and vegetables. He states the deaths at 35 out of 79. (Laverdière, iii. 41-3.)

neighbouring peoples. Thus the Dutch tell in their books of travel that on their way to the East Indies many of them fell ill of this sickness, off the Guinea Coast, a dangerous coast from which a poisonous air extends more than a hundred leagues seaward. And the same people in the year 1606, while on guard off the coast of Spain to harass the Spanish army, were compelled by this disease to withdraw, after throwing twenty-two corpses into the ocean. And if one further wishes to hear the testimony of Olaus Magnus,¹ treating of the northern nations, from which parts he himself came, he gives the following report :—"There is," he says "another army fever which torments and afflicts the besieged, in such sort that the limbs grow thick with an insentient flesh, and with vicious blood, which is between flesh and skin, and viscous like wax. They sink in at the least pressure of the finger, and the teeth become devoid of feeling, as if ready to fall out. The white colour of the skin changes to blue, and torpor ensues, with loathing at the thought of taking medicine. It is commonly called in the language of the country scurvy, and in Greek *καχεξία*, perchance because of this foul softness which is under the skin and which seems to be produced by the use of salted and unwholesome meat, and to be made worse by the chill exhalations from the walls. But it has less effect where the inside of the house is lined with boards. If it still continues, it must be expelled by taking a daily draught of wormwood, just as one drives out the root of a calculus by a decoction of old mead drunk with butter." The same author says also elsewhere² a thing very worthy of note :—"At first," says he, "they bear the burden of the siege with strength, but at length, its continuance having enfeebled the

¹ Olaus Magnus, Book XVI., chap. li. [L.]. A Swedish cleric (1490-1558) who spent most of his time in Rome. His book, *De gentibus septentrionalibus*, published at Rome in 1555, was frequently reprinted, was translated before 1600 into several European languages, and is still a repertoire of curious Scandinavian customs.

² Book IX., chap. xxxviii. [L.].

soldiery, they carry off the provisions of the besiegers by artifices, tricks, and ambuscades, especially the sheep, which they lead away, and pasture on the grassy spots of their houses, for fear, through lack of fresh meat, of falling into the most loathsome of all sicknesses, called in the language of the country scurvy, *i.e.* a stomach ruined and dried up by cruel torments and long-continued pains. For cold and unwholesome meats, eaten greedily, seem to be the true cause of this sickness.”

I have taken pleasure in quoting here the words of this author, for he speaks as one having knowledge, and describes well enough the evil which attacked our friends in New France, save that he makes no mention of a stiffening of the cords in their legs, nor of an excess of discoloured flesh which grows rank in the mouth, and increases ever, if one thinks to take it away. But he has well said that the stomach is ruined; for M. de Poutrincourt caused a negro to be opened, who died of this sickness on our voyage, who was found to have all his parts most healthy, save for his stomach, which had wrinkles resembling ulcers.

And as to salted meats being the cause, this is very true, but there are also other concurrent causes which increase and prolong this sickness, among which I shall mention bad provisions in general, including beverages under this name; moreover the vicious air of the country, and also an unhealthy disposition of the body, leaving it to the doctors to go further into this matter. In which connection Hippocrates¹ remarks that the doctor should make a careful examination, bearing also in mind the seasons, the winds, the relative positions of the sun, the waters, the soil too, its nature and situation, the character of the inhabitants, their manner of life and of taking exercise.

As for food, this sickness is caused by meats which are cold, dry, coarse and rotten. One must therefore be on his guard

¹ At the beginning of his treatise *De aere, aquis, et locis* [L.].

against meats which are salt, smoked, rancid, mouldy, raw, and evil-smelling, likewise of dried fish, such as weevil cod and ray, in short, of all melancholic meats, which are hard to digest, soon grow sour, and produce a coarse and melancholic blood. Yet I would not be so nice as the doctors, who put on their list of coarse and melancholic foods the flesh of beeves, bears, boars, pigs (they might well add beaver, which notwithstanding we found excellent); as they do among fish, the tunnies, dolphins, and all such as have blubber; among birds they forbid herons, ducks, and all other water-fowl; for to be too scrupulous an observer of these precepts would be to lack nourishment, and run the risk of dying of starvation. They also put among meats which should be avoided, confectionery, beans and lentils, the frequent use of milk, cheese, wine which is too strong or too small, white wine, the use of vinegar, beer not well matured or well skimmed, or without sufficient hops; water too which flows through rotten matter in the woods, and that of ponds or bogs which are stagnant or slimy, of which many may be seen in Holland and Friesland, wherein it has been observed that the people of Amsterdam are more subject to palsy and to stiffening of the sinews than those of Rotterdam, because of these stagnant pools; which moreover engender dropsies, dysenteries, bloody fluxes, quartan agues and burning fevers, tumours, ulcerated lungs, shortness of breath, ruptures in children, varicose veins and ulcers in the legs; in short, they are absolutely fitted to produce the illness of which we speak, being drawn by the spleen, wherein they leave all their corruption.

Sometimes also this sickness is caused by corruption even in running water, if its source is in or near a bog, or muddy ground, or a spot not exposed to the sun. Thus Pliny¹ tells us that on the journey into Germany of Prince Cæsar Germanicus, when he ordered his army to cross the Rhine in order to make further conquests and encamped along the sea-coast

¹ Pliny, Book XXV., chap. iii. [L.]

of Frisia, in a spot where there was but a single spring of fresh water, this nevertheless proved so deadly that all who drank of it lost their teeth in less than two years, and their knees became so weak and unloosed that they could not hold themselves up. This is certainly the sickness of which we are speaking, and is called by the doctors *Stomaccacé*, that is to say, Mouth-disease, and *Scelotyrbé*, that is to say, trembling of the thighs and legs. And it was not possible to find a remedy, save by means of an herb called *Britannica*,¹ which moreover is excellent for the sinews, for ills and accidents in the mouth, for quinsy, and for snake-bite. It has long leaves of a brownish-green and a black root from which the juice is extracted, as well as from the leaves. Strabo says that the same thing happened in the army which Cælius Gallus led into Arabia by order of the Emperor Augustus.² The like also chanced to the army of Saint Louis in Egypt, according to the account of M. de Joinville.³ One sees other effects of bad water not far from here, to wit in Savoy, where the women (more than the men, being colder blooded) have usually swellings at their throats, the size of bottles.⁴

Next to water the air also is one of the effectual causes of this complaint in wet and marshy places, lying toward the north, which is naturally rainy. But in New France there is yet another bad quality of the air, on account of the numerous lakes and the vast quantity of decaying matter in the woods, the odour of which is absorbed by our bodies during the autumn and winter rains, and thus the foul matter in the mouth and the swellings of the legs of which we have spoken are easily engendered, and little by little a cold strikes stealthily inward, which dulls the members, stiffens the sinews, forces one to go on all fours with a pair of crutches, and finally to take to bed.

¹ Probably scurvy-grass, a plant of the genus *Cochlearia*, the commonest being *C. officinalis*.

² Strabo, *Geographica*.

³ Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*.

⁴ The goitres of Savoy [L.].

And inasmuch as the winds are of the nature of the air, and indeed are air flowing with more than ordinary force, and in this character have great influence on human health and sickness, let us speak of them for a little, without, however, straying from the thread of our history.

The Levanter (called by the Romans *subsolanus*, that is, the East wind) is considered the healthiest of all, and for this reason wise builders advise that houses should be set facing the dawn. Its opposite is the wind called Favonius, or Zephyrus, which our sailors call the West or Sunset wind, which on this side of the ocean is soft and balmy. The South wind, so called (the *Auster* of the Romans), is in Africa hot and dry; but in crossing the Mediterranean Sea it absorbs much moisture, so that in Provence and Languedoc it is tempestuous and unhealthy. Its opposite is the North wind, otherwise called Boreas, Bize, Tramontane, which is cold and dry, drives away clouds and sweeps clean the realms of air. Next to the Levanter, it is considered the healthiest. Now these qualities of the winds, though they hold in these parts, are by no means a general rule for the whole earth. For the north wind beyond the Equator is not cold as here, nor the south wind hot, for in their long course they acquire the qualities of the regions through which they pass; moreover, in the land of its birth the south wind is refreshing, according to the report of those who have travelled in Africa. In like manner there are regions in Peru, as in Lima, and on the plains, where the north wind is sickly and unwholesome; and all along this coast, which is above five hundred leagues in extent, they consider the south wind as healthy and fresh, and what is more, most mild and balmy, yes, and absolutely free from rain, according to the inquisitive Joseph Acosta;¹ clean contrary to what we see in our Europe. And in Spain the Levanter, which we have called healthy, is described by the same Acosta as extremely sickly and unhealthy. The wind

¹ Book III., chap. iii. [L.].

Circius, *i.e.* the north-east,¹ is so fierce and blustering and harmful, on the Western Coast of Norway, that if a man undertakes to travel in those parts while it is blowing, he must take his life in his hand, and probably be stifled ; and in this region this wind is so cold that it does not allow any tree or shrub to show its head ; so that for lack of wood they are compelled to use the bones of large fish to cook their food,² which is not the case in our country. Similarly we know by experience in New France that the north winds are not good for the health ; and that those from the north-west (wild, fierce, and blustering gales) are still worse ; of these our sick men and those who had passed the previous winter there were much afraid, because when this wind blew some of them tended to go under, and they had a feeling of its approach, just as we see those who are subject to ruptures and abdominal hernia endure sharp pangs when the south wind is blowing ; and as we see the very animals by certain signs foretell a change of weather. This bad quality of the wind, in my opinion, comes from the nature of the country through which it passes, which, as we have said, is very full of lakes of large size, which are, so to say, stagnant water. To this I add the exhalations from rotten matter in the forests, brought by this wind, and the greater in quantity in that the district to the north-west is large, wide and spacious.

In considering this disease we must also mark the seasons, for I have not seen or heard tell that it opens fire in spring-time, summer or autumn, save at their very end ; but in winter. And the cause of this is that just as the reviving heat of spring causes the humours which have been compressed during the winter to scatter to the very extremities of the body, and so to purge it of the vile and excessive humours which have collected during the winter, so as winter comes on, autumn causes them to draw inward, and feeds

¹ Really the N.W. or W.N.W., and so called by Erondelle.

² Olaus Magnus, Book I., chap. x. [L.].

that black and bilious humour, which is especially abundant at this season, and on the arrival of winter produces its effects at the patient's expense. And Galen¹ gives the reason of this, saying that the bodily humours having been parched by the heat of summer, what remains after the heat is driven off becomes at once cold and dry, *i.e.* cold through the privation of heat, and dry because through the drying up of these humours all the moisture in them has been consumed. And thus it is that illnesses abound during this season, and the further it proceeds, the weaker is our nature, and the intemperate coldness of the air, stealing into a body already disposed thereto, lead it by the nose, so to say, and have no pity. To all the above causes I shall gladly add bad food at sea, which in a long voyage brings many ills upon the human frame. For after four or five days one must needs live on salt meat, or bring along live sheep and a stock of poultry; but this is only for the masters and helmsmen of the ships; and on our voyages we had none save what was preserved to stock the country whither we were going. Sailors therefore and passengers suffer from these inconveniences, both in the bread and in meat and drink. The biscuit grows musty and rotten, the cod-fish served out are the same, and the water stinks. Those who bring delicacies, whether flesh or fruit, and who use good bread, good wine and good soups, easily avoid these diseases, and I would in some sort go surety for their health, unless they are of a very unhealthy nature. And when I consider that this disease obtains in Holland, Friesland, Spain, and Guinea, as well as in Canada, in short, that all those of our country who sail eastward are subject to it, I am led to believe that its chief cause is as I have just stated, and that it is not peculiar to New France.

Now in addition to all this it is everywhere useful to have a good constitution if one is to be in health and live long. For those whose nature readily receives cold and gross humours,

¹ Galen, Comm. 35, Book I., *De nat. hom.* [L.].

and the trunk of whose body is porous, likewise those who are subject to obstructions of the spleen, and those who lead a sedentary life, are more subject to these diseases. Thus a doctor will say that a scholar is of no use in that country, that is, that he will not live there in good health ; nor those who groan over their work, nor dreamers, men who are subject to mental ecstasies, nor those who have frequent attacks of fever, and others of this kidney. This I can easily believe, the more so as such dispositions store up much bile, and cold and superfluous humours. Yet I have found the opposite, both in my own case and in that of others, contrary to the opinion of some of our party, and even of the Sagamos Membertou himself, who plays the soothsayer among the Indians, who when I landed in the country said that I would never return to France, nor yet Monsieur Boulet, formerly captain in the regiment of M. de Poutrincourt, who spent most of his time in having fever, but who looked after himself carefully. These same folk advised our workmen not to work themselves ill, and the advice was not forgotten.—For I can say with truth that I have never done so much bodily work through the pleasure which I took in digging and tilling my gardens, fencing them in against the gluttony of the swine, making terraces, preparing straight alleys, building store-houses, sowing wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, peas, garden plants, and watering them, so great a desire had I to know the soil by personal experience.¹ So much so that the summer days were too short for me, and very often in the spring I was still at work in the moonlight. As for mental toil, I had plenty of it. For in the evening after all had gone to their rooms amid cackle, noise, and din, I shut myself up in my study to read or write. And I am not ashamed to say that when asked by our leader, M. de Poutrincourt, to bestow some hours of my toil in giving Christian teaching to our little folk, that they might not live as beasts, and might set to the savages an example

¹ Cf. Introduction to volume i. p. xii.

of our manner of life, I did so, since it was necessary, and I had been requested, regularly on Sundays, and sometimes on other occasions,¹ almost the whole time that we were there. And it was well that I had brought my Bible and some books, though without thought of this; for otherwise such a charge would have been very difficult, and would have caused me to excuse myself. Nor was my labour without fruit, many bearing me witness that never had they heard such a good exposition of Divine things, and that previously they had not known a single principle of the Christian doctrine, in which state indeed the greater part of Christendom is living. And if, on the one hand, there was edification, on the other, there was evil speaking, because I freely spoke out the truth with right Gallican liberty. In regard to which I remember the word of the prophet Amos,² “They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly.” But in the end we were all of us good friends together. And amid these occupations God always gave me good and perfect health, and good appetite, and I was always merry and active, save that once having lain down near a stream in the woods in time of snow, I had a species of cramp or sciatica in my thigh for the space of a fortnight, but without loss of appetite. And so whatever I did, I did joyfully, wishing that if God prospered our voyages, I might there end my life.

I should become tiresome if I were to set down here the disposition of all persons, and to state that children are especially subject to this disease, since they very often have ulcerated mouths or gums, because of the watery matter in which their bodies abound, and also because by their irregular living and by the fruits which they eat in untiring quantity, they become full of crude humours, whereby they produce great quantity of watery blood, and the clogged spleen cannot absorb so much moisture. Nor need I discuss the case of old people, in whom the warmth of life has died

¹ See Introduction, p. xiii.

² Amos, ch. v. ver. 10.

down and who cannot resist disease, being full of undigested matter, and of a cold and damp temperature, which is the quality fit to excite, arouse, and sustain disease. I do not wish to infringe on the patent of the doctors, for fear of the rod of rebuke, but with their permission, and without reference to their prescriptions of agaric, aloes, rhubarb, and other ingredients, I shall here state what in my opinion will be for poor folk who cannot send to Alexandria a quicker remedy both in preserving their health and in curing this complaint.

It is an obvious axiom that opposites must be cured by opposites. Therefore, as this complaint arises by failure to digest heavy, gross, and chill and bilious meats which offend the stomach, I think it wise, subject always to correction, to accompany them with good sauces, whether of butter, oil, or lard, the whole well seasoned, in order to offset both the quality of the food and the internal cold of the body. This refers to heavy, coarse food, such as beans, peas, and fish. For he who eats good capons, partridges, ducks, rabbits may rest assured of his health, unless his constitution is but weak. We have had patients who were restored from death to life, or nearly so, after two or three doses of chicken-broth. Good wine, taken in such quantities as nature craves, is a sovereign specific against all complaints, this one in particular. Messrs. Macquin and Georges, honourable merchants of La Rochelle, partners of M. de Monts, had furnished us with forty-five hogs-heads on our voyage, which by no means came in amiss. And our patients, even though their mouths were sore, and they could not eat, never lost their taste for wine, but took it through a spout, which saved several from death. The tender herbs of springtime are also a sovereign remedy. This is not only in accordance with reason, but I have tried it, often going myself to gather them in the woods for our patients before those in our gardens were fit for use; and this revived their appetite and comforted their weak stomachs. Some days ago I was told that sulphuric acid would be useful as a gargle

or rubbed upon the excrescent flesh about the teeth. My opinion is that the weak acid¹ which doctors use is not without effect, and that to chew sage frequently would be of great service as a prophylactic. Some also recommend frequent gargling with lemon juice. But methinks bleeding under the tongue would not be amiss, or to scarify this vile rank flesh and rub it with a sharp acid; then to cup the patient with small glasses after the mode of Switzerland and Germany. As for the outside of the body, we found it very useful to wear galoshes² over our shoes to keep out the damp. Houses should have no opening toward the west or north-west, from which quarters the winds are dangerous, but only toward the east and south. It is well to have warm bedding (and I did well to bring with me the necessaries thereto), and above all to keep clean. Further, I should approve of the use of hot baths, or stoves, such as they use in Germany, by means of which those indoors feel the winter only so far as pleases them. Indeed, in some places they have them even in the gardens, and they so temper the cold of winter that during this raw rude season one sees orange trees, lemons, figs, pomegranates, and all such others bear fruit as good as any in Provence, as I have seen at Basle in the house of the learned Doctor of Medicine, Felix Platerus.³ This is the more easy to do in this new world, seeing that it is everywhere wooded, save when one reaches the country of the Armouchiquois, a hundred leagues beyond Port Royal, and by turning winter into summer one would expose the soil, which, having no longer those great obstacles which hinder the sun from warming it with the heat of his caresses, would without doubt become temperate, and yield an air soft and agreeable to our humours, since even at present neither the cold nor the heat is excessive.

¹ *I.e.* weak nitric acid. These two sentences appear first in the edition of 1611-12; the rest of the paragraph was added in 1617-18.

² These were made of leather, often with wooden soles.

³ A celebrated Swiss physician, professor of the practice of medicine at Basle for more than fifty years (b. 1536, d. 1614).

This same lesson is taught us also by the savages, who know not Germany and its habits ; their bad food and manner of life render them subject to these complaints, as we have seen in the voyage of Jacques Cartier, but by the frequent use of the sweat-bath, say once a month, they protect themselves, driving out with the sweat all the cold and evil humours which they may possibly have collected. But an excellent prophylactic against this rascally and treacherous complaint, which steals on us insensibly, but once it has gripped us will not be put out, is to follow the counsel of the wisest of men, who, having considered all the afflictions which a man gives himself during his life, found nothing better for a man than "to rejoice and do good in his life, and to rejoice in his own works."¹ Those of our company who behaved thus fared well, while on the contrary some who were continually grumbling, finding fault, discontented do-nothings, were seized. Certainly in order to enjoy mirth it is well to have such delicacies as fresh meat, flesh, fish, milk, butter, oil, fruit, and such like, which we had not at will ; at least, the common sort, for at the table of M. de Poutrincourt, one of the party always brought in some game or venison or fresh fish. And if we had only had half-a-dozen cows, I believe that not one of us would have died.

One further preservative is necessary to complete a man's content and to fill up his pleasure in his daily task, which is that each man should have the honourable company of his married wife ; for if that be lacking the good cheer is not complete, one's thoughts turn ever to the object of one's love and desire, home-sickness arises, the body becomes full of ill-humours, and disease makes its entrance.

And, as a last and sovereign remedy, I refer the patient to the tree of life, for so one may well call it, which Jacques Cartier, as above stated, calls Annedda, which is not yet known on the coast of Port Royal, unless perchance

¹ Ecclesiastes iii., verses 12 and 22.

it be the Sassafras, which grows abundantly in the land of the Armouchiquois, a hundred leagues from Port Royal. And certain it is that this tree is very sovereign thereto, as we shall again recount in Chapter XXIV. of our final book.¹

¹ In previous editions he had said, "The Sassafras, whereof there is quantity in certain places. And certain it is that this tree is very sovereign thereto. But Monsieur Champlain, who is now passing the winter in the great river of Canada, in the same part where the said Cartier wintered, hath charge to find it out, and to make provision thereof." "*Le Sassafras, dont il y a quantité en certains lieux, et est certain que ledit arbre y est fort singulier. Mais le sieur Champlain qui est presentement en la grande rivière de Canada, passant l'hiver au quartier même où ledit quartier hiverna, ha charge de le reconoitre, et en faire provision.*"

CHAPTER VII

WHEN the rough season was past, M. de Monts, weary of this sad abode of St. Croix, determined to seek for another haven in a warmer and more southerly region, and to this end ordered a boat to be rigged and provisioned, in order to follow the coast, and by making new discoveries to seek out a happier port in a more temperate climate. And since on a voyage of exploration one cannot go as fast as when travelling in open sea with all sail set, and since when exploring bays and gulfs which lie between two points of land, one must put in, for one is as likely to find the object of one's search there as elsewhere, in this voyage he covered only about five-score leagues, as we shall now relate.¹ For fifty² leagues beyond St. Croix, the coast lies east and west, and in about the forty-fifth degree of latitude, at the end of which fifty² leagues is the river called by the savages Kinibeki.³ From this place to Malebarre⁴ it runs north and south, and from one to the other is sixty leagues more in a straight line, without following the bays. Here ended the voyage of the said M. de Monts, in which the pilot Champdoré acted as captain of the boat. All along this coast as far as Kinibeki are many places where ships can take shelter among the islands, but the population is scantier than further on, and there is little of interest, so far as can be seen from the external appearance of the country, save a river of which many

¹ The earlier editions say "six score." Champlain gives a fuller account of this voyage, in which he took part (Laverdière, 193 *sq.*). Professor Ganong has called my attention to the fact that Lescarbot ignores Champlain's expedition to the Penobscot in the autumn of 1604.

² "Sixty" in the other editions.

³ The Kennebec.

⁴ Nausett Harbour in Massachusetts.

authors have followed each other in telling fabulous stories, like those who, trusting to the commentaries of Hanno, the Carthaginian captain,¹ have imagined cities built by him in great number on the coast of Africa which is washed by the ocean, for that with heroic heart he pushed his voyage as far as the Cape Verde Islands, which were not visited again till long after, since navigation on this wide ocean was not then so safe as it is to-day with the help of the Mariner's compass.

Therefore without citing the accounts of the early Spaniards and Portuguese, I shall quote what is stated of Norombega in the latest book entitled *General History of the West Indies*, which was printed at Douai, last year, 1607.² For in giving his testimony, I shall have also given that of his predecessors, of whom the latter are tenants.

"Further northwards," says the author, after speaking of Virginia, "is Norombega, known well enough for a fine city and a broad river, though the origin of the name is unknown; for the savages call it Agguncia. At the mouth of this river is an island well suited for fishing. The region along the sea-coast abounds in fish, and toward New France wild beasts are found in great numbers; it is well suited for hunting, and the inhabitants live in the same manner as those of New France." If this fair town ever existed, I would fain know who has destroyed it in the last eighty years; for there is nothing but scattered wigwams made of poles covered with bark or skin, and the name of both the settlement and the river is Pemptegoet, and not Agguncia. Beyond the reach of the tide, the river is not as large as our own Oise. In fact, there could be no large rivers along that coast, for there is not enough land to produce them, on account of the great river of Canada, which runs like this

¹ Pliny, Book V., chap. i.

² *Histoire universelle des Indes occidentales . . . faite en Latin par Ant. Magin. Nouvellement traduite par Cornelius Wytfliet.* (Douay, 1607, fol.) There were several editions of this work, all published at Douay.

coast, east and west, and is not sixty¹ leagues distant from it across country. Moreover, it receives many rivers which rise toward Norombega; and at its mouth, far from there being only one island, their number is, so to say, infinite, inasmuch as this river spreads out thus Λ , like the Greek letter Lambda, the wide part of which is very full of islands, one of which is far out to sea, and the first to be sighted, being high and remarkable above the others.²

But it may be said that I am quibbling about the situation of Norombega, and that it is not where I am placing it. To this I reply that the author whose words I have just cited is my sufficient warrant, for in his map he places the mouth of this river in 44° , and his supposed town in 45° .³ Having admitted that, he must needs confess that it is this one he means, for after passing it and the Kennebec, which is in the same latitude, there is no other river worth talking about as far down as Virginia.

¹ "Eighty" in the previous editions.

² *Isle Haute*, off the mouth of the Penobscot, so named by Champlain and still so called.

³ The remainder of this paragraph is greatly shortened from the earlier editions, which read: "et sa pretendue ville par les quarante-cinq. En quoi nous ne sommes differens que d'un degré, qui est peu de chose. Car la riviere que j'enten est au quarante-cinquième degré, et de ville il n'y en a point. Or faut-il bien necessairement que ce soit cette riviere, par ce qu'icelle passée, et celle de *Kinibeki* (qui est en même hauteur) il n'y a point d'autre riviere en avant dont on doive faire cas jusque à la Virginie. J'ajoute encore que puis que les Barbares de *Norumbega* vivent comme ceux de la Nouvelle-France, et ont de la chasse abondamment, il faut que leur province soit assise en nôtre Nouvelle France: car à cinquante lieues plus loin il n'y a plus tant de chasse, par ce que les bois y sont plus clairs, et les habitans arrêtés, et en plus grande nombre qu'a Norumbega."

"And his supposed town in 45° . Wherein we differ but by one degree, which is a small matter. For the river which I mean is on the 45° , and as for town, there is none. Now of necessity it must be this river, since after passing it, and the Kennebec, which is in the same latitude, there is no other river worth talking about as far down as Virginia. I add that since the savages of Norombega live like those of New France, and have abundance of hunting, their province must be within our New France; for fifty leagues further on there is much less game, the woods being thinner and the inhabitants settled, and in greater numbers than in Norombega."

And since from hand to hand one perversion follows another, a sea-captain named Jean Alphonse of Saintonge,¹ in the story of his hazardous voyages has ventured to write something of the same alloy, stating that "after passing the Island of Saint John (which I take to be that which I have called above the Island of Bacaillos)² the coast trends west and west-south-west as far as the river of Norombega, newly discovered (such are his words) by the Portuguese and Spaniards, which lies in 30°; adding that in the mouth of this river lie many isles, banks, and rocks, and that some fifteen or twenty leagues up it is built a great city, the inhabitants of which are small and dark, like those of the Indies, and clad in skins, of which they have plenty of every sort. Likewise that the Newfoundland Bank ends there, and that beyond this river the coast trends west and west-north-west for more than two hundred and fifty leagues towards a country wherein are cities and castles." But in all the stories of this fellow I admit no truth, or at best very little; and he may well call them hazardous voyages, not for himself, for he was never in the hundredth part of the places which he describes (at least so one may easily conjecture), but rather for those who should try to follow the routes which he lays down for sailors. For if the said river of Norombega lies in 30°, it must needs be in Florida, which is contrary to everything ever written on the subject, and to the truth itself. As for his story about the Newfoundland Bank, it really ends, according to the sailors' report, near Sable Island, off Cape Breton. True it

¹ For a life of Jean Alphonse, who accompanied Roberval as pilot, see Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, pp. 222-226. Part of his *Cosmographie* was published in translation by Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 275 sq. (ed. 1904); the French text has been published in the *Recueil de Voyages et documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Géographie*, by M. Musset of La Rochelle. Lescarbot doubtless knew of him from *Les Voyages Avantureux du Capitaine Jan Alfonse Saintongeois*, an abridgment of the *Cosmographie*, published at Poitiers by Jean de Marnef in 1559.

² See J. G. Kohl, *History of the Discovery of Maine*, p. 189, note. Portland, 1869.

is that there are several other banks, called the Little Bank and the Backgammon Bank, but these are only five, six, or ten leagues long, and distinct from the Grand Bank of Newfoundland. As for the inhabitants of the land of Norombega they are of good and comely stature. And it is utterly baseless to say that after passing this river the coast lies west and west-north-west; for from Cape Breton down to the point of Florida opposite the Island of Cuba, there is no coast which lies west-north-west saving the district of the river rightly called Norombega, some fifty leagues of coast which lie east and west. In short, of the whole story of the said Jean Alphonse, I accept only his statement that at the mouth of the river of which we are speaking lie many isles, banks, and rocks.

After passing the river of Norombega M. de Monts coasted steadily along till he reached Kinibeki, where there is a river which may shorten the journey to the great river of Canada.¹ Numerous savages are encamped there, and the country begins to be more settled. Beyond Kinibeki one reaches Marchin Bay, from the name of the captain who was chief there.² This Marchin was killed in the year that we left New France, 1607.³ Further on is another bay called Chouakoet,⁴ where, compared with the former districts, the number of people is very large. They also cultivate the soil, and the region begins to be more temperate, extending beyond the forty-fourth degree; in witness whereof there are many vines in this country. Indeed, there are islands full of them (though these are more exposed to the ravages of wind and cold), as we shall afterwards relate. Between Chouakoet and Malebarre are many bays and islands, and the

¹ See Champlain, chap. vii. of ed. of 1613 (Laverdière, p. 197). Benedict Arnold and his men came by this route to attack Quebec in 1775, but encountered great hardships.

² Doubtless Casco Bay. Champlain has several references to Marchin, but does not mention him in connection with this bay, which he calls "a bay wherein there are a great many islands."

³ See Champlain; edition of 1613; end of chap. xvi. Laverdière, p. 274.

⁴ The Saco River.

coast is sandy with little depth as one approaches the said Malebarre, so that it is difficult to land even in boats.

The nations between the river St. John and Kinibeki, a district comprising the rivers St. Croix and Norombega, are called Etechemins; from Kinibeki to Malebarre, and beyond, they are called Armouchiquois.¹ They are treacherous and thievish, and one must be on one's guard against them. After staying some little time at Malebarre, M. de Monts found that his provisions were growing scarce, and that he must think of returning, especially as the whole coast was so unfavourable that to go on was dangerous, on account of the shoals which extend far into the sea, in such wise that the further one withdraws from the land the less depth is there. But before his departure a mortal accident befell a carpenter from St. Malo, who had gone for water with some kettles. An Armouchiquois, thinking this a good chance of stealing one of the kettles while the Malouin was not looking, seized it, and hurriedly made off with his booty. The Malouin endeavoured to run after him, but was killed by this wicked people; and even had this not befallen him, it would have been idle to pursue the thief; for all these Armouchiquois tribes are as swift as greyhounds, as we shall recount later on, in speaking of the voyage made thither by M. de Poutrincourt in the year 1606. M. de Monts was much moved to see such a thing happen, and his company were earnest for revenge; which they could have taken, for the rest of the savages did not withdraw so far from the French but what a musket shot would have reached them, and indeed each had already brought musket to shoulder to pick off his man, but M. de Monts, on some considerations which would not have been felt by many others in his position, and as the murderers had already made off,² ordered every man to lower his weapon,

¹ The Etechemins extended from St. John, New Brunswick, as far south as Mount Desert. The Armouchiquois or Almouchiquois were in what is now Massachusetts.

² This clause does not occur in the earlier editions.

and left them alone, having so far found no fit place in which to make a permanent settlement.¹ And thereupon the said gentleman ordered them to set sail to return to St. Croix, where he had left many of his men still weak from the shock of their winter maladies, about whose health he was anxious.

Many who are ignorant of navigation think that the establishment of a plantation in an unexplored country is an easy matter, but by the history of this voyage and of others which follow they will see that it is much easier said than done, and that M. de Monts did a great exploit in this first year in exploring the whole coast of this country as far as Malebarre, which is more than four hundred leagues as one coasts along and explores the interior of the bays; besides the labour spent on the buildings which he thought fit to erect and set up, his care for those whom he had brought thither, and for the return journey to France, in case danger or shipwreck befell those who had promised to come in search of him after a year's absence. But in vain does one run and weary oneself in search of havens wherein fate is kind. She is ever the same. It is a good thing to live in a mild climate, where one has full power and enough and to spare; but death follows us everywhere. I have been told by a pilot of Havre de Grace, who was with the English in Virginia twenty-four years ago,² that after their arrival there, thirty-six died in three months. And yet Virginia is supposed to lie in latitude 36°, 37°, 38°, where the climate is good and moderate. Considering this I repeat my conviction of what I have already said, that such a high death-rate comes from bad food; and there is special need

¹ The poor fellow thus killed was the first white man to be buried on New England soil. The belief in an early Norwegian colony, founded from Iceland, must now be abandoned. Cf. M. L. Ferland, *The Plants of Wineland the Good*. (Rhodora, Feb. 1910.)

Champlain (chap. viii. ed. 1613) gives a slightly different account of this affair, and says that a prisoner was taken, on whose release De Monts insisted.

² In 1585, cf. J. A. Doyle, *The English in America, Virginia*, pp. 79 *et seq.* London, 1882.

in such a country to have from the first tame and domestic animals of all sorts, and to transplant many fruit-trees and slips, in order speedily to have the change of diet necessary to the health of those who wish to people the land. For though the savages themselves are subject to the complaints of which we have spoken, this is rare, and when it occurs it is in my opinion due to the same cause of bad food. For they have nothing wherewith to correct the vicious tendencies of the food they take, and they go constantly naked amid the dampness of the earth, which is the surest way to collect many evil humours which bring these sicknesses not only upon the strangers who journey thither, but also on themselves, though they are born to this manner of life.¹

The newness of the settlement also counts for much, as ordinary experience shows. For where the ground must be cleared of trees the workmen must needs inhale the vapours which arise from the soil, and these corrupt the blood and upset the stomach (as is the case with those who work in mines), and cause the said sicknesses; while the same experience has shown us that on the completion of the settlement these vapours had much less hold on the men.

¹ In the earlier editions the chapter ends here.

CHAPTER VIII

SPRING having been taken up with the voyage among the Armouchiquois, M. de Monts remained at St. Croix, awaiting the appointed time, after which, if he had no word from France, he was free to set out and to go in search of one of the vessels which come to Newfoundland for the fishing, in order that, if it were possible, he and his company might return therein to France. This date had already passed and they were about to set sail, with no further hope of help or supplies, when on 15th June, 1605, there arrived M. du Pont, surnamed Gravé, a resident of Honfleur, with a party of about forty men, to relieve the said M. de Monts and his company. You may imagine the great joy of all, how the cannon roared a welcome, according to custom, how the trumpets sounded. M. du Pont, not knowing the state of our French friends, thought to find there a colony firmly planted, and his quarters ready ; but in view of the ravages of the strange complaint of which we have spoken it was decided in council to change the site. M. de Monts would have wished their new settlement to be near the fortieth degree, to wit, six degrees further south than St. Croix ; but having with great labour surveyed the coast as far as Malebarre, without finding what he wanted, it was decided to make their plantation at Port Royal until it was possible to carry out further explorations. So now there was a great to-do, with every one busily packing up. The buildings, which had cost a thousand labours, were pulled down, except the store-house, which was too large to transport. To finish all this took several voyages. When everything had reached Port Royal, further toil awaited them ; a site was chosen opposite the island at the mouth

of the Rivière de l'Equille, now called Dauphin River, where the whole ground was as thickly wooded as could possibly be. While engaged on this, September arrived, and they were compelled to turn their minds to unload the ship of M. du Pont to make room for those who were to return to France. In short every one had plenty to do. When the ship was ready to set sail, M. de Monts, having seen the foundation laid of his new plantation, embarked for his return, and with him those who wished to follow him. Notwithstanding many of good courage remained behind without fear of the ills which they had endured.¹ Thereupon they set sail, and the said M. du Pont remained as his Lieutenant on that side the sea, who with great diligence, as is his nature, set to work to prepare and to perfect what was required to house himself and his men, which was all that could be done during that year in such a country. For to leave their enclosure during the winter, even after such long-continued toil, was not to be thought of. And as for tilling the ground, my opinion is that they had no time to spare for it, for the said M. du Pont was not a man to sit still, nor to allow his people to remain idle, if there had been any possibility of attending to it.

When winter came the savages of the country assembled at Port Royal from far and near to barter what they had with the French, some bringing beaver and otter skins, which are those held of most account in that country, and also moose skins, of which excellent buff-jackets may be made, others bringing fresh meat, on which they made many a banquet,² and lived joyously as long as they had the wherewithal. Bread they never lacked, but their wine did not hold out till the

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 add : entre lesquels estoient les sieurs Champlain et Champdoré, l'un pour la geographie, et l'autre pour la conduite des voyages qu'il conviendrait faire sur mer. "Among whom were Monsieur Champlain and Monsieur Champdoré, one for geography, the other as guide of the explorations by sea which might be necessary."

² Tabaguaia, an Indian word meaning banquet [L.].

end of the season. For when we arrived there the following year, they had been out of it for more than three months, and were right glad of our coming, whereby they regained their taste for it.

Their greatest difficulty was the grinding of wheat to make their bread, which is very laborious with hand-mills, wherein one must exert all one's strength. And therefore not without cause in former times evil-doers were threatened with being sent to the mill, as to the most wearisome labour that could be, a task to which poor slaves were set before the use of wind-mills and water-mills, as is witnessed by profane historians, and also by those of the Exodus of the people of Israel from the land of Egypt, where for the last plague which God will send upon Pharaoh He declares through the mouth of Moses that "about midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt; and all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne even unto the first-born of the maidservant that is behind the mill" (Exodus xi. vv. 4, 5). So sore is this toil that the Indians, though extremely poor, could not endure it, and preferred to go without bread rather than to take so much trouble, as was proved when we were there when they were offered the half of whatever they might grind, but preferred to do without corn. I well believe this was one of the causes which helped to breed the malady, of which we have spoken, among some of M. du Pont's men, of whom a dozen died during this winter.¹ True it is that I find a fault in the buildings of our French friends, which is that there were no ditches about them, and thus the water from the surrounding soil ran underneath their cellars, which was very prejudicial to their health. I would also add the bad water which they used, which did not come from a flowing spring, such as

¹ Though Lescarbot had quarrelled with Champlain, he was quite willing to make use of him, and the change here of "half-a-dozen" in the earlier editions to "a dozen" is one of several corrections due to Champlain's edition of 1613. (See Laverdière, *op. cit.*, p. 228.)

the one we found close to our fort, but from the nearest brook.

When the winter was past and the sea navigable, M. du Pont resolved to complete the attempt begun the year before by M. de Monts, and to search for a more southerly haven, where the temperature was milder, as he had been charged by the said M. de Monts. And in truth he made ready the small boat which had been left him for this purpose. But after leaving the harbour, and having already set sail towards Malebarre, he was twice forced by a contrary wind to put back, and at his third trial the said boat made shipwreck on the rocks at the mouth of the said harbour. In this unkind blow of Neptune the crew were saved and the larger part of the provisions and stores; but as for the boat, it was broken to pieces. And by this disaster the voyage was cut short, and the object of so many hopes postponed. For they were still dissatisfied with Port Royal as a place of settlement, and yet it is well sheltered on the north and north-west by mountains, sometimes a league, sometimes half a league from the harbour and the river L'Equille. Thus it is that enterprises do not succeed as men wish, and are fraught with many perils. So that we must not marvel at the long delay in the foundation of colonies, especially in such far-off lands, of which the nature and the climate are unknown, where one must fight and fell the woods, and be ever on the watch, not against the people whom we call savages, but against those who call themselves Christians, and have nothing of it but the name, a cursed and abominable generation, worse than wolves, enemies of God and of mankind.

This enterprise being thus frustrated, M. du Pont, after throwing Champdoré in irons and instituting an inquiry against him,¹ knew not what to do save to await the coming

¹ Champdoré was the master whose obstinacy, according to Champlain, had been the cause of the loss of the boat. He was soon released from irons and did good service, for which he was pardoned. See Laverdière, pp. 232, 235.

of the help and fresh provisions which M. de Monts had promised to send him in the following year, at the time when he set out from Port Royal on his return to France. Yet in order to be prepared for every emergency, he set to work to build another long-boat, and a skiff to go in search of the French vessels in the places where they are wont to dry cod-fish (such as Canso, English Harbour,¹ Miramichi, Chaleur Bay, Cod-fish Bay, and many others), as M. de Monts had done the year before, in order to take passage therein and return to France, in case no ship came to succour him. Herein he did wisely, for he was in danger of having no news of us, who were appointed to take his place, as will be seen by the account of what follows. But here I must stop to consider that those who in these last voyages have crossed to those shores have had an advantage over those who wished to colonise Florida, in this recourse which we have mentioned to the French ships which frequent the Newfoundlands, without having the trouble to build large vessels, or to abide the extremities of famine, as have done those in Florida, whose voyages have been deplorable in that respect, as have those to Canada by reason of the sicknesses which have scourged them. On the other hand, the Florida voyagers were the more fortunate in that they were in a country which is balmy, fertile, and more propitious to the health than this New France of the North, of which we have spoken in this book. And if they endured famine, they had on their part made the great mistake of not tilling the ground though they found it already cleared ; for this is a preliminary to be done before aught else by any one who intends to settle so far from aid. But the French, and almost all the nations of to-day—I mean those who are not born farmers—have this infirmity of nature that they think to derogate much from their gentility in giving themselves up to the tillage of the soil, which is yet almost the sole occupation wherein innocence may be found.

¹ Now Louisbourg.

Thus it comes that every one shuns this noble toil, the pursuit of our first fathers, of the kings of old, and of the greatest captains in the world, and seeks to make himself a gentleman at other people's expense, or at most wishes to learn only the trade of deceiving his neighbour or of sitting in the sun and scratching himself. Therefore God takes away His blessing from us, and beats us both to-day and long since with a rod of iron, in so much that the people are downcast and miserable on every hand, and we see France full of beggars and vagabonds of every kind, not to mention a vast number who groan in silence and dare not display their poverty.

CHAPTER IX

ABOUT the time of the shipwreck mentioned above, M. de Monts on this side of the water was considering how to equip a new crew for New France. This seemed to him difficult, not only because of the great expense involved, but also because this province had been so cried down at his return that it seemed vain and fruitless to continue his voyage any longer. Moreover, there was reason to believe that no one would be found willing to run the risks of the country. However, knowing the desire of M. de Poutrincourt (to whom he had already made an assignment of land, in accordance with the power which the King had given him) to dwell in those parts, and there to establish his family and his fortune, and therewith the name of God, he wrote to him and sent a special messenger to make overtures to him about the projected voyage. M. de Poutrincourt accepted, and put everything aside for this object, although he was engaged in important law-suits, in the pursuit and defence of which his personal attendance was very necessary; and although on his first voyage he had experienced the malice of certain people who attacked him fiercely in his absence, but who on his return became silent and submissive. Immediately on reaching Paris he was forced to set out with scarcely sufficient time to attend to what was necessary, and, having had the honour of his acquaintance some years before, he asked me if I would consent to be one of the party. I asked for a day's adjournment for consideration before replying. After carefully thinking the matter over, I gave him my word, desirous not so much to see the country¹ as to explore

¹ The edition of 1609 reads: "Désireux non tant de voir le pays (car je

the district with my own eyes, whereto my will was drawn, and to flee an evil world. I was the more induced by the wrong recently done me, which on my return was righted by order of the court, for which I am under particular obligation to Monsieur Servin,¹ His Majesty's Advocate General, to whom rightly belongs the praise given originally to the wisest and most magnificent of all kings :—"Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness" (Ps. xlv. v. 9).

Thus it is that God sometimes rouses us up to incite us to generous actions such as these voyages, which, in accordance with the world's diversity, some will blame, and others approve. But having to give account in this regard to no one, I care not for the words of idlers, or of those who cannot or will not aid me. My source of contentment is within, and I am ready to serve God and my king in lands beyond the sea, which shall bear the name of France, should my fortune or my condition call me thither, there to live quietly, on the fruits of pleasant toil, far from the harsh life to which I see the majority of men in France reduced.

To return, then, to M. de Poutrincourt : after finishing some matters of business, he inquired in several churches if it was not possible to find a learned priest, to bring with him to aid the one left there by M. de Monts on his voyage, and whom we thought still alive. But, as it was Holy Week, a time in which they are occupied in hearing confessions, not one could be found, some making excuse on account of the inconveniences of a long sea voyage, others postponing the matter till after Easter. Thus there was no means of dragging *sçavoy bien qu'il y avoit là des bois, lacs, et rivières, et qu'il falloit passer la mer, ce que j'avoy fait autrefois dans le detroit*," &c.

"Desirous not so much to see the country, for I well knew that it would be full of woods, lakes, and rivers, and that I should have to cross the sea, which I had already done in the Strait, as to explore," &c.

The meaning of this allusion to "the Strait" is doubtful. One would like to read into it a visit to England.

¹ Louis Servin, born about 1555, became Advocate General in 1589, and held the post till his death in 1626. Like Lescarbot, he was a strong upholder of the rights of the Gallican Church.

one of them out of Paris, for time pressed and the sea waits for no man ; needs must we set sail.

It remained to find the workmen necessary for our voyage to New France. This was quickly seen to, for the name of Poutrincourt brought in more than we needed. The price of their wages was fixed, and money given to each of them in advance, to pay their charges to La Rochelle, where was the rendezvous, at the house of Messrs. Macquin and Georges, honourable merchants of the same town, partners of M. de Monts, who were furnishing our equipment.

Three or four days after the departure of these underlings we took our journey to Orleans, on Good Friday, in order to take our Easter Communion in the said city of Orleans, where indeed each of us performed the customary duty of all good Christians, and took the spiritual viaticum of the Holy Communion, especially as we were going on a journey.

Before reaching La Rochelle, keeping at times a little apart from the company, a desire seized me to set down on my tablets a farewell to France. This I had printed in the said town of La Rochelle the day after our arrival, which took place on 3 April 1606 ; it was received with so much applause, that I shall not disdain to give it a place here.¹

¹ The verses, which are not without merit, will be found in the French text of this volume. I have not endeavoured to translate them.

The edition of 1609 reads : "un Adieu à la France, lequel je fis imprimer en ladite ville de la Rochelle le lendemain de nôtre arrivée, qui fut le troisième jour d'Avril mil six cens six : et fut si bien receu qu'il n'y avoit fils de bonne mère qui ne le voulust avoir. Et là même fut imprimé un autre Adieu que je fis en la Nouvelle France aux François qui retournerent par deça dedans nôtre navire en la même ville de la Rochelle, lequel j'ay mis entre les Poèmes des Muses de la Nouvelle France. Mais quant à l'autre, puis qu'il est originaire de la France Gaulloise, je le coucheray volontiers ici."

"A Farewell to France, which I had printed in the said town of La Rochelle the day after our arrival, which took place on April 3, 1606 ; and it was so well received that no honourable man was willing to be without a copy. And there too was printed another Farewell which I wrote in New France to the French who returned to Europe in our ship to the same town of La Rochelle, which I have put among the poems of 'The Muses of New France.' But as for the other, since it springs from Gallic France, I am glad to place it here."

CHAPTER X

ON our arrival at La Rochelle we found M. de Monts and M. de Poutrincourt already there, having travelled post. Our ship, called the *Jonas*, of one hundred and fifty tons burden, was ready to pass the harbour-chains of the city, in order to wait for a fair wind. Meanwhile we made good cheer, so good indeed, that we soon longed to be at sea to do a little fasting. Once at sea we had all too much of this, for two months passed before we caught sight of land, as I shall soon relate. But amid the good cheer, our workmen, who received twenty sous each per day, played marvellous pranks in the Saint Nicholas quarter ¹ where they were lodged. This caused great scandal in a town so Protestant as Rochelle, in which no open dissipation is permitted, and where every man must walk in the straight way if he does not wish to run foul either of the Mayor or of the clergymen of the town. In fact, some of them were made prisoners, and kept in the Town Hall until our departure; they would have been further chastised had not the voyage been taken into consideration, for it was well known that once embarked they would not all be at their ease; for later on they found that they had made but a fool's bargain in giving to Messrs. Macquin and Georges, citizens of the said town, so much trouble to keep them in order. However, I do not wish to rank all of them in this category, for some among them were quiet and respectful. But the common people is a queer beast. In this connection I remember the so-called Peasants' War, in the midst of which I once found myself, when I was in

¹ This was on the side of the harbour where the station stands. The tower on that side, still called *Tour St. Nicolas*, was built in 1384.

Quercy. It was the most bizarre thing in the world to see this clutter of folk all wearing wooden shoes, whence they had got the name of Clackers, because their shoes, hobnailed behind and before, went clack at every step. This motley mob would hear neither rhyme nor reason, everybody was master, some were armed with a sickle at the end of a stake, others with some rusty sword, and so accordingly.¹

At last our *Jonas* had all her cargo aboard, and was towed beyond the city into the roadstead, so that we thought to start on the eighth or ninth of April. The captain in charge of our voyage was named Foulques. But neglect being common in human affairs, it chanced that this captain, though at sea I have noticed his watchfulness, left the ship ill-manned, being absent himself, and the pilot also, and only six or seven sailors, good, bad and indifferent, on board. In the night a south-east gale got up which broke the cable of the *Jonas*, for the ship was riding by one anchor only, and drove her against an advanced wall which is outside the city and abuts on the chain-tower, against which she dashed so often that she broke open and sank. It was lucky that at the moment the tide was going out, for if this mishap had happened at flood tide, the ship would have been in danger of turning turtle, and the loss would have been much greater. As it was, she remained right side up, and means

¹ *La guerre des croquants* is the name given to a revolt of the peasants, which broke out in the south-west of France toward the end of 1593 against the tyranny of the nobles and the royal officials. Though the peasant mobs were as a rule easily dispersed, the movement did not die out till 1595, and in different parts won the remission of arrears of tribute and relief from various exactions. The origin of the name is disputed. The contemporary historian D'Aubigné (Hist., iii. 382) says that it is due to the first band which took up arms coming from a parish named Croc, in the Limousin. De Thou, also a contemporary, derives it from the cry of the peasants, "Aux croquants," i.e. "Death to those who devour [croquer] us," and with this the historian Henri Martin agrees. Littré denies the possibility of the first derivation, and doubts the second. He does not mention Lescarbot's conjecture. Erondelle calls them Hookers, from Croc, a hook, and says, "because that their wooden shoes, nayled before and behinde, did hooke or sticke fast at every steppe." This seems to me very unlikely.

were found to recaulk her, which was done with all speed. Our workmen were summoned to aid us in this necessity, either by working the pumps or by heaving at the capstan, or in whatever else was necessary. Few, however, did their duty; most of them looked on and laughed. Some made their way out to her through the mud, and then turned back, complaining that water had been thrown on them, not seeing that they had come up on the side on which the water from the pumps was coming out, and that the wind had scattered it over them. I went out with M. de Poutrincourt and some other volunteers, and we were not unprofitable. Meanwhile almost the whole town of La Rochelle looked on at the spectacle from the ramparts. The sea was still high, and several times we thought we should be dashed against the main towers of the city, but at last we entered the harbour, safe and sound.¹ The vessel was completely emptied, and fresh stores had to be secured. The loss was great, and the voyages almost broken off for ever. For after so many attempts, I think that for the future none had dared to plant colonies in those parts; for that country was so cried down, that everybody commiserated us on the misfortunes of those who had already been there. Nevertheless M. de Monts and his partners bore this loss like men, and I needs must say on this occasion, that if ever that country is colonised by Christians and civilised beings, the first meed of praise, after what is due to His Majesty, will be due to the promoters of this voyage.

This mishap delayed us for more than a month, which period was employed in unloading and in reloading our ship. During this time we took more than one walk in the neighbourhood of the town, and especially to the Convent of the Cordeliers, which is only half a league distant.² One Sunday,

¹ Literally "with baggage safe."

² The Cordeliers are the Franciscans of the strict rule, so called from the cord worn round their waists. I have retained the word convent, the limitation of which to a building for the sole use of women is quite unhistoric.

while there, I began to wonder during the sermon why they did not put better garrisons in these frontier places which have such strong enemies near them. And since I am undertaking to write a narrative of events in the manner in which they took place, I will say that it is a shame to our religion that the Protestant ministers of La Rochelle pray to God daily in their meetings for the conversion of these poor savage tribes, and also for our own safety, and that our Church-men do not the like. In truth we asked neither the one nor the other to do so, but in this the zeal of each is manifest. At length, shortly before our departure, I took thought to ask Monsieur le Curé or the Vicar of La Rochelle, if one of his colleagues could not be found who would be willing to come with us ; which I hoped could easily be done, for there were plenty of them about, and furthermore, as we were in a seaport town, I thought they would have been glad to sail the billows. But I could get nothing out of them, and was given as excuse that none would go on such a voyage, unless impelled by great zeal and piety, and that I would do well to address myself to the Jesuit Fathers. This we could not then do, since our vessel was almost loaded. In this connexion, I remember having frequently heard M. de Poutrincourt say, that when he was at Court after his first voyage, a court Jesuit¹ asked him what hopes could be cherished for the conversion of the tribes of New France, and whether they were numerous. To this he replied that one might win one hundred thousand souls for Jesus Christ, giving a definite number in place of speaking vaguely. This good father, making light of the number, thereupon exclaimed with wonder, "Is that all ?" as if such a matter was not worth one man's time. And yet were there the hundredth part

¹ The earlier editions read, "A clerical personage esteemed very zealous in the Christian religion." This is said to have been the celebrated Père Cotton, Father-Confessor to Henry IV. The devotion of the Jesuits was soon to wipe away Lescarbot's reproach.

thereof, or even less, it should not be left to perish. The Good Shepherd having among an hundred sheep one that had gone astray, left the ninety and nine in order to go in search of the hundredth (Matt. xviii., vv. 12, 13). We are taught, and I hold it true, that if there had been but one man to save, our Lord Jesus Christ would not have disdained to come for his sake, as He has done for the sake of us all. And so we must not hold these poor tribes so cheap, even though they do not swarm in numbers as in Paris or Constantinople.

Seeing that I had made no progress by asking for some one in orders to administer to us the sacraments, whether during our journey, or after we had landed, I bethought me of the ancient custom of the Christians on their journeys, who took with them the blessed bread of the Eucharist; and this they did because they did not everywhere find priests to administer this sacrament to them, since the world was at that time still full of paganism or of heresy. In so much that it was well called the Viaticum, the provision for the way, since when they went on their way, they carried it with them; and yet I agree that this term is to be understood spiritually. And considering that we might be brought to this necessity, since only one priest had remained in the plantation of New France (and his death was announced to us on our arrival), I asked if they would do unto us as to the ancient Christians, who were not less wise than we. But I was told that this was done in those days for considerations which no longer exist. I pointed out that Satyrus, the brother of St. Ambrose, when on a sea-voyage, made use of this spiritual medicine (as we read in the funeral oration pronounced by the said Saint Ambrose), which he carried *in orario*, which I take to mean in a cloth of linen or taffeta; and well for him that he did, for when shipwrecked he escaped on a broken plank of his vessel. But herein I was put off, as in everything else. This gave me cause for wonder, and it seemed to me to show great rigour

to put us in worse condition than the early Christians. For the Eucharist is in no way different to-day from what it was then, and if they held it precious, we did not intend in asking for it to pay it less regard.¹

To return to our *Jonas*. She was at last loaded and towed to the roadstead outside the town. Nothing is wanting, save fine weather and the tide just right, the most difficult part of the whole business. For in places where there is but little depth of water, as at La Rochelle, one must wait for the high tides of full and of new moon, and even then it may chance that the wind is not favourable, and the sailing must be put off for a fortnight, and meanwhile the season goes by, and the opportunity of setting out, as nearly happened to us. For after so much fatigue and expense, the moment came when we saw ourselves stuck for want of wind, and because the moon was on the wane, and the height of the tide likewise, Captain Foulques seemed to have small liking for his task, and did not remain on board. Rumour had it that he was secretly entreated by merchants other than those of the company of M. de Monts, to have the voyage miscarry, and it is possible that he was not yet in full sympathy with those who had hired him.² When the said M. de Poutrincourt saw this, he took on himself the duty of captain of the ship, and slept on board for five or six days in order to put out at the first favouring wind and not to lose the opportunity. At last, with much ado, on 11th May 1606, thanks to a light east wind, he gained the open sea and had our *Jonas* brought to La Pallice,³ and next day, the twelfth, re-

¹ The practice of allowing the faithful to carry the Eucharist with them, in the absence of a priest, appears to have died out in the fourth century and has never been revived.

² In the edition of 1609, it is said : " Et de fait on a eu opinion qu'il nous fit faire de fausses routes : ce qui nous tint deux mois et demi sur mer, comme nous verrons ci après." " And indeed it has been thought that he purposely held a wrong course, and so kept us two and a half months at sea, as we shall hereafter tell."

³ Three miles to the west of La Rochelle.

turned to Chef de Baie,¹ these being the places where ships take shelter from the gales. There gathered the hope of New France; the hope, I say, for on the issue of this voyage depended the continuance or the breaking off of the enterprise.

¹ Chef de Baie, called by Lescarbot Chef de Bois, lies about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from La Rochelle. The Pointe de Chef de Baie lies about a mile SE. of the entrance to La Pallice.

CHAPTER XI

ON Saturday, Whitsun Eve, being the 13th of May, we weighed anchor and put out to sea. Little by little the great towers of the town of La Rochelle faded from our view, then the Isles of Ré and of Oleron, and we bade farewell to France. This was a cause of fear to those who had not practised such a dance, to see themselves carried over so unstable an element, and every moment within a hand's-breadth of death, as the saying is. We had not gone far before some dutifully laid their offerings upon the altar of Neptune. However, we went steadily on, and there was no further question of turning back when once the gangway had been raised. The 16th of May we met thirteen Flemish ships bound for Spain; they hailed us to know the object of our voyage, and passed on. Thereafter we were a whole month without seeing anything outside our own floating town except sky and sea, save that near the Essores (or Azores) we fell in with a ship well manned with Englishmen and Flemings. They came across our bows and ran alongside, and, as is the custom of the sea, we asked them whence their ship came. They replied that they were Newfoundlanders, meaning that they were bound for the cod-fishery at Newfoundland, and asked if we would accept of their company, an offer which we declined with many thanks. Thereupon they drank to our health and we to them, and they went off in another direction. But after closely examining their ship, which was coated with green moss along its sides and bilge, we came to the conclusion that they were corsairs, and that they had been long scouring the sea in hope of making a prize. From this time on more than ever we began to see Neptune's flock leap to and fro

(for so the fleecy waves are called when the sea begins to rise), and to feel the rude buffets of his trident. For the sea is usually stormy in the spot whereof I am speaking. And if I am asked the cause, I reply that I think it arises from a sort of struggle between the east and the west winds which meet in this part of the Ocean, especially in summer, when the west winds rise and rush with great force over a vast expanse of sea until they meet the opposing winds from this side ; and one does well to avoid their encounters. This reasoning seems to me the more probable, because as far as the Azores we generally had a favourable wind, but from thence onwards it was almost always ahead, either south-west or north-west, with very little from north or south, and we could only make use of them by sailing close-hauled. We had no east wind at all, save once or twice, and then not long enough to set much value on it. It is very certain that the west winds hold sway up and down this ocean, whether because of the recoil of the east wind which blows strongly beneath the equinoctial line, of which we have already spoken, or because, on account of the great size of this western land, the wind also which blows from it is the more abundant. This occurs especially in summer, when the sun has sufficient strength to attract the vapours of the earth. For the winds blow thence and gladly leave their grottoes and caves. And therefore the poets pretend that Æolus keeps them in prison, whence he brings them forth and sends them to war at his pleasure. But the Spirit of God confirms this to us yet more surely, when He says by the mouth of the prophet that Almighty God, amid His other wonders, draws the winds out of His treasure-houses, which are the caves whereof I speak, the word for treasure in Hebrew signifying a secret and hidden spot.

“He from the ends of earth doth make the vapours to ascend ;

With rain he lightnings makes, and wind doth from his treasures send.”

—PSALM CXXXV., ver. 7.

And on this account Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, who first in these last ages sailed to the islands of America, thought that there must be a great continent to the westward, having noticed on his voyages that the wind blew continually from that direction.

Continuing our course, we encountered several more storms and difficulties caused by the winds, which our too long delay in departure rendered almost always contrary. Those who set out in March have usually fair weather, for at that date the customary winds are from the east, north-east, and north, and favourable for these voyages. These storms were often presaged by the porpoises, which surrounded our ship in thousands, and gambolled very pleasantly. Some of them came to grief in drawing too close to us, for we had a watch set below the bowsprit (which projects from the prow of the ship), harpoon in hand, who ran them through more than once and brought them on board with the aid of the rest of the crew, who hoisted them on deck with gaffs.¹ Both in coming and going we took many in this manner, and very glad indeed we were to get them. This animal has rather less than two fingers of fat on his back. When he was cut open, we bathed our hands in his yet warm blood, which is said to help to strengthen the sinews. He has a wondrous number of teeth all along his mouth, and I think that what he once has he holds. The meat tastes exactly like pork, and his bones are disposed not like those of a fish, but of a quadruped.² The most delicate portion is the ridge along the back, and the tail, which are neither fish nor flesh, but better than either, as is also, as regards the tail, that of the beaver, which appears to be covered with scales. These

¹ The edition of 1609 says : "lesquels avec des crochets de fer (qu'ils appellent gaffes), attachés au bout d'une longue perche les tiroient en haut." "Who drew them up with iron hooks, called by them gaffs, at the end of a long pole."

² This is a very acute observation of Lescarbot. The porpoise is a mammal ; this must be one of the earliest references to its structure.

porpoises are the only fish which we caught before reaching the Grand Bank of cod-fish. But we saw other large fish at a distance, which showed more than half an acre of their back above the water, and threw in the air to a height of more than two lances great streams of water from the blow-holes and openings in their heads.

To return to our story of the storms during our journey, we encountered several which made us lower sail and sit with folded arms, borne at the will of the waves, and buffeted in strange fashion. If any box was badly lashed (I employ the sailor's term intentionally), we could hear it roll about and make a fine uproar. Sometimes the soup-kettle was upset, and at dinner or supper our dishes flew from one end of the table to the other, unless they were well secured. To drink, one had to sway one's mouth and glass according to the motion of the ship. In short, it was a pastime, but a little rough for those who do not easily endure such a jolting. However, most of us took it as a joke, for danger there was none, at least so far as we could see, since we were in a stout ship strong enough to resist the waves. Sometimes too we had very tiresome calms, during which we bathed in the ocean, danced on the upper deck, climbed to the cross-trees, sang in harmony. But when we saw a little cloud rise above the horizon, then we were fain to leave our sports, and to watch out for a squall concealed therein, which unrolling, muttering, snorting, whistling, howling, storming, rumbling, could have turned our ship upside down had there not been men ready to carry out the orders of the master of the ship (Captain Foulques by name, a most watchful man). Now there is no harm in relating how these squalls, also called storms, are formed and whence they originate. Pliny speaks of them in his natural history,¹ and states generally that they are exhalations and light vapours, which, risen from the earth to the cold region of the air, and unable to go further, but rather compelled to turn

¹ Pliny, Bk. II., ch. xlviii.

back, sometimes meet sulphurous and fiery exhalations, which envelope them and surround them so closely that there ensues a great struggle, commotion, and agitation between the hot and sulphurous and the wet and windy. The latter is forced by its more powerful enemy to flee, whereupon it swells, breaks forth, and whistles, roars, storms, in short, becomes a wind, which is great or small according as the sulphurous exhalation which envelopes it breaks up and gives way, sometimes suddenly, as in the case which we have stated above; sometimes gradually, according to the quantity of matter of which it is composed, and to the greater or less agitation kept up in it by contrary qualities.

But I cannot pass unnoticed the wonderful courage possessed by good sailors amid these conflicts of wind, storm, and tempest. While the ship is borne aloft upon mountains of water, and thence glides down as it were into the most profound depths of the world, they climb among the rigging not only to the cross-trees and to the top of the main-mast, but also without a ladder to the top of another mast which is attached to the former, holding on merely by the strength of their arms and legs entwined about the topmast rigging. Yea, more, if in the midst of this fierce tossing the peak of the main-sail (which they call Paphil or Papefust) gets loose, the first man ordered aloft will sit astride the yard (*i.e.* the beam which crosses the main-mast at right angles), and, with a hammer at his belt and half-a-dozen nails in his mouth, will at the risk of a thousand lives lash up the sail where it had given way. I have in days gone by heard great praise given to the courage of a Swiss, who after the siege of Laon,¹ when the town had surrendered to the king, climbed up and sat astride of the cross-bar of the cross of the spire of Notre Dame de Laon, and there hung head downwards with arms outspread, which was certainly a daring feat. The same thing is related of a

¹ Laon had taken the side of the League, but was captured by Henry IV. in 1594.

man who once a year does the same thing on the top of the Strassburg tower, which is still higher than that of Laon ; but in my opinion this is nothing in comparison to what I have related, for the said Swiss and the other man were on a firm, solid body, whereas the sailor, on the contrary, was hanging over a sea lashed by fierce winds, as we more than once beheld.

After leaving the corsairs mentioned above, we were tossed about till June 18th by various winds, almost all contrary, without seeing anything but one ship in the far distance. Though we did not approach her, the very sight of her cheered us. The same day we fell in with a ship of Honfleur, whereof Captain La Roche was master, on her way to Newfoundland, which had had no better luck in the way of weather than ourselves. It is the custom at sea for a merchant ship meeting a king's ship, such as ours, to come under her lee, and not to sail parallel to her, but at an angle, and also to dip her ensign, as did Captain La Roche, save for the dipping of the ensign, for he had none, any more than ourselves, there being no need of it on so long a voyage, save when nearing shore, or if compelled to fight. At this meeting our sailors made a calculation of the course we had come ; for on every ship the master, the pilot, and the boatswain keep a register of the courses steered daily, and of the winds, of the number of hours each was held, and of the supposed mileage. The said La Roche thought that we were near the forty-fifth parallel, and a hundred leagues off the bank. Our pilot, by name Master Oliver Fleuriot of St. Malo, said that according to his computation we were not more than sixty leagues from it. Captain Foulques said six-score, and my opinion is that he was right. We had great joyaunce of this meeting and took good courage, now that we were beginning to meet vessels, feeling that we were among old acquaintances.

But here in passing I must notice a matter which seems to me wonderful and meet for investigation ; about this same day, June 18th, we found for the space of three

days the water of the sea quite warm, and our wine in the hold was the same, though the air was no warmer than before. And the 21st of the said month, on the contrary, we were for two or three days so surrounded with fog and cold, that we thought we were in the month of January, and the sea-water was extremely cold. So far as the said fogs were concerned, which caused this cold feeling in the air, this endured till we reached the Banks. When I seek for the cause of this alternation, I attribute it to the icebergs of the north, which come down upon the coast and into the sea which washes the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador. I have already explained how these icebergs are carried thither by the natural movement of the sea, which is greater there than elsewhere, because of the great space which it must cover in reaching, as it were, a gulf in the heart of America, whither the nature and position of the whole earth easily carry it. Now these icebergs, which are sometimes veritable fields of ice eight or ten leagues long, as high as mountains or hills, and with a bulk three times as great below the surface as above, hold, as it were, an Empire in this sea, and drive far from them whatever is contrary to their chilly nature, and thus there is huddled together to the eastward the little warmth which summer can bring in the quarter where they have pitched their tents. At the same time I do not wish to deny that that district is somewhat colder than those of our Europe in the same latitude, and that for reasons which I shall give further on, when we speak of the lateness of the seasons. Such is my opinion, which does not hinder any one else from having his own. Bearing this in mind, on our return from New France I wished to take heed thereto, and found the same, or much the same, warmth in the water, although it was in the month of September, when we were five or six days beyond the said Bank, of which we shall now speak.¹

¹ Evidently Lescarbot noticed the Gulf Stream, east of the Banks.

CHAPTER XII

THE Bank of which we have spoken above is the Grand Bank, where is carried on the fishery for green cod, as those are called which are not dried, an operation which must be performed on land.¹ In addition to the calculation of their run, the sailors before reaching it are forewarned that they are near it by the birds, just as one is on the return journey at a distance of some hundred or hundred and twenty leagues from France. Of these birds the most frequent towards the said Bank are the guillemots, terns (sea-swallows), and others called liver-snatchers,² for a reason which we shall give presently. On recognising these birds, which were unlike those which we had seen in mid-ocean, we judged that we were not far from the said Bank; and therefore on a Thursday, June 22nd, we heaved the lead, but found no bottom. The same day, however, towards evening, we cast again with better success, for we found bottom in thirty-six fathoms.³ I cannot express our joy at seeing ourselves there where we had so much desired to arrive. Sickness disappeared, every one leaped for joy, and we seemed to be at our journey's end, though it was but half-way over, at least if we consider the time that we spent before reaching our final destination at Port Royal.

¹ Cf. Denys' *Description de l'Amerique septentrionale*, ed. Ganong, *passim*.

² Identified by Professor Ganong as the fulmar or noddy.

³ The edition of 1609 adds : "Ladite sonde est un plomb de sept ou huit livres fait en forme pyramidale, attaché à un ou plusieurs cordeaux : et au plus gros bout, qui est plat, on y met de la graisse mêlée avec du beurre : puis on baisse toutes les voiles, et la jette-on ; et lors qu'on sent le fond et ne coule plus à bas, on cesse de filer le cordeau, qu'ilz appellent Ligne. Ainsi nôtre sonde tirée en haut rapporta quelques petites pierres noires, et une blanche, et un morceau de coquille, ayant outreplus une fosse dans la graisse :

Before going on I wish to explain this word "Bank," the meaning of which is perhaps troubling some of my readers. The word is sometimes applied to a sandy bottom where there is little water, or which is left dry at low tide. Such places are fatal to ships which run foul of them. But the bank of which we speak is a chain of mountains seated in the deepest depths of the ocean, and lifting their tops to within thirty, thirty-six, or forty fathoms of the surface. This bank is held to be two hundred leagues long, and eighteen, twenty, or twenty-four broad. Once past it there is no bottom on either side until land is reached. When the ships have reached it the sails are furled, and the crews, as I have said, fish for green cod, of which I shall speak in my last book. To please the reader, I have marked it on my map of Newfoundland with dots, which is all one can do to represent it. A similar phenomenon is found in the lake of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, where the fishermen fish in six fathoms of water, beyond which they find no bottom. Beyond the Grand cod-fish bank one finds others, as I have indicated in my said map. On these there is also good fishing, and many who know the good places sail there. When we were leaving La Rochelle there was a very forest of ships at Chef de Baie, which indeed gets its name for that reason. They set sail two days before us, and departed on the same tack for Newfoundland.

Having seen that we were at the Bank, we set sail again, and went onwards all night, keeping our course steadily to the westward. But at dawn the next day, which was the Eve of St. John the Baptist, on the principle that "the better the

Aquoy on jugea que le fonds estoit rocher." "This sound is a piece of lead of seven or eight pounds weight, in form of a pyramid, tied to one or more cords; and at the larger end, which is flat, is smeared some grease and butter; then the sails are struck, and the sound thrown; when the bottom is felt, and the lead ceases to draw, they stop paying out the cord, which they call the line. So our sound when drawn up brought with it some small black stones and one white one and a bit of shell, having also a cavity in the grease, whereby we judged that the bottom was of rock.

day the better the deed," we furled our sails, and passed the day in fishing for cod, with infinite joy and contentment, because of the fresh meat of which we now had our fill, after being so long in want of it.¹ While fishing we had also the pleasure of seeing those birds taken which the sailors call Liver-snatchers, because of their greediness in snatching up the cod livers which are thrown into the sea after the fish is gutted. Of these they are so desirous that even if they see a stout stick or gaff above their head ready to stun them, they run the risk of coming near the ship to snatch up a liver at whatever price. Those who were not engaged in cod-fishing passed their time in this manner, and their industry and diligence were so successful that we got about thirty. But while busy at this one of our ship's carpenters fell into the sea ; it was well for him that the ship was drifting but little, for this enabled him to save himself by seizing the rudder, whence he was dragged on board, and in the end was chastised for his blunder by Captain Foulques.

While thus fishing we also caught some dog-fish, whose skins our carpenters kept carefully, to use in rubbing smooth their wood for furniture ; also whiting,² which are better than cod, and a few bass ; and this change of flavour increased our content. Those occupied neither with cod nor with birds passed their time in gathering the hearts, tripes, and the most delicate portions of the inwards of the said cod-fish, which they hashed small with bacon, spice, and the flesh of the said cod, whereof they made as good white puddings as could be made in Paris ; and we ate of them with right good will.

¹ The edition of 1609 says : " Le sieur de Poutrincourt, et un jeune homme de Retel, nommé le Fèvre, qui pressez du mal de mer, n'estoient sortis du lict, ou de la chambre, depuis le commencement de la navigation ; monterent sur le tillac cette journée là, et eurent le plaisir de la pecherie non seulement des Moruës, mais aussi de ces oiseaux, &c." " M. de Poutrincourt, and a young man of Rethel, named Lefevre, who for sea-sickness had not left their rooms or their beds since the voyage began, came on deck that day, and had the pleasure of fishing not only for cod, but also for the birds."

² The pollock. See Ganong, *op. cit.*

Toward evening we made sail to go on our way, after having made our cannons roar, both because of the Feast of St. John and for our love to M. de Poutrincourt, who bears the name of this saint. The next day some of the crew told us that they had seen an iceberg, and thereupon we were told how the year before a vessel from the Sable d'Olonne was wrecked through going too near one of them, and how two men who had escaped on the ice had had the good luck to be picked up by another ship which was passing.

It is to be noted that from June 18th until our arrival at Port Royal we found the weather quite unlike that which we had previously had ; for, as we have said above, we had cold weather and mist or fog before reaching the Bank, where we had bright sunshine ; but the next day the fog returned, and we could see it coming up from the horizon to shut us in and keep us prisoners, usually for three days for each two days of fine weather which it allowed us. From the absence of the sun the fog was always accompanied by cold. Indeed, on two separate occasions we found ourselves for a week on end amid thick fog without any but the slightest sight of the sun, as we shall tell later on. For such effects I assign a cause which seems to me probable. Just as we see a fire draw the moisture from a damp cloth spread in front of it, so the sun draws the moistures and vapours from the earth and from the sea. But to dissolve them it has here one efficacy, and another there, according to the accidents and circumstances which present themselves. In European countries it draws up only the vapours of the earth and of our rivers, which terrene vapours being heavy and coarse, and containing less of the moist element, cause the air among us to be warm ; and the earth, deprived of these vapours, becomes warmer and more parched. Thus it is that these vapours, heated by the earth on one side and the sun on the other, are easily dissolved, and remain but a short time in the air, save in winter, when

the earth has been chilled, and the sun is far away from us on the other side of the equinoctial line. This same reason is also the cause why in the sea about France the fogs are not so frequent nor so long as in Newfoundland, because when the sun, in his journey from the Orient, passes over the land, this sea at his coming receives only terrene vapours ; and for a long distance the sun preserves this power of quickly dissolving the exhalations which he has drawn up ; but when he reaches mid-ocean and the said Newfoundland he has raised and attracted to himself on so long a journey so great abundance of vapours from all this watery plain that he cannot easily dissolve them, partly because these vapours are in themselves and by their nature cold, and partly because the water below sympathises with and preserves them, and the sun's rays are not helped to dissolve them, as they are upon the earth. This is seen also on land in that country, which though it be but little heated by reason of the abundance of wood, nevertheless aids in the dissolution of the fogs and mists which usually prevail during the summer mornings, but not to the same extent as at sea, for, rising after midnight, they begin about eight o'clock to disappear, and serve as a dew to the ground.

I hope that these little digressions are not unpalatable to the reader, since they come in naturally. On June 28th we found ourselves in forty fathoms of water on a little bank, other than the grand bank of which we have spoken ; and on the morrow one of our sailors fell by night into the sea, and it would have been all up with him, had he not found a rope trailing in the water. Thenceforward signs of land (*i.e.* of Newfoundland) began to appear, such as plants, mosses, flowers, and pieces of wood, which we met ever more abundantly the nearer we approached. At dawn on July 4th, while the rest of us were in bed, the sailors of the fourth watch caught sight of the island of St. Pierre, and on Friday, the 7th of the said month,

we sighted to starboard ¹ a high coast, stretching out of sight, which filled us with greater joy than before. Herein God showed us great favour in that we sighted this coast in fine weather; and while we were yet a great way off, the most daring climbed to the cross-trees to get a better view, so desirous were we all of this land, man's true habitation. M. de Poutrincourt went up and I also, which we had not hitherto done. Our dogs thrust their noses over the side, the better to sniff the land breezes, and could not refrain from showing their joy by their actions. We drew within a league of it, furled our sails, and fished for cod, as those caught on the bank were beginning to give out. Those who had previously crossed the ocean were of opinion that we had reached Cape Breton. When night came on, we turned our prow seawards, and the next day, the 8th of the said month of July, as we were nearing the bay of Canso, towards evening fog came on which lasted for a whole week. During this time we kept out to sea, tacking continually, and making no headway with contrary winds from the west and south-west. During this week, which lasted from Saturday to Saturday, God, who has ever guided these voyages, in which not one man has been lost at sea, vouchsafed to us a special favour, in that in the midst of these thick fogs he sent us a gleam of sunlight which lasted only half-an-hour, but during which we caught sight of the mainland, and perceived that we were driving right upon the breakers,² had we not stood out to sea with all speed. Thus does one seek for land as for his well-beloved, who sometimes repulses her lover rudely enough. At last, on Saturday, July 15th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the sky began to salute us with repeated cannonades, weeping, as though repentant to have kept us so long in trouble. So much so indeed that when the sun shone out, we saw coming

¹ To starboard, *i.e.* to the right [L.]. In the edition of 1609 he had said to port, *i.e.* to the left.

² Breakers are rocks rising on a level with the surface [L.].

straight towards us, we being then four leagues off shore, two long-boats with all sails set, though the sea was still running high. This gave us great content; and while we held on our course, lo! there came to us from the land odours of unrivalled sweetness, brought so abundantly by a warm breeze, that all the Orient could not have produced more. We held out our hands, as though to gather them in, so real were they; as did the crew of Laudonnière on approaching Florida. Meanwhile the two long-boats came up, one manned with savages, who had a moose painted on their sail, the other by Frenchmen from St. Malo who were fishing off Canso harbour; the savages showed the greater diligence, for they arrived first. They were the first I had ever seen, and I admired their fine shape and well-formed faces. One of them made his excuses that on account of the inclemency of the weather he had not brought his beautiful beaver robe. He wore only a piece of coarse red frieze, with Matachiaz around his neck and wrists, above his elbows, and at his waist.¹ We gave them food and drink, and while taking this they told us all that had happened in the past year at Port Royal, which was our destination. Meanwhile the Malouins arrived and gave us the same information as the savages, adding that on the Wednesday, on which we escaped the breakers, they had seen us, and would have come out to us with the said savages, but on seeing us put out to sea had given up the attempt. They also told us that on land there had been constant fine weather; which much annoyed us, but the cause I have already shown. From this inconvenience good may arise in future, in that these fogs will serve as rampart to the country, and one will always know in time what is going on out at sea. They also told us that they had been informed some days before by other savages that

¹ Matachiaz are carcanets, necklaces, bracelets, and wrought girdles [L.]. This was doubtless the celebrated wampum, made of shell, and held in great esteem among the Indians. See Book VI. and Laverdière, *op. cit.*, iv. 62, note 1; W. B. Weeden in *Johns Hopkins' Studies*, ii. 389-400; and Le Clercq: *New Relation of Gaspesia*, edited W. F. Ganong, p. 89, note 1.

a ship had been sighted off Cape Breton. These Frenchmen from St. Malo were in the service of the partners of M. de Monts, and complained that the Basques, contrary to the king's prohibition, had bartered with the savages and carried off more than six thousand beaver pelts. They gave us of their fish, such as bass, whiting, and large halibut.¹ As for the savages, before leaving us they asked for bread to take to their wives, which was given them; and they well deserved it for coming with such good courage to tell us where we were, for thereafter we sailed with constant assurance.

On their departure certain of our company landed at Canso harbour, partly to bring us wood and fresh water, of which we were in need, partly to follow the coast in a long-boat as far as Port Royal; for we were afraid that Captain du Pont might have left before our arrival. The savages offered to make their way to him through the woods, promising to arrive in six days, and to forewarn him of our coming, in order to stop him, since he had been instructed to start if not reinforced before the sixteenth of the month, wherein he did not fail. However, our men, anxious to examine the land more closely, put a stop to this idea, and promised, if we kept close to land, to bring us on the morrow the wood and water spoken of. This we did not do, but kept steadily on our way.

On Tuesday, July 17, we were as usual met by fogs and a head-wind. But on Thursday we had a calm, so that we made no progress either in fog or sun. During this calm, toward evening, a ship's carpenter, while bathing in the sea after having drunk too much strong waters, took a sudden fit, the cold of the ocean coming into conflict with the heat of the strong waters. Some sailors, seeing their comrade in peril, sprang into the water to his rescue, but his wits were so troubled that he jeered at them, and they were unable to lay hold on him. This caused more sailors to go to the rescue, and they got so in each other's way that all were like to be in

¹ The flétan is, doubtless, the halibut.

danger. Finally, amid this confusion one of them heard the voice of M. de Poutrincourt saying to him: "John Hay, (this was his name) look at me;" the fellow took the rope which was flung out to him and was dragged on board, and one after another the rest were saved. But the author of the trouble fell into a fever of which he was like to die.

After this calm we returned for two days into fog-land. On Sunday, the 23rd of the said month, we caught sight of Port Rossignol, and in the afternoon of the same day, in bright sunshine, we cast anchor at the entrance of Port Mouton, and were like to run aground, for we found ourselves in two fathoms and a half of water. We went on shore to the number of seventeen to get the wood and water which we needed, and there found, still in good repair, the cabins and other buildings of M. de Monts, who had spent a month there two years before, as we have told in its proper place. In the two hours we were there, we saw, growing in a sandy soil, many acorn-bearing oaks, cypresses, pines, laurels, moss roses, gooseberries, purslane,¹ raspberries, ferns, lysimachia² (a plant resembling scammony³), *Calamus odoratus*,⁴ *Angelica*, and other plants. We carried off to our ship store of wild-peas, which we found excellent. They grow along the seashore and are covered by the tide twice a day.⁵ We had no time to hunt the rabbits, which are found in great numbers not far from the said harbour, but returned on board as soon as our load of wood and water was ready and set sail.

On Tuesday, the 25th, we were off Cape Sable in fine

¹ As no purslane grows wild in Acadia Lescarbot must mean "the rather similar and conspicuous *Glaux maritima*, or *Arenaria peploides*" (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

² According to Professor Ganong, the Fire-weed, *Epilobium angustifolium*.

³ *Convolvulus scammonia* is the European plant referred to; the nearest Acadian species is *C. sepium*.

⁴ The Sweet flag, *Acorus Calamus*.

⁵ "Without doubt the abundant and conspicuous Beach Pea, *Lathyrus Maritimus*" (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

weather, and made a good run that day, for toward evening we came in sight of Long Island and St. Mary's Bay, but because it was night we stood back towards the sea. The next day we cast anchor at the entrance of Port Royal, where we could not enter by reason of the ebb ; but two cannon were fired from our ship to salute the said port and to inform the French who were there. On Thursday, July 27, we entered with the flood tide, though not without much difficulty ; for the wind was contrary, and gusts blew from the mountains which were like to carry us on the rocks. Amid all this our ship sailed stern-first, and more than once turned round, without it being possible to prevent it. But when at last within the harbour it was a wondrous sight for us to see its fair extent and the mountains and hills which shut it in, and I wondered that so fair a spot remained desert, and all wooded, seeing that so many folk are ill-off in this world who could make their profit of this land if they only had a leader to bring them thither. Little by little we approached the island opposite the fort wherein we have since dwelt. This island I call the most delightful thing of its kind possible, and we inwardly desired to see brought thither some of those fine buildings which are useless on this side the ocean, and serve only as a retreat for owls and kestrels. We did not yet know whether M. du Pont had started, and therefore we expected that he would have sent a party to greet us ; but in vain, for he had left twelve days before. But while we were drifting about the middle of the harbour, Membertou, chief Sagamos (*i.e.* Captain) of the Souriquois, the name of the tribe in that neighbourhood, rushed up to the French fort, to the solitary two who had remained, and cried out like a madman, saying in his own language : " Wake up, there. You are dawdling over your dinner (for it was about twelve o'clock), and do not see a great ship which is arriving, and we know not who they are ! " At once these two men ran to the wall, and hastily loaded the cannon with good store of bullets and

priming. Membertou without delay came out to meet us in his bark canoe, with one of his daughters, and finding nothing but friendship, and perceiving that we were French, he gave no alarm. However, one of the two men who had remained, La Taille by name, came to the harbour's edge, with the match of his firelock lighted, to find out who we were, though he knew well enough, for we had the white ensign flying at our mast-head. At once four cannon roared out,¹ waking innumerable echoes, and on our part the fort was saluted with three cannonades and several volleys of musketry, nor did our trumpeter fail to do his duty. Soon we landed, visited the house, and passed the day in returning thanks to God, in inspecting the wigwams of the savages, and in wandering through the meadows. And I cannot but greatly praise the high courage of those two men, the name of one of whom I have given; that of the other is Miquelet. They well deserve to have their names enshrined here, for having so freely risked their lives for the preservation of the property of New France. For M. du Pont, having only a long-boat and a skiff wherein to go in search of French ships off Newfoundland, could not burden himself with all the furniture, wheat, flour, and merchandise which was there, and it must all have been thrown into the sea, which would have been greatly to our prejudice and of which we had been much in fear, had not these two men faced the danger of remaining there in order to preserve them. And this they had with light hearts volunteered to do.

¹ Or perhaps, "Immediately the cannon pealed four times."

CHAPTER XIII

ON Friday, the day after our arrival, M. de Poutrincourt, as strongly affectioned to this enterprise as if it had been his own, set part of his men to work at tilling and preparing the soil, while others busied themselves at cleaning out the rooms, and every one made ready what pertained to his trade. The desire I entertained to discover what could be hoped from this land rendered me more eager than the rest in the said tillage. Meanwhile those of our party who had left us at Canso to come along the coast met, as it were by miracle, M. du Pont among the islands which are numerous in those parts. To tell how great was the joy on both sides passes my power to express. At this happy meeting the said M. du Pont turned back to visit us at Port Royal, and to embark in the *Jonas* to return to France. If this chance served his purpose, so also it did ours, on account of his boats which he left with us. And without that we had been in such difficulties that we would not have been able to come or go in any direction after our ship had returned to France. He arrived on Monday, the last day of July, and remained on at Port Royal until August 28th. During this month we made very merry. M. de Poutrincourt ordered a tun of wine to be set upon end, one of those which had been given him for his proper use, and gave leave to all comers to drink freely as long as it lasted, so that there were some who made gay dogs of themselves.

From the first we wished to explore the country up the river, where we found almost continuous meadows for more than twelve leagues, among which flow numberless brooks, rising in the neighbouring hills and mountains. Along the

banks of these streams the trees are so thick that at times a passage through them is impossible. However, I would not wish to make them out to be such as those of Peru, told of by Joseph Acosta,¹ who says : "One of our brothers, a man worthy of credence, told us that once he lost his way and wandered amid the mountains without knowing whither or in what direction he should go. At length he came to thickets so dense that for a fortnight he was constrained to walk along their tops, and did not in all that time set foot on the ground." Every man is free to believe as much of this as he wishes, but as for me such belief cannot attain unto me.

Now in the land of which we speak the trees are less thick at a distance from the banks and swampy parts, and the happiness to be expected therefrom is the greater in that it is like unto the land which God promised to his people by the mouth of Moses, saying : "The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills ; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it ; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass" (Deuteronomy viii. 7, 9). And further on, confirming the promises of the goodness and of the situation of the land which he should give them, he says : "The land whither thou goest in to possess it is not as the land of Egypt from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs ; But the land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven" (Deuteronomy xi. 10, 11). Now according to the description which we have already given of Port Royal and of its surroundings, in describing the first voyage of M. de Monts, and as we here state, brooks abound in profusion throughout all this region, whereof witness is borne by the many large rivers which water it, and herein this

¹ Joseph Acosta, Book IV. ch. xxx.

country must be esteemed no less well off than Gaul (which has a special felicity in this regard), if ever it comes to be inhabited by men of industry, who have skill to develop it.¹ As for the stones which our God promises shall be iron, and the mountains of brass, this signifies nothing else than the mines of copper and iron and steel of which we have already spoken and shall speak again hereafter. And as for the meadows, of which we have not yet spoken, Port Royal is almost wholly surrounded by them.² And on the top of the mountains are fair meadows where I have seen lakes and brooks neither more nor less than in the valleys. Even at the harbour mouth of the said Port where one enters the open sea, there is a stream which falls from high rocks, and in falling scatters into fine rain, which is most delightful in summer, for at the foot of the rock there are grottoes wherein one is sheltered, while this rain keeps falling so pleasantly, and when the sun shines a kind of rainbow is formed within the grot where the rain from the brook falls, which has often moved my great admiration. Once we went from our fort to the sea, a distance of three leagues through the woods, but on our return we went most pleasantly astray, for at the end of our journey, thinking ourselves to be in flat country, we found ourselves on the top of a high mountain, and had to come down with toil enough by reason of the snow. But mountains in a country are not continuous ; ten leagues from our settlement, the country through which passes the Riviere de l'Equille is

¹ The two earlier editions say : "et n'est moins cette terre heureuse (en ce regard) que les Gaulles, ausquelles le Roy Agrippa (faisant une harangue aux Juifs rapportée par Joseph en sa Guerre Judaïque) attribuoit une particuliere felicité pour ce qu'elles avoient des fontaines domestiques : et mêmes une partie d'icelles est appellée Aquitaine en cette consideration." "And in this regard this land is no less happy than Gaul, to which King Agrippa, in a speech to the Jews, reported by Josephus in his 'Wars of the Jews,' attributed a particular felicity because they had springs of water in their houses ; and indeed a part of the country is for this reason called Aquitaine."

² The earlier editions say : "Il y en a du côté de l'ouest audit Port Royal," "There are some on the west side of the said Port Royal."

quite flat. I have seen in those parts several districts where the whole land is level, and the finest in the world. The best of all is that it is well watered. And in testimony of this, not only at Port Royal but throughout the whole of New France, the great river of Canada bears witness, which, four hundred leagues from its mouth, is as broad as the largest rivers in the world, filled with islands and innumerable rocks, taking its rise in one of the lakes which are met along its course (this is my opinion) so that it flows in two directions, one branch eastward toward France, the other westward toward the south sea. This is wonderful, but not without example in our own Europe, for I learn that the river which flows down to Trent and to Verona,¹ comes from a lake whence springs another river whose course tends in the opposite direction towards the river Linz, which empties into the Danube.² So our geographers affirm that the Nile flows from a lake which produces other rivers which empty into the great Ocean.

Let us go back to our farming, for this must be our goal. That is the first mine for which we must search, and is better worth than the treasures of Atahualpa; for whoso has corn, wine, cattle, linen, cloth, leather, iron, and, lastly, cod-fish, need have naught to do with treasure for the necessities of life. Now all these are, or could be, produced in the land which we describe; wherein after M. de Poutrincourt had ordered a second tillage to be made a fortnight later, and I the same, we sowed our French grains, both wheat and rye;³ and a week later he saw that his labour was not in vain, but gave him good hope, by the production which the earth had already brought forth from the seeds which she had received. This was shown to M. du Pont, and was a subject for him to report on in France, being quite a new thing in that colony.

¹ The Adige.

² This is incorrect, though the river Inn, which enters the Danube above Linz, rises not far from the Adige.

³ The earlier editions add: "and also hemp, flax, turnips, radishes, cabbages, and other crops."

When those fair samples were to be seen, it was already August 20th, and the season warned those who were to sail to pack up their baggage. To this effect orders were given with such diligence that on the twenty-fifth of the said month, after many a cannonade, they weighed anchor to make the mouth of the harbour, which is usually the first day's run.

M. de Monts greatly desired to push as far south as possible, and to find a spot well suited for a colony beyond Malebarre, and had therefore requested M. de Poutrincourt to go further on than he himself had done, and to search for a suitable harbour in a good climate, for as regards health he esteemed Port Royal no better than St. Croix. This request M. de Poutrincourt desired to carry out, but was unwilling to wait till spring, knowing that there would then be other matters to attend to. Seeing his crops sown and the fields already green, he resolved to make this voyage of discovery before winter. To this end he made everything ready, and with his long-boat came to anchor alongside the *Jonas*, in order that they might set out together. While they waited there for the space of three days in hope of a fair wind, every day a half-grown whale (which in the savage tongue is called *Maria*)¹ entered the harbour in the morning with the flood tide, sported at his ease, and went away at the ebb. And thereupon I myself, taking a little leisure, wrote in French verse a farewell to the said M. du Pont and his company, which is placed at the end of this work, among the Muses of New France.

On the twenty-eighth of the said month each took his separate way, one to the east, one to the west, under the care of God. M. du Pont had decided that on the way he would attack a merchant of Rouen named Boyer, who, contrary

¹ Professor Ganong writes : " I cannot find anywhere this word for 'whale' in Micmac. But I do find the root *Mālehā* in their word 'to be young.' As the French always render the Indian *l* by *r*, I think this is the same word, and refers to the fact that the whale was a young one, as we might say, under similar circumstances, "the youngster."

to the king's prohibition, had crossed the ocean to barter with the savages, after having been delivered from prison in La Rochelle with the consent of M. de Poutrincourt, under promise that he would not go. But on their arrival they found him flown. M. de Poutrincourt set his course for the island of St. Croix, our first French colony, having with him, as guide and master of his boat, M. de Champdoré; but contrary winds and a leaky boat forced him twice to put back. Finally he crossed French Bay and visited the said island, where he found ripe corn, which had sprouted from that sown two years before by M. de Monts, which was healthy, fat, full and well grown. Some of it he sent to us at Port Royal, where I had been requested to remain to keep an eye on the place, and to keep the peace among those who remained. This I had agreed to do, though the matter had been left to my own free will, for the certainty we had that next year the colony would be settled in a warmer country beyond Malebarre, and that we would all journey there together, in company with reinforcements from France. Meanwhile I set about making ready the soil, setting off and enclosing gardens wherein to sow wheat and kitchen herbs. We also had a ditch dug all round the fort, which was a matter of necessity to receive the dampness and the water which previously had oozed underneath our dwellings, amid the roots of the trees which had been cut down, and which had very likely been the cause of the unhealthiness of the place.

I have no time to stop here to describe in detail the several labours of our other workmen. Suffice it to say that we had numerous joiners, carpenters, masons, stone-cutters, locksmiths, workers in iron, tailors, wood-sawyers, sailors, &c., who worked at their trades, and in doing so were very kindly used, for after three hours' work a day they were free. The rest of the time they spent in gathering mussels, which we found in great numbers at low tide in front of the fort, or a species of lobster, or crab, which abound beneath the rocks

of Port Royal, or cockles, which grow beneath the mud in all parts of the beach of the said harbour. All these were gathered without either net or boat. Some of them caught game on more than one occasion, but not being practised thereat they spoiled their hunting. As for ourselves, we had at our table one of M. de Monts' men, who provided us so well that we had no lack, bringing us sometimes half-a-dozen bustards, sometimes as many ducks or wild geese, both white and grey, very often two or three dozen larks,¹ and other sorts of birds. No one lacked bread, and each had three half-pints of pure and good wine a day. This lasted as long as we were there, save that when those who came to fetch us, instead of bringing us supplies, had aided us to empty our casks, as we shall relate again further on, we were forced to reduce the ration to a pint. Yet even so an extra supply was frequently served out. In this regard this voyage was the best of all, for which we owe much praise to the said M. de Monts and to his partners, Messrs. Macquin and Georges, of Rochelle, who made such honourable provision for us. For in truth I hold that this September liquor ² is, among its other uses, a sovereign prophylactic against the ravages of scurvy; and spiceries correct the unhealthiness which the air of this region perchance contains, though I have always found it very pure and fine, notwithstanding the reasons on which I may have already touched in speaking above of the said malady. For our rations we had peas, beans, rice, prunes, raisins, dried cod, and salt meat, besides oil and butter. But whenever the savages encamped near us had made a catch of any quantity of sturgeon, salmon, or smaller fish, or of any beaver, moose, caribou, or other animals mentioned in my "Farewell to New France," they brought us the half thereof, and frequently put up the remainder to public sale, and any one who wished bartered bread for it. Such in part was our manner of life there. But

¹ *I.e.* plover.

² *I.e.*, because in September the grapes are gathered.

while each of our said workmen had his special trade, they had also to set to work at whatever turned up, as many of them did. Certain masons and stone-cutters turned their hands to baking, and made us as good bread as that of Paris. So too one of our wood-sawyers several times made us a great quantity of charcoal. In this connection a matter must be noticed which comes to my remembrance. It is this, that as it was necessary to cut turf to cover the pile of wood collected to make the said charcoal, we found in the meadows more than two feet of soil which was not earth, but mud and vegetable matter mixed one with the other year after year since the beginning of the world, without having been cut. Nevertheless good grass grows thereon, and affords food to the moose, which we have many times seen in our meadows there in troops of three or four, large and small; they would allow us to come within a certain distance, and then gain the woods. But I can also state that in crossing over the space of two leagues of our said meadows, I have seen them all trodden with the tracks of moose, for I know of no other animals with a cloven hoof. One of these animals was killed not far from our fort, at a place where M. de Monts had had the grass cut two years before, and where in consequence a very fine crop had sprung up. The curious reader may wonder how these meadows are formed, seeing that all the soil in these parts is covered with wood. To satisfy him herein, let him know that the high tides, especially those of March and of September, overflow the banks in this district and that this hinders the trees from taking root. But in every spot not reached by the water, if there is soil, there is timber.

CHAPTER XIV

LET us return to M. de Poutrincourt, whom we have left on the island of St. Croix. After holding a review there, and treating tenderly the Indians who were present, he went in four days to Pemptegoet,¹ which is the spot so well known under the name of Norombega. So long a time for the journey thither is not needed, but he halted on the way to refit his boat, for which purpose he had brought with him a locksmith and a carpenter and store of planks. Sailing through the islands at the mouth of the river, he came to Kinibeki, where his boat was in danger through the swift currents caused by the nature of the place. On this account he did not stop, but passed on to Marchin Bay, so called after an Indian chief, who at the arrival of the said gentleman began to cry out in a loud voice, "Hé, hé," to which a like reply was made. He responded by asking in his own tongue who are ye? and was told that they were friends. Thereupon to win him over M. de Poutrincourt made a treaty of friendship with him, and gave him presents of knives, hatchets, and *matachiaz*, i.e. scarves, necklaces, and armlets made of chaplets or of tubes of white and blue glass, whereat he was well content, and also at the alliance which the said M. de Poutrincourt made with him, seeing clearly how firm a support it would be to him. He distributed to some of a great number of people whom he had with him the gifts of the said M. de Poutrincourt, to whom he brought large quantities of elk or moose meat (now the Basque word for a deer or moose is Orignac), to refresh the company with food. This done, they set sail toward Chouakoet, where is the river of the chief Olmechin,

¹ The Penobscot.

and where in the following year the war was carried on between the Souriquois and the Etechemins under the leadership of the Sagamos Membertou, which I have described in verses inserted among the Muses of New France. At the entrance of the bay of the said district of Chouakoet is an island, about half a league in circumference, on which our company made their first discovery of vines ;¹ for though they exist in places near to Port Royal, as, for example, along the St. John river, there was as yet no knowledge of them. Here they were found in great abundance with a stem three or four feet in height, as thick at the root as a man's fist, bearing fine grapes, some as large as plums, others smaller, and so black that where their juice was spilt they left a stain. They were spread upon the thickets and brambles which grow in this island, on which the trees are not so thick as elsewhere, but from six to seven rods² apart, which makes the grapes ripen there more easily, especially as the soil, which is full of sand and gravel, is most suitable to them. There they remained only two hours, but it was noticed that on the north side there were no vines, just as in the island of St. Croix the cedars are only on the west side.

From this island they passed on to the river of Olmechin and harbour of Chouakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought M. de Poutrincourt a Souriquois prisoner, and therefore their enemy, whom they freely handed over to him. Two hours later two Indians arrived, the one an Etechemin, named Chkoudun, the chief of the river St. John, which is called by the Indians Oigoudi ; the other a Souriquois, named Messamoet, chief or Sagamos in the river of Port de Lahave, where this prisoner had been taken. They had much merchandise, gained by barter with the French, which they came thither to sell—to wit, kettles, large, medium, and small, hatchets, knives, dresses, capes, red jackets, peas, beans,

¹ Richmond Island, near the mouth of the Saco, long noted for its vines.

² A toise=6.39447 English feet.

biscuits, and other such things. Meantime there suddenly arrived twelve or fifteen boats full of Indians of the tribes subject to Olmechin, well equipped, and all with their faces painted, as is their custom when they wish to appear at their best, with bow and arrow in hand and quiver ready, all of which on coming aboard they laid aside. Thereupon Messamoet began a harangue before the Indians, pointing out "how of past time they had often had friendly intercourse together, and that they could easily overcome their enemies if they would come to terms, and make use of the friendship of the French, whom they saw there present exploring their country, in order in future to bring merchandise to them and to aid them with their resources, whereof he knew and could the better tell them, because he, the orator, had once upon a time visited France, and had resided there in the house of M. de Grandmont, governor of Bayonne."¹ In sum, his speech occupied about an hour, and was delivered with much vehemence and earnestness and with such gestures of body and of arm as befit a good orator. And in conclusion he flung into the canoe of Olmechin all his merchandise, which in those parts was worth more than three hundred crowns in cash, as though making him present thereof in sign of the friendship which he wished to show to him. That done, night came on and all withdrew. But Messamoet was not satisfied, in that Olmechin had not made him a like harangue or requited him for his presents; for the Indians have this noble trait that they give freely, throwing at the feet of the man they wish to honour the gift which they are making him; but this is done with the hope of receiving some honourable return, which is a form of contract known the world over and called by us, without any special name: *Do ut des* (I give to you that you may give to me). Therefore from this day Messamoet con-

¹ Philibert de Gramont (1552-1580). His chief claim to distinction was his marriage with "la belle Corisande," afterwards one of the most celebrated mistresses of Henry IV.

sidered how he might make war upon Olmechin. Nevertheless on the morning of the next day he and his tribe returned with a canoe laden with what they had, to wit, corn, tobacco, beans, and pumpkins, which they distributed on every hand. These two chiefs, Olmechin and Marchin, have since then been killed in battle. In their place was chosen by the Indians a certain Bessabes, who since our return has been killed by the English. In his place they have brought down from the back-country a chief named Asticou, a man grave, valorous, and feared, who in the twinkling of an eye will gather together a thousand Indians, as would also Olmechin and Marchin. For while our long-boats were there, on a sudden the whole sea was seen covered with their canoes manned with agile warriors, who stood straight up therein, which we could not do without risk, the said canoes being nothing more than trees hollowed out in the manner of which we shall tell in our last book. Pursuing his journey thence, M. de Poutrincourt found a very good harbour which had escaped the notice of M. de Monts, and during the voyage they saw frequent columns of smoke and people on the shore who invited them to land, and who, on seeing that they paid no attention, followed the long-boat along the sandy beach, indeed usually outstripped it, such is their agility. They carried bow in hand and quiver on back, and danced and sang continually without any thought of how they should live by the way. Oh, happy race! yea, a thousand-fold more happy than those who here make us bow down to them, had they but the knowledge of God and of their salvation.

When M. de Poutrincourt had landed at this harbour, lo and behold, amid a multitude of savages were a good number of pipers, who played, though with less harmony than our shepherds, upon a kind of long flageolet, made apparently of reeds, with designs painted thereon; and to show the excellence of their art, they whistled through their noses, and gambolled after their usual fashion.

And as this folk ran headlong to reach our long-boat, a savage cut his heel so badly against the sharp edge of a rock that he was forced to remain where he was. M. de Poutrincourt's surgeon would fain have given at once to this hurt the assistance of his art, but they would not permit this till they had first made their mops and mows around the wounded man. They laid him down on the ground, one of them holding his head in his lap, and made many howlings and songs, to which the patient replied nothing save "Ho," in a plaintive tone. This done they entrusted him to the care of the said surgeon and made off, as did the patient also after his wound had been dressed; but two hours after he returned as jaunty as you please, having tied round his head the bandage in which his heel had been wrapped, to look the prettier fellow.

On the morrow our men went further into the harbour, and, having gone to visit the lodges of the savages, an old woman, a hundred or six score years of age, came and threw at the feet of M. de Poutrincourt a loaf of bread made of that corn which they call maize, and we Turkish corn or buckwheat, and also hemp, both fair and long, beans, too, and grapes freshly plucked, for they had seen them eaten by the French at Chouakoet. On seeing this the other savages, who had been ignorant of this, began to vie with each other in bringing more than was desired; in payment whereof we attached to their foreheads a strip of paper wetted with spittle, whereof they were very proud. We showed them, by squeezing grapes into a glass, that we made thereof the wine which we were drinking. We wished to get them to eat of the grape, but on taking it into their mouths they spat it out again, thinking, as Ammianus Marcellinus tells of our Gallic ancestors, that it was poison, so ignorant is this people of the best gift, next to bread, which God has given to man. Yet they do not lack wit, and might come to something if they were civilised and knew the various trades. But they are crafty, thievish,

and treacherous, and, naked though they be, one cannot escape from their fingers ; for if one turns away his gaze but for a moment, and they see a chance of stealing a knife, hatchet, or anything else, they will never fail to do so, and will put the theft between their buttocks, or hide it in the sand with their foot so cunningly that one will not perceive it. I have read in a book of travels to Florida that the natives of that province are of the same nature, and use the same industry in thieving. And in truth it is no wonder if a poor naked folk be thievish, but when there is malice in the heart it is no longer excusable. These people are of such a nature that they must be worked on by fear, for if one tries friendship and gives them too easy access, they will plan some treachery, as has frequently been noticed, as we have seen above and shall see again later on. And without going further, on the second day after our arrival, when they saw our men on the bank of the stream busy with their washing, some fifty of them came in single file, with bows, arrows, and quivers, intending to play some dirty trick, as we guessed by their behaviour. But we were too quick for them, and marched to meet them with loaded muskets and lighted matches. On this some of them fled and the others were surrounded, whereupon they laid aside their arms, and, coming to a peninsula where our men were, put the best face on it they could, and sought to barter their tobacco for our goods.

On the next day the chief of the said district and harbour came on board to visit M. de Poutrincourt. We were astonished to see him accompanied by Olmechin, for the land journey thither was exceedingly long, and that by sea much shorter. This gave us cause for suspicion, although he had promised fidelity to the French. Nevertheless they were courteously received, and M. de Poutrincourt gave to the said Olmechin a complete suit, which when he put on he looked at himself in a glass, and laughed at the sight which he presented. But soon after, feeling that it irked him, though it

was the month of October, on his return to the lodges he distributed it among several of his people, in order that no one man might be too much impeded by it. And this may well serve as a lesson to the many fops of both sexes in this country, who must needs have suits and corslets as stiff as wood, wherein their bodies are so miserably tormented that when once clothed they are unfit for any good action ; and if the weather becomes too hot, the heat which they suffer within these huge thousand-pleated rumps of theirs is insupportable, and surpasses the tortures sometimes inflicted on criminals.

Now while the said M. de Poutrincourt was there, in doubt whether M. de Monts would come to settle a colony on this coast, as he wished to do, he ordered a plot of ground to be prepared, wherein to sow grain and plant vines. This he did with the aid of our apothecary, M. Louis Hebert,¹ a man who, in addition to his skill in his art, takes great pleasure in cultivating the soil. And herein one might compare M. de Poutrincourt to good father Noah, who after having seen to preparing the soil for sowing wheat, that most necessary crop of all, turned next to planting vines, whose effects he himself afterwards felt.

As they were thinking of passing on, Olmechin came to the boat to see M. de Poutrincourt. Having spent several hours, partly in chatting, partly in eating, he said that on the morrow a hundred canoes were expected, each holding six men ; but as the coming of such a band could only be a nuisance, M. de Poutrincourt would not wait for them, but departed the same day to Malebarre, though not without many difficulties on account of the strong currents and the shoal water ; in such sort that the long-boat grounded in not more than three feet of water, and they thought they were cast away, and began to unload, and to fill with provisions

¹ See Laverdière, iii. p. 128 (616). He was afterwards the first permanent settler at Quebec.

the skiff which they were towing, in order to reach the shore ; but the tide was not yet high, and at the end of an hour the long-boat floated off. This whole sea is a submerged district similar to that around Mount St. Michael ; the bottom is sandy, and the part which has remained above water is flat right up to the mountains which one sees fifteen leagues off. My own opinion is that as far as Virginia it is just the same. Moreover here, as also further north, there is great abundance of grapes, and the country is very thickly settled. M. de Monts, who came to Malebarre at a different season, gathered only green grapes, which he made into jam, some of which he presented to the king. But it was our good hap to visit the spot in October and to see their perfect ripeness. I have already spoken of the difficulty of entering the harbour of Malebarre. For this reason M. de Poutrincourt did not go in with his long-boat, but only in a skiff, which thirty or forty savages helped to bring inside. As the tide was high—and in this region the rise and fall is only two fathoms, a sight rarely seen—he came out and withdrew to his said long-boat in order that at break of day on the morrow he might pass on.

CHAPTER XV

WHEN night began to fold her tents to give place to the dawn, they set their sails to the breeze, but it was a most perilous voyage, for with this small vessel of but eighteen tons they were forced to hug the shore, where our people found no depth of water; on putting out to sea it proved to be still worse; so that they grounded two or three times, and were only carried off by the waves; and the rudder was broken, which was a terrible mishap. In this extremity they were compelled to cast anchor out at sea in two fathoms of water and three leagues from shore. This done M. de Poutrincourt sent Daniel Hay (a man whose pleasure it is to display his courage among the dangers of the deep) to examine the shore and see if there were no haven. And when he came near land he saw a savage, who danced and sang *Yo, Yo, Yo*: to him he called to come near, and asked him by signs if there were no place fit to draw up ships and where fresh water could be had. On the savage making an affirmative sign, he took him into the skiff and brought him to the long-boat, in which was Chkoudun, the chief of the river Oigoudi, otherwise called St. John; him we confronted with this savage, but he understood him no whit better than did our own people; true it is that by making signs he understood his meaning better than they. This savage pointed to the spots where there were shoals and where there were none, and winding in and out, with the lead always in hand, they did so well that at length they reached the haven whereof he had spoken, in which there is little depth.¹ When they had brought the

¹ Champlain tells us their savage guide afterwards fled, in fear of being taken further south amid hostile tribes (Slafter, *op. cit.*, p. 126).

boat there, with all speed they set up a forge to mend and attach the rudder, and an oven to bake bread, for the biscuit had run out.

A fortnight passed at this, during which M. de Poutrincourt, according to the praiseworthy custom of Christians, had a cross of wood framed and set on a hillock, as M. de Monts had done two years before at Kinibeki and at Malebarre. Moreover, amid these toilsome exercises they failed not to make good cheer of what in this region earth and sea can supply, for in this harbour there is plenty of game, in hunting which several of our men were kept busy; sea-larks¹ especially are found in such large flocks that with one shot from an arquebus M. de Poutrincourt killed twenty-eight. As for fish, porpoises and blowers² are in such abundance that the whole sea seems covered with them. Since they had not the necessary apparatus for carrying on this fishing they confined themselves altogether to the shell-fish, such as oysters, clams,³ crabs,⁴ and others whereof there were enough to be content. For the rest, the savages brought fish and reed baskets full of grapes to barter for some of our stores. The said M. de Poutrincourt seeing there such excellent grapes, gave orders to his valet to tie up and put in the long-boat a bundle of the vines whence they had been taken. Master Louis Hebert, our apothecary, who wished to dwell in these parts, had rooted up a large number of them, with the intention of planting them at Port Royal, where there are none, though the soil there is well fitted for vines; but this was stupidly forgotten and neglected, to the great displeasure of the aforesaid gentleman and of us all.

¹ The plover.

² A species of porpoise. *Vide* Ganong, *The Identity of the Animals and Plants*, &c. (R.S.C., 1910).

³ The round, or hard clam, *Venus mercenaria*. See Ganong, *op. cit.* In Vol. I., p. 113, I had mistranslated it as "oyster."

⁴ Called Siguendc by Champlain, who describes it very accurately (*Voyages in 1604*, chap. viii. Slafter, ii. pp. 86-7), and on his large map gives a drawing of it. It is the king-crab, or horse-shoe crab (*Limulus polyphemus*). See Slafter's note, and Ganong, *op. cit.*

Some days later, seeing the great concourse of savages, who were from five to six hundred in number, the said gentleman landed and to frighten them somewhat caused one of his men to march before him making play with two swords and performing therewith many a flourish. At this they much wondered, but far more when they saw that our muskets pierced thick logs of wood, on which their arrows could not so much as make a scratch. For this reason they never attacked our men so long as they kept on their guard. And it would have been well to sound the trumpet at the end of every hour, as did Captain Jacques Cartier ; for, as M. de Poutrincourt often said, *One must never lay bait for rascals* ; meaning that one must never allow an enemy to think that he can get the better of you, but must ever show that one mistrusts him and is wide awake ; and especially when one is dealing with savages who will never attack a man who awaits them firmly. This was not done here by some, who paid dearly for their neglect, as we shall tell.

At the end of a fortnight the said M. de Poutrincourt, seeing his long-boat refitted and that but one batch of bread remained to bake, went off some three leagues into the country to see if he might find aught worthy of remark ; but on his return he and his men perceived the savages stealthily gliding through the woods in divers bands of twenty, thirty, or more, some stooping as men do to avoid being seen, others crouching in the grass in order not to be perceived, others carrying their goods and canoes laden with corn, as though about to decamp ; the women too were carrying their children and such of their goods as they could. Such proceedings made M. de Poutrincourt think that these people were planning some ill. Therefore on his arrival he ordered those of his men who were baking to withdraw to the long-boat. But as young folks are very often forgetful of their duty, so these, intent on finishing some cake or tart, preferred to follow their appetite rather than to obey orders, and allowed night to come on without

taking shelter. Towards midnight, M. de Poutrincourt, thinking over the occurrences of the past day, asked if they were aboard the long-boat, and on learning that they were not, sent the skiff to get them and bring them on board ; of which they would not hear, except his valet, who feared a thrashing. They were five in number, armed with muskets and swords, and had been warned to be ever on their guard ; yet they kept no watch whatever, so fond were they of having their own way. Report had it that some days before they had twice fired on the savages because one of them had stolen a hatchet. Finally, the said savages, whether angry thereat or from their evil nature, came noiselessly at dawn, which they can easily do, having neither horses, nor carts, nor wooden shoes, right up to the spot where our men were sleeping, and seeing a fit chance to play a foul trick, attacked them with arrows and clubs. Two they killed ; the others being wounded began to cry out, and rushed down to the shore. Then the man on guard in the long-boat in great alarm raised a shout : “ To arms ! to arms ! our friends are being butchered ! our friends are being butchered ! ” At this cry all sprang out of bed, and hurriedly, without taking time to dress or to light their matches, ten leaped into the skiff. Of their names I remember only Champlain, Robert Gragé, son of M. du Pont, Daniel Hay, the Surgeon, the Apothecary, and the Trumpeter, all of whom, following the said M. de Poutrincourt, who had his son with him, sprang on shore in their shirts. But the savages fled helter-skelter, though they were above three hundred in number, not counting such as may after their manner have been crouching in the grass and did not show themselves. Wherein is manifest that God gives to the face of His faithful ones a mysterious aspect of terror in the presence of the infidel, according to His word, wherein He says to His chosen people : “ There shall no man be able to stand before you ; for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you, and the dread of you, upon all the land that ye shall tread upon ”

(Deut. xi. 25). Thus we see that an hundred and thirty-five thousand Midianite warriors fled and slew one another before Gideon, who had but three hundred men. Now to think of pursuing these savages would have been labour lost, for they are too nimble ; but if one were mounted, he would soon spoil their game, for they have many little paths leading from place to place, which is not the case at Port Royal, and their forests are not thick, and, moreover, much of the land is open, with their lodges or wigwams in the middle of their tilled plots.

While M. de Poutrincourt was landing, they fired from the long-boat several shots of our small artillery at a band of savages who were on a hillock. Several of them were seen to fall, but they are so clever in carrying away their dead that one can never be sure. M. de Poutrincourt, seeing that to pursue them would be vain, ordered graves to be dug to bury those who had been killed. I have said that they were two, but another died at the water's edge while attempting to escape, and a fourth was so pierced with arrows that he died on reaching Port Royal. The fifth had an arrow in his breast, but this time he escaped ; better would it have been for him to die ; for we have lately heard that he was hanged at the settlement which M. de Monts maintains at Quebec on the great river of Canada, having been the ringleader in a conspiracy against Champlain,¹ his captain, who is now there. And as for this disaster, it was caused by the folly and disobedience of one whom I will not name, for that he died there ; he was wont to play the braggart among some young fellows who put too much faith in him, but who otherwise were good-hearted enough ; and because they would not let him get

¹ Champlain, edition of 1613, chap. xv. of *Voyages in 1604*, gives a short account of this affair, and a wonderful drawing of it.

The survivor was one Du Val, a locksmith, whose conspiracy against Champlain, and subsequent hanging, are told in Book V. chap. ii., and also in Champlain, *Voyages in 1608-12* (ed. of 1613), chap. iii. (See Slafter, ii. pp. 175-182 ; Laverdière, pp. 297 seq.)

drunk, he had sworn, as was his fashion, that he would not return to the long-boat, nor did he, for this very man was found dead, face downwards, with a little dog upon his back, both transfixed and transpierced by the same arrow.

The fulfilment of this prophecy makes me wish to relate two others, of like character and very true, which came to pass to the preservation of France on the eve of St. Mark in this year 1617, which have not been noticed by any of the writers of pamphlets on the death of the Marquis d'Ancre.¹ The first is of Barbin, who was made Controller-General of Finances in place of President Jeannin, who was not agreeable, as being too true a Frenchman.² This Barbin, seeing three or four princes and a handful of senile and weak lords oppose the tyranny which the said Marquis had usurped in the name of the King, was wont to say that these turmoils would not last till the end of May, and that within this time these princes and lords (who were sacrificing themselves for their country) would of necessity be forced to yield.³ This had the appearance of truth, but God, the just judge, saw thereto, and beyond the hope of most of us so fortified the spirit and the courage of this young prince our King that in less time than a cloud can burst this lofty power which was so fain to try

¹ Concini, Marquis d'Ancre, the worthless Italian favourite of Marie de Médecis, the Queen Mother, was assassinated with the connivance of the King on the eve of St. Mark, 24 April, 1617. Lescarbot reflects the universal joy of Paris.

² Barbin was one of the creatures of Concini, and was involved in his fall, being first imprisoned and then exiled. See H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, liv. 65 and 66.

For President Jeannin, see vol. i. of this edition, p. 9.

There is a curious difference here in the copies of the edition of 1617-18, some reading : "en la place d'un meilleur François et plus homme de bien que lui, pour mettre en la main d'un faquin la Monarchie Française" ; and others, as above : "en la place de Monsieur le President Jeannin, lequel n'étoit agreeable, par ce qu'il étoit trop bon François."

³ The whole affair of Concini was involved in the struggle between the Queen Mother and the Princes of the blood, which lasted from the death of Henry IV. till both Queen Mother and Princes were put down by Richelieu. Condé, the patron of Champlain, was one of the chief malcontents.

how high and how far Fortune could raise a man was crushed to earth and utterly overthrown by the death of this ambitious fellow, drunken with unmerited favours.

The other prophet of whom I would tell was the Marquis himself, who in his last journey to Paris, passing through Ecoüis, seven leagues beyond Rouen, was complained to by a maid-servant of the Royal Falchion, where he lay, that the war was costing them much, and that travellers no longer came their way. To which on his departure he said : " My lass, I am off to Paris ; if I return we shall have war, if not, peace." And this has come about, though not in the sense in which he meant it. For of a truth he had no thought to die so soon ; and his death, so longed for and so necessary, has in a moment restored peace, preserved these good and generous princes from utter ruin, and saved the King and the royal line, whose state and whose life hung but by a thread, which this hapless Pisander¹ thought soon to cut.

Thus many a man has often prophesied what he did not mean or understand, whereof an example is well known to us in Holy Writ in the prophecy of Balaam. But let us return to our Armouchiquois.

In this unhappy affair the son of the above-mentioned M. du Pont had three fingers blown off by the bursting of an overloaded musket.² This greatly saddened the company, who were already in sorrow enough. However, they did not fail to pay the last rites to the dead, who were buried at the foot of the Cross, which, as we have said, had been set up there. But after the murders which they had committed, the insolence of this barbarous people grew great, in so much that as our men sung over our dead the customary orisons and funeral prayers of the Church, these wretches, I say, in joy

¹ A celebrated tyrant of Athens in the sixth century B.C.

² Champlain puts this two or three days later. These minor differences in the two accounts make it probable that Lescarbot had his account not from Champlain, but from a diary kept by some one else, probably by De Poutrincourt himself.

at their treachery, danced and yelled afar off. But, for all their numbers, they did not venture to come to attack our people, who, after completing the above at their leisure, as the tide was rapidly running out, withdrew to the long-boat where Champdoré had remained on guard. But as it was low tide and they could not land, this rascally crew came back to the place of their murderous deed, uprooted the Cross, dug up one of the dead, took off his shirt and put it on, holding up the spoils which they had carried off; and with all this they also turned their backs to the long-boat and made mock at us by taking sand in their two hands and casting it between their buttocks, yelping the while like wolves. This mightily enraged our men, who spared not to fire on them with cannon; but the distance was very great, and the savages had already learned the trick of throwing themselves to earth when they saw the match applied, so that one could not tell whether they had been hurt or not, and our men were forced to drink this cup while waiting for the tide. When it rose high enough for us to reach the shore, as soon as they saw our men embark in the skiff, they fled like greyhounds, trusting in their speed. With our men was a chief named Chkoudun, mentioned above, who mightily disliked this whole affair, and wished to go alone to do battle with this multitude, but was not suffered so to do. And thereupon they set up the Cross again reverently and buried once more the body which they had dug up. And this harbour they called Port Fortuné.¹

The next day they set sail to pass on and discover new lands, but were compelled by the contrary winds to put back and to re-enter the said harbour. Two days later another attempt was made to go on, but in vain, and they were forced to put back again into port until the wind was favourable. During this stay the savages, thinking, I suppose, that what had occurred was only in sport, wished to show themselves

¹ *I.e.* The port of mischance, or Unlucky Harbour. Slafter, *op. cit.*, ii. 120, identifies it as Stage Harbour, in Chatham

reconciled, and asked to barter, pretending that it was not they who had committed the crime, but others, whom they showed by signs had gone away. But they had not bethought them of the fable, how that the stork on being found among the cranes, who were caught in the very act of misdoing, was punished like the rest, although she said that so far from committing any wrong she was, on the contrary, ridding the earth of the snakes which she was eating. M. de Poutrincourt allowed them to approach and made as though he would accept their wares, which consisted of tobacco, some chains, necklaces and armlets made of periwinkle shells (called *Esurgni* in the account of the second voyage of Jacques Cartier), and held in great repute among them; also corn, beans, bows, arrows, quivers, and other such small wares. And when intercourse was renewed, the said M. de Poutrincourt bade nine or ten whom he had with him to arrange the matches of their muskets in the fashion of a noose, and at a given signal to throw each his cord over the head of the savage with whom he was dealing, and to seize on him as the hangman does on his victim; and for this purpose that half of his people should land while the savages were kept busy bartering from the skiff. This was done, but the success was not equal to his desire; for his hope was to make use of those who were taken by employing them on forced labour at the hand-mill and at wood-cutting, but too great haste frustrated this design. However, six or seven of them were hacked and hewed in pieces, who could not run so lightly in the water as on shore, and were caught as they came out by those of our men who had landed. The savage *Chkoudun*, mentioned above, carried off one of their heads, but by ill-luck it fell into the water, whereat he was so chagrined that he wept openly and loud.¹

This done, on the morrow they set themselves to push on, although the wind was contrary, but made little progress, and saw only an island six or seven leagues off, which they could

¹ This sentence is added in the edition of 1617-18.

not reach, and which they named Doubtful Island.¹ Taking this into consideration, and that, on the one hand, they feared a dearth of supplies, and, on the other, that winter should hinder the voyage, and having also two sick men, whose recovery was despaired of, after some debate it was resolved to return to Port Royal, especially as, in addition to the reasons given above, M. de Poutrincourt was anxious for those whom he had left behind. Thus for the third time they came to Port Fortuné, where no savage was seen.

At the first fair wind the said gentleman weighed anchor for the return, and, mindful of the dangers past, had a course set for the open sea, thus shortening his voyage. But not without a great mishap to the rudder, which was again broken ; so that they were at the mercy of the waves, but finally arrived as best they could at the islands of Norombega, where they repaired it. Leaving these they came to Menane,² an island some six leagues long between St. Croix and Port Royal, where they waited for the wind ; this came in some sort from the quarter they desired, but on starting, new mishaps befell. For the skiff, which was made fast behind the long-boat, was driven by a wave so violently that with its nose it stove in the whole stern of the long-boat, wherein was the said M. de Poutrincourt and others. Moreover, not being able to make the entrance of the said Port Royal, the tide, which at this spot runs very swiftly, carried them towards the head of French Bay, whence they had by no means an easy exit, but found themselves in as great danger as they had ever been before ; inasmuch as wishing to retrace their course they saw themselves carried by the wind and tide towards the shore, which is high, rocky, and precipitous, so that if they had not weathered a jutting ledge, which menaced them with ruin, they had been cast away. But in these high enterprises God

¹ Martha's Vineyard, probably so-called because it was doubtful to them whether it was an island or not. Champlain calls it *La Soupçonneuse*, with the same meaning.

² Grand Manan ; see map.

wishes to prove the constancy of those who fight for His name, and to see that they quail not. He leads them unto the very gate of hell, that is to say, of the tomb, and nevertheless holds them by the hand that they fall not into the ditch, as it is written : " See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no God with me ; I kill, and I make alive ; I wound, and I heal ; neither is there any that can deliver out of My hand." Thus we have said heretofore, and seen in very deed, that though in those voyages a thousand dangers have been undergone, yet not a single man has been lost at sea, though those who go solely for fish or fur often enough leave some behind, witness four fishermen of St. Malo, who having gone to the fishery were engulfed in the waters during our return journey to France ; God wishing us to recognise that we hold this good gift from Him, and to show forth His glory in this manner, that by these visible signs ¹ one may perceive that he is the author of these holy enterprises, which are not undertaken for avarice, nor with unjust shedding of blood, but with a zeal to establish His name and greatness among peoples who know Him not. Now after so many favours of heaven, it is for those who have received them to say, like the Psalmist-King beloved of God :

" Nevertheless continually,
O Lord, I am with thee :
Thou dost me hold by my right hand,
And still upholdest me.

Thou with thy counsel, while I live
Wilt me conduct and guide ;
And to thy glory afterward
Receive me to abide."

(Psalm lxxiii., *vv.* 23, 24.)

After many perils, which I shall not compare to those of Ulysses or of Æneas, lest I stain our holy voyages amid such impurity, M. de Poutrincourt reached Port Royal on November 14th,

¹ Or "wisely."

where we received him joyously and with a ceremony absolutely new on that side of the ocean. For about the time we were expecting his return, whereof we had great desire, the more so that if evil had come upon him we had been in danger of a mutiny, I bethought me to go out to meet him with some jovial spectacle, and so we did. And since it was written in French rhymes, made hastily, I have placed it among the *Muses of New France*, under the title of "Neptune's Theatre," to which I refer the reader. Furthermore, to give the greater honour to his return and our share therein, we had set up above the gate of our fort the arms of France, encircled with crowns of laurel of which there is abundance along the edges of the wood, with the king's motto, "Duo protegit unus."¹ And underneath the arms of M. de Monts, with this inscription: "Dabit Deus his quoque finem,"² and those of M. de Poutrincourt with this other inscription: "Invia virtuti nulla est via,"³ both also crowned with laurel chaplets.

¹ "One protects two."

² "To these toils also God shall give an end." From Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book I. l. 199.

³ "To valour no path is pathless" (Ovid, 14 *Metam.* 113).

CHAPTER XVI

WHEN our public rejoicing had ceased, M. de Poutrincourt took care to visit his corn, the greater part of which he had sown at two leagues from our port up the river L'Equille, called the Dauphin's river, and the rest around our said fort ; he found that which was first sown well advanced, but not the latter, which had been sown on the 6th and 10th of November, which nevertheless did not stop growing under the snow during winter, as I myself have noticed with my seeds. It would be tedious to attempt to particularise all that was done among us during the winter, as, for example, to tell how the said M. de Poutrincourt many times ordered charcoal to be made, the supply at the forge being spent ; how he had paths constructed through the woods ; how we went through the forests guided by compass, and other such things as they occurred. But I shall relate how, in order to keep our table joyous and well provided, an Order was established at the board of the said M. de Poutrincourt, which was called the Order of Good Cheer, originally proposed by Champlain.¹ To this Order each man of the said table was appointed Chief Steward in his turn, which came round once a fortnight. Now this person had the duty of taking care that we were all well and honourably provided for. This was so well carried out that, though the epicures of Paris often tell us that we had no *Rue aux Ours*² over there, as a rule we made as good cheer as we could have in this same

¹ See Champlain (Laverdière, iii. 120), who, however, gives fewer details than Lescarbot.

² The Rue aux Ours, still in existence, was the street of the rotisseurs, or sellers of cooked meat. See Larousse, *Nouveau Dictionnaire du XIX. siècle* ; G. Pessard, *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique de Paris* (1904).

Rue aux Ours and at less cost. For there was no one who, two days before his turn came, failed to go hunting or fishing, and to bring back some delicacy in addition to our ordinary fare. So well was this carried out that never at breakfast did we lack some savoury meat of flesh or fish, and still less at our midday or evening meals; for that was our chief banquet, at which the ruler of the feast¹ or chief butler, whom the savages call Atçotegic, having had everything prepared by the cook, marched in, napkin on shoulder, wand of office in hand, and around his neck the collar of the Order, which was worth more than four crowns; after him all the members of the Order, carrying each a dish. The same was repeated at dessert, though not always with so much pomp. And at night, before giving thanks to God, he handed over to his successor in the charge the collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, and they drank to each other. I have already said that we had abundance of game, such as ducks, bustards, grey and white geese, partridges, larks, and other birds; moreover, moose, caribou, beaver, otter, bear, rabbits, wildcats (or leopards), nibachés,² and other animals, such as the savages caught, whereof we made dishes well worth those of the cook-shop in the *Rue aux Ours*, and far more; for of all our meats none is so tender as moose-meat (whereof we also made excellent pasties), and nothing so delicate as beaver's tail. Yea, sometimes we had half-a-dozen sturgeon at once, which the savages brought us, part of which we bought, and allowed them to sell the remainder publicly and to barter it for bread, of which our men had abundance. As for the ordinary rations brought from France, they were distributed equally to great and small alike; and, as we have said, the wine was served in like manner.

At these proceedings we always had twenty or thirty savages, men, women, girls, and children, who looked on at our

¹ Architriclin, formed from the Vulgate Latin *architriclinus*.

² The raccoon.

manner of service. Bread was given them gratis as one would do to the poor. But as for the Sagamos Membertou, and other chiefs, who came from time to time, they sat at table, eating and drinking like ourselves. And we were glad to see them, while, on the contrary, their absence saddened us; as happened three or four times when they all went away to the places wherein they knew that there was hunting, and took with them one of our men who lived for some six weeks in their fashion, without salt, bread, or wine, sleeping on the ground on skins, and that too in time of snow. Moreover, they took greater care of him, as also of others who often went with them, than of themselves, saying that if any of these died, his death would be laid at their door; and hereby one may know that we were not, as it were, marooned on an island, as was M. de Villegagnon in Brazil, for this tribe loves the French, and would at need take up arms, one and all, to aid them.

But not to digress, this diet of which we have spoken served us as a prophylactic against the disease of the country. Yet in February and March we lost four of our men of those who were either downcast or slothful, and I remember noticing that they all had their rooms on the west side and facing the harbour, which is an oval almost four leagues long. In addition, they had bad bedding, as had we all, for the former sicknesses and the departure of M. du Pont in the manner which we have stated had caused the mattresses to be thrown out, and they had rotted, and those who went off with the said M. du Pont claimed as their own and took with them all the bedclothes that were left. As a result some of our men had sore gums and swollen legs, like those that are phthisical. This is the malady which God sent upon His people in the desert, as a punishment for their desire to fill themselves with flesh, not contenting themselves with that which by the will of heaven the desert furnished them.

We had fine weather nearly all winter; for neither rain

nor fog are as frequent there as here,¹ either on sea or land, and this because the rays of the sun, owing to the great distance which they must travel, in this season have not the strength to draw up the vapours from the ground, especially in a wooded country. But in summer, when the force of the rays is greater, they do so both by sea and land, and these vapours are dissolved quickly or slowly according as one approaches the equinoctial line. For we see that between the two tropics rain is abundant both by land and sea, especially in Peru and in Mexico more than in Africa, because the sun, in passing over so great a stretch of sea, has sucked up much moisture from the whole ocean, and dissolves this in a moment by the great strength of his heat, whereas towards Newfoundland these vapours remain long in the air before condensing themselves into rain or becoming dissolved, which takes place in summer, as we have said, and not in winter, and at sea rather than on land. For on land the morning mists become dew, and fall at about eight o'clock; whereas at sea they continue two, three, and eight days, as we have often experienced.

Now as we are on the subject of winter, let me say that as rain is rare at that season in those regions so the sun also shines out after a snow-fall, of which we had seven or eight, but the snow melted easily in the clearings, remaining for the longest time in February. Whatever be the reason, snow in moderation is very useful to the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a cloak of fur. This is done by the admirable providence of God for the preservation of men, and, as the Psalmist says :—

“ Hoar frost, like ashes, scatt'reth he ;
Like wool he snow doth give.”

And as in time of winter the sky towards Newfoundland is very seldom cloudy, so there are also morning frosts, which

¹ *I.e.* in France.

grow more intense toward the end of January, in February, and in the beginning of March ; for up to the said season of January we always went about in our doublets, and I remember that on a Sunday afternoon, the 14th of that month, we amused ourselves by singing music along the banks of the Rivière l'Equille, now called Dauphin river, and that during this same month we paid a visit to the corn-fields, two leagues from our fort, and dined joyously in the sunshine. Not that I would like to affirm that every year was like this one. For just as on this side of the ocean that winter was mild, so also the last winter of 1607-8, the most severe that has ever been seen, was the same across the ocean, so that many savages died from the severity of the weather, as in France did many poor people and travellers. But I shall add that the year previous to our stay in New France the winter was not severe, as those bore me witness who had lived there before us.

So much for the winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in my research into the cause of the season there being a month later than here, though they are on the same parallel, and why the leaves do not appear upon the trees till toward the end of the month of May ; unless we attribute it to the thickness of the woods and the size of the forests, which prevent the sun from warming the earth ; and, further, to the region we were in being near the sea and more subject to cold, as partaking of the character of Peru, a country which is likewise cold as compared to Africa ; and also to this country having never been tilled, so that the soil is more compact, and the trees and plants cannot easily draw suck from their mother. In return for which the winter also comes later, as we have told above.

When the cold weather was over, towards the end of March the best disposed among us set themselves who should best till the soil, and make gardens wherein to sow seed and reap the fruit thereof. This happened most seasonably, for during the winter we were much inconvenienced by our lack of

garden herbs. When each of us had finished his sowing it was a marvellous pleasure to see them grow and increase day by day, and a still greater contentment to make the abundant use of them which we did ; in so much that this commencement of good hope made us almost forget our native country, especially when the fish began again to seek the fresh water and to come in such abundance into our brooks that we knew not what to do with them. When I consider this I cannot sufficiently wonder how it is possible that the settlers in Florida suffered so much from hunger, considering the climate, which is almost entirely without winter, and that their famine came in the months of April, May, and June, during which they should not have lacked fish.

While some were tilling the soil, M. de Poutrincourt ordered several buildings to be built to house those whom he expected to succeed us. And considering how much toil the hand-mill gave us, he ordered a water-mill to be made, much to the admiration of the savages. For indeed it is an invention which did not come to the spirit of man during the early centuries. Thereafter our workmen had plenty of leisure, and for the most part did practically nothing. But I may say that this mill by the diligence of our millers furnished us with three times as many herrings as were needed to sustain life, for the sea at high tide came up to the mill, whereby the herring going for two hours' sport in the fresh water found himself on his return our lawful prize.¹ Monsieur de Poutrincourt ordered two casks of them to be salted, and one cask of sardines, to exhibit as a sample in France.²

While all this was going on, M. de Poutrincourt failed not to think on our return ; wherein he showed his wisdom, for

¹ This clause is added in this edition : The meaning seems to be that the herring came up with the tide beyond the dam, which when the water ebbed, he could not recross.

² The earlier editions add : "lesquelles demeurerent à Saint Malo, à nôtre retour, entre les mains des marchans" : "which remained at St. Malo, on our return, in the hands of the merchants."

one should never trust so entirely to human promises as not to consider that very often much ill happens in a small moment of time. Therefore in the month of April he began to fit out two long-boats, one large and one small, to go in search of French ships in the direction of Canso or Newfoundland, should it happen that we received no succour. But when the wood-work was done, a single mishap had power to stay us, in that we had no pitch to caulk our vessels. This, the chief thing, had been forgotten on our departure from La Rochelle. In this serious necessity the said M. de Poutrincourt bethought him of gathering in the woods a quantity of spruce gum. This he did with much labour, making the journey for the most part himself, with a lad or two; and in fine he collected a hundredweight of it. But after that labour, this was not yet all; for the gum had to be melted down and purified, which was a necessary point and one unknown to our ship-master M. de Champdoré, and to his sailors, since the pitch which we use comes from Norway, Sweden and Dantzic. Nevertheless, the said M. de Poutrincourt invented a method of extracting the quintessence of these gums and spruce barks. He had a quantity of bricks made, whereof he fashioned an open furnace, in which he put an alembic,¹ made of a number of kettles set one inside the other, which he filled with these gums and barks; then having carefully covered it, we lit a fire round about it, by the force of which the gum enclosed in the said alembic was melted and fell down into a basin. But one had to be on the alert here, for if the fire had caught our material all had been lost. This was wonderful in a person who had never seen such an operation; and the astonished savages said, in words borrowed from the Basques: "*Endia chavé Normandia*," which means that the Normans know many things. For they call all the French Normans except the Basques, because the majority of the fishermen who go to the

¹ "An apparatus formerly used in distilling. It is now superseded by the retort and worm-still" (Oxford English Dictionary).

cod-banks belong to that province. This substitute we discovered very seasonably, for those who came in search of us had fallen into the same fault as ourselves.

Now as a man in expectation has no satisfaction or repose till he grasps the object of his desire, so at this time our company kept turning their eyes toward the great expanse of Port Royal to see if they could not discover the coming of some vessel. Wherein they were often deceived, sometimes imagining that they heard a cannon shot, sometimes that they saw the sails of a ship, and very often mistaking the canoes of the savages who came to visit us for French boats. For at that time a great number of savages were gathered together at the entrance of the said harbour in order to go to war against the Armouchiquois, as we shall tell in the following book. At last "Noah's name was called so often that he came," and we had news from France on the morning of Ascension Day.¹

¹ May 24, says Champlain. Ascension Day, often called Holy Thursday, is "a moveable festival, held on Thursday in Rogation week, which is next but one before Pentecost." See R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*.

CHAPTER XVII

THE sun was beginning to warm the earth and to cast amorous eyes upon his mistress when Sagamos Membertou came to apprise us that he had seen a sail on the lake (that is to say, in the harbour), which was coming toward our fort. It was the hour when we had made our solemn prayers to God and distributed breakfast to the people, as was our custom. At this joyous news all ran to see, but not one was found with such good sight as he, though he be above an hundred years old. However, we soon saw what it was, and M. de Poutrincourt had the little boat hastily made ready to find out more about them. Champdoré and Daniel Hay went in her, and being certain, from the signal which they made us, that the newcomers were friends, we speedily loaded four cannons and a dozen falconets, to salute our visitors who had come so far. They for their part did not fail to lead off the banquet and to discharge their pieces, an honour which we returned with usury. It proved to be only a small merchant vessel under the charge of a young man from St. Malo, named Chevalier, who on his arrival at the fort gave his letters to M. de Poutrincourt, which were read aloud before us all. He was informed that to lessen the expenses of the voyage, the ship (which was still the *Jonas*) would stay at the harbour of Canso to fish for cod, the merchants who were partners of M. de Monts not knowing that the fishing extended beyond this spot ; however, if it should be necessary, he was empowered to order the said ship to proceed to Port Royal. Moreover, that the company had been dissolved, because, contrary to honour and duty, the Dutch, who owe so much to France, had during the preceding year,

led by a French traitor named La Jeunesse, carried off the beaver and other furs from the great river of Canada, which resulted in great loss to the company, which in consequence could no longer furnish the charges of the colony in these parts, as it had previously done. Further, that at the King's Council, to ruin this enterprise, the monopoly granted for ten years to M. de Monts had recently been revoked, a blow wholly unexpected.¹ And for this reason no one had been sent to dwell there in our place. If we were joyous to see our own succour assured, we were also greatly saddened to see so fair and holy an enterprise frustrated, whereby so many labours and perils past were made of no avail, and the hope of planting there the name of God and the Catholic faith vanished into air. Nevertheless, M. de Poutrincourt, after long musing on the matter, declared that though he were to come alone with his family, he would not abandon the venture.

Great, I repeat, was our grief thus to abandon a soil which had produced for us such goodly wheat and so many fairly adorned gardens. All that we had done up to that time had been to find a proper spot wherein to establish a settled colony and a soil of abundant yield. And when that had been done, to abandon the enterprise was in truth to lack courage ; for at the close of one more year there would have been no further need to support the colony ; the soil was ample to produce the necessaries of life. This is the cause of the grief which wrung those who greatly longed to see the Christian faith established in those parts. But in truth, M. de Monts and his partners were losing money, and receiving no help from the King, and could not without much difficulty support a colony overseas.

Behold the effects of envy, which not only stole into the hearts of the Dutch to ruin so holy an enterprise, but also into those of our own countrymen, so great and insatiable has the avarice proved of the merchants who had no part in

¹ This clause is added in this edition.

the association of M. de Monts.¹ And thereupon I shall say frankly that some of those who came to that country in search of us wickedly dared to rifle the dead, and to steal the beaver pelts which these poor tribes place as a last gift upon their dead, as we shall explain at greater length in the last book, conduct which makes the French name odious and contemptible among them, for they have no such evil behaviour, but are truly of noble and generous heart, having no private property, but all things in common, and being wont to give presents,—and that too with great liberality, in proportion to their means,—to those whom they love and honour. And besides this mischief, it came to pass when we were at Canso that the savages killed him who had pointed out to our people the graves of their dead. I need not recount here the story of Herodotus of the scurvy conduct of King Darius, who, thinking that he had caught the bird sitting—as saith the proverb—*i.e.* that he had found great treasure in the tomb of Semiramis, Queen of the Babylonians, looked exceedingly foolish when he found within a scroll contrary to the first, and taking him sharply to task for his avarice and ill-conduct.

To return to our sad news and our regrets thereat. M. de Poutrincourt made propositions to some of our company whether they would consent to dwell there for a year; eight good fellows offered themselves, to whom was promised a cask of wine apiece of what remained and sufficient corn for a year. But they demanded such high wages that he could not

¹ The earlier editions read: “Or cette envie sur le trafic des Castors avec les Sauvages ne s’est pas seulement glissée es cœurs des Holandois, mais aussi des marchans François, de manière qu’en fin le privilege qui avoit esté baillé audit sieur de Monts pour dix ans, a esté revoqué. C’est chose étrange que de l’avarice insatiable des hommes, lesquels n’ont aucun égard à ce qui est de l’honnête, moyennant qu’ilz rafflent de quel cote que ce soit”: “Now this envious desire of the beaver trade with the savages found place in the hearts not only of the Dutch, but also of the French merchants, in such sort that finally the monopoly, which had been given to the said M. de Monts for ten years, was revoked. Strange indeed is the insatiable avarice of men, who have no regard for honour, if only they may rifle from every quarter.”

come to terms with them, and so we had to make up our minds to return. As evening came on, we made bonfires in honour of the birth of my lord the Duke of Orleans, and began afresh to make our cannon and falconets thunder, with good store of musket shots, though none till after we had sung *Te Deum* for the occasion.¹

The said Chevalier, who brought us the news, had held the office of captain of the ship which had remained at Canso, and in this character had been entrusted with, to deliver to us, six sheep, twenty-four hens, a pound of pepper, twenty pounds of rice, as many raisins and prunes, a thousand almonds, a pound of nutmegs, a quarter of a pound of cinnamon, half a pound of cloves, two pounds of lemon peel, two dozen lemons, as many oranges, a Westphalian ham, and six other hams, a cask of Gascon wine and another of Spanish, a hogs-head of salt beef, four and a half pots of olive oil, a jar of olives, a barrel of vinegar and two sugar loaves. But all this was lost during the journey by fortune of jaw² and we saw very little of it; however, I have here put down the list of those provisions that those who wish to go to sea may provide themselves therewith. As for the hens and the sheep, we were told that they had died on the voyage, which we easily believed, but would have been glad if they had at least brought us the bones. For further explanation, we were told that we had all been given up for dead. Here you have the ground of their feasting. For all that, we did not fail to offer good

¹ This was not the celebrated Gaston, third son of Henri IV. and Marie de Médecis, who did not succeed to this title till 1626; but his elder brother, who was born at Fontainebleau on the 16th April 1607, and died in 1611. Though privately baptized into the Church, he was never publicly christened, and seems to have died unnamed. I can find no authority for the name of Nicholas, given him by Stokvis; *Manuel d'histoire de généalogie*, &c., unless he has misunderstood the N. . . (*Nommé*) put in front of his name by the Père Anselm, and other early genealogists.

² *Fortune de gueule* is, of course, a pun on *fortune de guerre*. Fortune of war and fortune of jaw is an attempt to reproduce it. "Through Gutter-lane," says Erondelle.

cheer to the said Chevalier and his men, who were no small party, nor drinkers like the late Marquis of Pisani,¹ which made them think very well of our company ; for in the ship wherein they had come, they had as their ordinary ration nothing but well-watered cider. But as for the said Chevalier, from the first day he kept talking of return. For a week M. de Poutrincourt kept him off and on ; at the end of that time he was anxious to be off, whereupon this gentleman put a crew in the vessel, and kept him where he was, on some report that the said Chevalier had said that when he reached Canso he would set sail and leave us behind.

A fortnight later the said M. de Poutrincourt sent a boat to the said Canso laden with part of our workmen, to begin to pull down the house. At the beginning of June the savages, to the number of about four hundred, set out from the lodge which their Sagamos Membertou had fashioned anew in form of a town surrounded with high palisades, to go on the war-path against the Armouchiquois, at Chouakoet, about eighty leagues from Port Royal, whence they returned victorious by the stratagems which I shall relate in the description which I have given of this war in French verse. The savages took nearly two months to assemble there. Membertou, the great Sagamos, had had them warned during and before the winter, sending, as special messengers to them to give them the rendezvous, his two sons Actaudin and Actaudinech. This Sagamos is already a man of great age, and saw Captain Jacques Cartier in that country, being already at that time a married man and the father of a family, though even now he does not look more than fifty years old. He has been a very great and cruel warrior in his youth and during his life. Therefore rumour runs that he has many enemies, and is well content to keep close to the French, in order to live in

¹ Pisani was a "Seigneurie de Saintonge, erigée en marquisat en 1583 par Jean de Vivonne, seigneur de St. Gouard et de Pisani." I can find no other reference to this Marquis and his apparently proverbial abstemiousness.

safety. At this gathering it behoved to give him presents and gifts of corn and beans, and even a cask of wine, wherewith to feast his friends. For he made a speech to M. de Poutrincourt, saying: "I am the Sagamos of this country here; I am held your friend and that of all the Normans (for so they call the French, as I have said) and to be held of you in esteem; it would be a reproach to me did I not show the effects of such love." Nevertheless, from envy or otherwise, another Sagamos named Chkoudun, a true friend of the French,¹ informed us that Membertou was devising a plot against us, and had made an harangue on the subject. M. de Poutrincourt on hearing this sent unexpectedly for Membertou, to take him unawares, and to see whether he would obey. At the first summons he came alone with our men without any hesitation. As a result he was allowed to return in peace, after having been well treated and given a bottle of wine, whereof he is fond, because, says he, when he has drunk thereof he sleeps sound and has no further care or anxiety. This Membertou told us at our first coming thither that he wished to make a present to the King of his copper mine, since he saw that we held metals in high regard, and since Sagamoses must be honourable and liberal one toward the other. For being himself a Sagamos, he considers himself the equal of the King and of all his lieutenants, and often said to M. de Poutrincourt that he was his great friend, brother, companion, and equal, showing this equality by joining together the fingers of each hand which we call the index or pointing finger. Now, though the present which he wished to make to his Majesty was a matter whereof his Majesty takes no heed, nevertheless it came from him with good heart, and should be prized as though the thing itself were of greater value, as did that King of the Persians who received with as good will a handful of water from a peasant as the greatest presents which had been offered

¹ The earlier editions say "et sans feintise," "in whom is no guile."

to him.¹ For if Membertou had had more he would have offered it freely.

M. de Poutrincourt, being unwilling to depart thence till he had seen the result of his waiting, that is to say, the ripeness of the corn, resolved, after the departure of the savages on the war-path, to make voyages along the coast. And since Chevalier wished to collect some beaver skins, he sent him in a small boat to the river St. John, called by the savages Ouïgoudi, and to the island of St. Croix, while he himself went off in a skiff to the said copper-mine. I was with the said Chevalier on his voyage; we crossed French Bay to go to the said river; immediately on our arrival there a half-dozen freshly-caught salmon were brought to us, and we remained there four days, during which we visited the lodges of the Sagamos Chkoudun, wherein we saw some eighty or a hundred savages, stark naked save for a loin-cloth, who were making a feast with the flour which the said Chevalier had bartered for their old lousy skins; for they gave him only those whereof they had no desire. Thus he carried on a sorry trade, whereof I make very small account. But he can say that the smell of gain is savoury and pleasant whatever its origin, and that the Emperor Vespasian thought no shame to take into his very hand the tribute money derived from the pissing-conduits of Rome.

While we were among these savages, the Sagamos Chkoudun wished to give us the pleasure of beholding the order and array they keep when on the war-path, and he caused them all to pass before us, which I reserve for the last book. The town of Ouïgoudi, as I call the abode of the said Chkoudun, was a large enclosure upon a rising ground enclosed with trees, great and small, fastened one to the other, and within the enclosure many lodges, large and small, one of which was as big as a market-hall, wherein dwelt numerous families; as for that wherein they held their feasts, it was some-

¹ I am unable to find the origin of this story.

what smaller. A good portion of the said savages came from Gaspé, which is at the mouth of the great river of Canada. They told us that they had come from their homes in six days, whereat I was much amazed, seeing the distance it is by sea; but they greatly shorten their journeys, and make long voyages by means of the lakes and rivers, for when they have reached the end of one of these, by carrying their canoes three or four leagues they gain other rivers which have a contrary course. All these savages had assembled there to go with Membertou on the war-path against the Armouchiquois.

Now, inasmuch as I have spoken of this river of Ouïgoudi in the voyage of M. de Monts, I shall say no more about it here. When we returned to our long-boat, which was half a league distant at the entrance to the harbour, sheltered by a causeway which the sea has thrown up, our men, and particularly Captain Champdoré, who was in command, were anxious about us, and having from afar seen the savages in arms, thought that it was to work us mischief, which would have been easy, since we were but two, and therefore were right glad at our return. Thereafter on the morrow the medicine-man of the district came and yelled like a madman opposite our long-boat. Not knowing what he meant, we sent a cock-boat to bring him aboard, and he came to make us a speech, and to say that the woods were full of Armouchiquois who were coming to attack them, and had killed several of their friends who had gone hunting; and therefore that we should land to assist them. Having heard this discourse, which in our opinion boded no good, we told him that our time was limited, and our provisions also, and that we must needs push on. Seeing himself refused, he said that before two years' time either they must kill all the Normans, or the Normans them. We laughed at him, and told him that we were going to bring our long-boat opposite their fort to put them one and all to sack. But this we did not do, for we set

sail that day, and, as the wind was contrary, placed ourselves under the lee of a small island,¹ where we remained two days, during which one of us went duck-shooting for the larder, another did the cooking, and Captain Champdoré and I went along the rocks with hammers and chisels to see if we could not find any mines. While doing this we discovered steel in quantities among the rocks, wherewith we loaded ourselves to show to M. de Poutrincourt.² Thence we went in three days to the island of St. Croix, being often hindered by contrary winds. And since we had evil suspicions of the savages, whom we had seen in large numbers at the river St. John, and since the band which had set out from Port Royal was still at Manan (an island between the said Port Royal and St. Croix), as we did not wish to trust them we kept good watch by night, during which we often heard the voices of the sea-wolves, which greatly resembled those of screech-owls ; a fact contrary to the opinions of those who have stated and written that fish have no voice.

On our arrival at the said island of St. Croix, we found the buildings which had been left quite whole, save that there was a gap in one side of the store-house. We found some Spanish wine still remaining at the bottom of a pipe, whereof we drank and found it very little the worse. As for the gardens, we found therein cabbages, sorrel and lettuce, which went to fill the pot. We also made excellent pasties of wood-pigeons,³ which are found in large numbers in the woods, but the grass is so long that one could not find them when they were killed and had fallen to earth. The court-

¹ No doubt Manawogamish Island, west of St. John Harbour.

² The earlier editions say : "lequel fut depuis fondu par le sieur de Poutrincourt, qui eu fit des lingots, et se trouva acier fort fin, duquel il fit faire un couteau qui trenchoit comme un razoir, lequel à nôtre retour il montra au Roy : " "which was afterwards melted down by M. de Poutrincourt, who made it into bars ; it proved to be excellent steel, whereof he had a knife made which cut like a razor, which on our return he showed to the King."

³ The passenger pigeon.

yard was full of unbroken casks, which some undisciplined sailors burnt for their pleasure, a sight which filled me with disgust, and confirmed my previous opinion that, from a human point of view at least, the savages were more humane and more honourable than many of those who bear the name of Christians; for during these years they had spared this spot, and had not even taken a stick of wood, nor any of the salt, which was there in large quantities and as hard as a stone.

I do not know why Champlain, in the account of his voyages printed in 1613, goes out of his way to say that I did not go further than St. Croix, seeing that I do not say the contrary.¹ But he is unmindful of what he does himself, stating in the same book (p. 151) that from the said St. Croix to Port Royal is but fourteen leagues, whereas on p. 95 he had made it twenty-five, and on looking at his map it will be found to be at least forty.²

On our departure thence we cast anchor amid a great number of scattered islands,³ where we heard some savages, and shouted to make them come. They sent us back the same shout, to which one of our men replied, "Oüen kirau,"⁴ that is to say, who are you? but they would not declare themselves. On the morrow, however, Oagimont, Sagamos of this river, came to visit us, and we discovered that it was he

¹ Champlain had evidently resented Lescarbot's jibes at his credulity about the Gougou, and in his edition of 1613 the man of action revenged himself on the man of letters in a sentence which stung Lescarbot to the quick. "L'Escarbot estoit de ceux qui l'accompagnerent, lequel n'auoit encores sorty du port Royal : c'est le plus loin qu'il ayt esté, qui sont seulement 14 à 15 lieues plus auant que ledit port Royal" (Laverdière, p. 271).

² From Port Royal to St. Croix is certainly about 25 leagues, but from Port Royal to St. John is only about 14 or 15, which may excuse Champlain. Champlain's map is approximately correct, and Lescarbot must have measured in some very perverse manner.

³ The islands at the mouth of Passamaquoddy Bay.

⁴ Professor Ganong writes: "This is pure Micmac. Oüen=wen, of Tanwen,=who, and Kirau=Kelow=you (see S. T. Rand, *English-Micmac Dictionary*), the French always rendering Indian *l* by *r*."

whom we had heard. He was making ready to follow Membertou and his band on the war-path, wherein he was grievously wounded, as I have related in my verses on this matter. This Oagimont has a very comely daughter of about eleven years of age, whom M. de Poutrincourt desired to take with him, and asked for her several times in order to present her to the Queen, promising him that he should never lack corn or aught else; but the chief has never been willing to accede thereto.

Entering our long-boat he accompanied us as far as open sea, where he got into his canoe to return home, and we on our part steered towards Port Royal before daybreak. We were off the harbour mouth and were opposite our fort just at the moment when fair Aurora began to show her rosy face above the summit of our shaggy hills. All were still asleep, save for one who got up at the persistent barking of the dogs, but we soon aroused the rest with roar of musket-shots and blare of trumpets. M. de Poutrincourt had returned the day before from his voyage to the mines, his intention to visit which we have stated; and the day before his return the boat had arrived which had carried part of our workmen to Canso. Thus all were collected, and nothing remained save to get ready such things as were necessary for our embarkation. And in this business our water-mill came in extremely useful, for otherwise there would have been no way of preparing sufficient flour for the voyage. But as it was we had superfluity thereof, which we gave to the savages in token of remembrance.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE time being at hand when we needs must say adieu to Port Royal, M. de Poutrincourt sent his people in detachments to gain the ship at Canso. This is a harbour amid seven or eight islands where ships can lie in shelter from the winds, and there is a bay more than ten leagues deep, and three broad ;¹ this spot is distant from the said Port Royal more than one hundred and fifty leagues. We had one large long-boat, two small ones, and a shallop. In one of the small long-boats some of the men were sent in advance. The two others set sail on the 30th of July. I was in the large long-boat, which was under the charge of Champdoré. But M. de Poutrincourt, wishing to see the result of the corn we had sown, waited for it to ripen, and remained eleven days after us. Meanwhile on our first day we reached the entrance to Port Royal, but on the morrow the fog came down and spread itself upon the sea and lasted for a whole week, during which all that we could do was to make Cape Sable, which we did without seeing it.

During this Cimmerian darkness, having one day anchored in open sea because of the night, our anchor dragged so that in the morning the tide had carried us among the islands, and I am surprised that we did not come to grief against a rock. However, for victuals we had no lack of fish, for in half-an-hour we could catch enough cod-fish for a fortnight, and those the fairest and fattest ever I saw, of the colour of a carp, which I have never seen elsewhere save in the neighbourhood of the said Cape Sable, which when we had passed, the tide, which here runs furiously, carried us in a twinkling as

¹ The edition of 1609 says fifteen deep and six or seven broad.

far as Lahave, when we thought that we had only reached Port Mouton. There we remained two days, and in the very harbour used to see the cod nibbling at the hooks. We found there many red gooseberries, and copper ore in form of marcasite. Some bartering in furs was also carried on there with the savages.

Thenceforward we had favourable wind, and during this time it happened once that while on the prow I cried to our pilot, Champdoré, that we were about to run aground, for I was sure that I saw bottom ; but I was deceived by the rainbow, which appeared in the water with all its colours, and by the shadow made thereon by our fore-sail coming between it and the sun ; for, gathering his rays in the hollow of the said sail, as he does in the clouds, these rays were forced to reverberate in the water and to produce this marvel. Finally, we arrived within four leagues of Canso, at a harbour where a fine old sailor from St. Jean de Luz, named Captain Savalet, was fishing. He received us with every possible courtesy, and, inasmuch as this harbour, which though small is excellent, has no name, I have given it on my map the name of Savalet.¹ This worthy man told us that that voyage was his forty-second to these parts, and one must remember that these Newfoundlanders make but one a year. He was wondrous content with his fishing, and told us that he caught daily a good fifty crowns' worth of cod, and that his voyage was worth to him ten thousand francs. He had sixteen men in his employ, and his vessel was of eighty tons' burden, and able to carry one hundred thousand dry fish. He was at times troubled by the savages encamped there, who too boldly and impudently went on board his ship, and carried off what they listed. To stop this he threatened them that we should come and put them, one and all, to the sword if they did him injury. This frightened them, and they did not do him so much harm as they would otherwise have done. However,

¹ White Haven.

every time that the fishers arrived with their boats laden with fish, these Indians chose whatever they thought good, not bothering themselves with the cod, but taking whiting,¹ bass, and halibut, which here in Paris would be worth four crowns or more. For 'tis wondrous good eating, especially when they are large and six fingers thick, like those caught in these parts. And it would have been difficult to prevent this impertinence, inasmuch as one would have been forced to remain constantly under arms, and work would have been at a standstill. Now the courtesy of this man extended not only to ourselves, but also to all of our party who passed his harbour, for it was the port of call in going and coming to Port Royal. But some of those who came to fetch us behaved worse than the savages, and conducted themselves towards him as the gendarme does here to the peasant; of which I heard with great regret.

There we spent four days on account of the contrary wind. Then we came to Canso, where we waited for the other long-boat, which came ten² days after us. And as for M. de Poutrincourt, as soon as he saw the corn fit to pluck, he tore up the rye by the roots to show in France its beauty, richness, and exceeding height. He made selections also from the other sorts of grain, wheat, barley, oats, hemp, and others, with the same purpose, which was not done by those who heretofore have visited Brazil and Florida, wherein I have cause to rejoice that I was one of the party, and among the first tillers of this land. And herein I took the more pleasure in that I put before my eyes our ancient father Noah, a great king, a great priest, and a great prophet, whose vocation was the plough and the vineyard; and that old Roman captain Serranus, who was found sowing his field when he was sent for to lead the Roman army,³ and Quintus Cincinnatus, who,

¹ Doubtless the pollock (Ganong).

² The edition of 1609 says two.

³ A name given to C. Atilius Regulus, Consul in B.C. 257, "te sulco, Serrane, serentem" (Virgil, *Aen.*, vi. 845).

all covered with dust, bareheaded, and ungirt, was ploughing four acres of land when the herald of the Senate brought him the letters of dictatorship ; so that the said herald was forced to pray him to put on his hat before he delivered his message. Inasmuch as I took pleasure in this work, God blessed my poor labour, and I had in my garden as good wheat as could be grown in France, whereof the said M. de Poutrincourt gave me a sample when he reached the said harbour of Canso, which, along with one of rye, I have kept these ten years.

He was ready to say adieu to Port Royal, when on a sudden Membertou and his band arrived, victorious over the Armouchiquois. And since I have given a description of this war in French verse, I shall not here fill my paper with it, being desirous rather to cut short my tale than to seek new matter. At the request of the said Membertou he remained yet a day longer. But it was piteous at his departure to see the tears of these poor folk, whom we had always kept in hope that some of us would remain with them. At last they were compelled to promise them that next year we should send households and families to dwell permanently in their land, and to teach them trades in order to help them to live like us, which promise did in some sort comfort them. Ten barrels of flour remained, which were given them with the grain which we had grown, and the possession of the manor-house, should they wish to make use of it. This they have not done, for they cannot remain in one place, living as they do.

On the 11th of August the said M. de Poutrincourt set out with eight others from the said Port Royal in a shallop to come to Canso ; a wondrous hazardous feat it was to cross so many bays and seas in so small a boat, loaded with nine people, the provisions necessary for the journey, and a good quantity of other baggage. On reaching the harbour of that good man Savalet, he gave them the best reception in his power, and

thence they came on to join us at the said Canso, where we remained yet a week longer.

The third day of September we weighed anchor, and with much ado passed through the breakers which surround the said Canso. This our sailors effected with two cock-boats, which carried the anchors well out to sea, to support our vessel, that she might not run upon the rocks. Finally, when in open sea we allowed one of the said cock-boats to go adrift and the other was hoisted on board the *Jonas*, which in addition to our load carried one hundred thousand cod, both green and dry. We had fair wind enough till we came near the coast of Europe. But we had not the best rations imaginable, for, as I have said, those who came in search of us, assuming that we were dead, had made free with our fresh provisions. Our workmen drank no more wine after leaving Port Royal. And we had very little ourselves, for our abundance thereof was drunk joyously in the company of those who brought us news from France.

The 26th of September we sighted the Scilly Isles, which are at the extremity of Cornwall in England, and on the 28th, thinking to reach St. Malo, we were forced, for lack of a fair wind, to put into Roscoff in Lower Brittany, where we remained two days and a half to recuperate. We had on board a savage, who was much astonished to see the buildings, spires, and windmills of France, but more the women, whom he had never seen dressed after our manner. From Roscoff we came with a fair wind to return thanks to God at St. Malo. Wherein I cannot but praise the foreseeing watchfulness of our master, Nicholas Martin, for having led us so skilfully in so difficult a voyage and amid so many reefs and confused rocks, wherewith the coast is strewn between the Cape of Ushant and the said St. Malo. But if he is praiseworthy for his doings, no less so is Captain Foulques for having led us amid so many contrary winds to unknown lands wherein we have laid with toil the foundations of New France.

After remaining three or four days at St. Malo, we went, M. de Poutrincourt, his son and myself, to Mount St. Michael, where we saw the relics of the place, save the buckler of that holy Archangel, which we were told my lord the Bishop of Avranches had for the last four or five years forbidden to be shown any more. As for the building, it merits the title of the eighth wonder of the world, so goodly and great it is upon the pinnacle of a rock, alone amid the waves when the tide is high. True it is that it can be said that the sea did not reach so far when the said building was made. But I shall reply that however that may be it is wonderful. The only criticism which can be made in this respect is that so many splendid edifices are to-day useless, as is the case with the majority of the Abbeys of France. And would to God that the machines of some Archimedes might transport them to New France, there to be better employed in the service of God and of the King. On our return we visited the oyster fishery at Cancale.

After having remained for a week at St. Malo, we came in a small vessel to Honfleur, on which journey the experience of M. de Poutrincourt stood us in good stead ; for seeing that our pilots were at their wits' end, when they found themselves between the islands of Jersey and Sark (being unaccustomed to take this route, whereto we had been driven by a violent east-south-east wind accompanied with fog and rain), he took his sea-chart in his hand, and played the part of master so that we passed through the Raz-Blanchart,¹ a passage dangerous for small vessels, and came at our ease to Honfleur, following the coast of Normandy. Wherefore God be praised for ever and ever. Amen.

While at Paris the said M. de Poutrincourt presented to the King the fruits of the land whence he came, and especially corn, wheat, rye, barley, and oats, as being the most precious thing which one can carry away from any country whatsoever.

¹ A strait between Cape La Hogue and the island of Alderney (Aurigny).

It would have been fitting to vow these firstfruits to God, and to put them among the ensigns of triumph in some church, with far better reason than the early Romans, who presented to their Gods and Goddesses of the fields Terminus, Seja, and Segesta, the firstfruits of their tillage by the hands of their priestly order of the fields, instituted by Romulus, which was the first order of New Rome, and had for emblem a chaplet of wheatears.

The same M. de Poutrincourt had reared a dozen bustards taken at their first coming out of the egg, all of which he wished to carry to France, but five of them died on the voyage ; the other five he gave to the King, who has had much joyaunce therefrom, and they are now at Fontainebleau.¹

¹ In the edition of 1609 five paragraphs follow ; of these the fourth states that Champlain is now in the great river of Canada, and the fifth the unshakable resolution of De Poutrincourt to persevere in his task. The other three are as follows :—“ Sur la belle montre des fruits de ladite terre, le Roy confirma au sieur de Monts le privilege de la traite des Castors avec les Sauvages, à fin de lui donner moyen d'établir ses colonies en la Nouvelle France. Et moyennant ce au mois de Mars dernier mille six cent huit il y envoya trois navires garnis de bôis ouvriers et de familles, pour commencer des Republiques Chrétiennes et Françaises, lesquelles Dieu veuille benir et accroître.

“ Lesdits navires estans de retour nous avons eu rapport par le sieur de Champ-doré, et autres, de l'état du païs que nous avons laissé, et de la beauté emerveillable des blez que le sieur de Poutrincourt avoit semé, avant que partir : ensemble des graines qui sont tombées és jardins, lesquelles ont tellement repullulé, que c'est chose incroyable. Membertou avoit recuilli six ou sept barriques des blez que nous avons semé ; et en avoit encore une de reste, qu'il reservoit pour les François qu'il attendoit, lesquels arrivâs il salia de trois coups de mousquet, & de feuz de joye. Quand on lui reprocha qu'il avoit mangé noz pigeons que nous y avons laissé, il se mit à pleurer, & embrasser celui qui le lui reprochoit, disant que sçavoient esté les Macharoa, c'est à dire les gros oiseaux, qui sont les aigles, lesquels en mangeoient bien du temps que nous y estiôs. Au reste, tous grands et petits, demandoient comme nous-nous portions, nommans un chacun par son nom, qui est un témoignage de grande amitié.

“ Du Port Royal ledit sieur de Champ-doré alla jusques à Chouïakoet, commencement de la terre des Armouchiquois, là ou il pacifia cette nation avec les Etechemins. Ce qui ne fut sans solennité. Car comme il en eut ouvert le propos, le Capitaine qui est aujourd'hui là au lieu d'Olmechin, nommé Astikou, homme grave et de belle prestance quelque Sauvage qu'il soit, demanda qu'on lui envoyast quelqu'un de la part desdits Etechemins, & qu'il traiteroit avec lui. Oagimont Sagamos de la riviere Sainte-Croix fut delegué à cet effect, et ne

And inasmuch as his chief object is to establish the Christian religion in the land which his Majesty has been pleased to grant to him, and to lead to that faith the poor savage folk, who have no other desire than to conform themselves to us in all things good, he thought fit to ask for the blessing of the Pope of Rome, the first Bishop of the Church,

s'y vouloit point fier, mais souz l'assurance des François il y alla. On fit quelques presens à Astikou, lequel sur le propos de paix commença à haranguer les siens, & leur remontrer les choses qui les devoient induire à y entendre. A quoy ilz condescendirent, faisans une exclamation à chacun article qu'il leur proposoit. Il y a cinq ans que le sieur de Monts avoit accordé semblablement ces nations, & leur avoit déclaré qu'au premier qui commenceroit la guerre il seroit ennemi, & le poursuivroit. Mais apres son retour en France ilz ne peurent se contenir en paix et tuerent les Armouchiquois un Sauvage Souriquois nommé Panoniac, lequel alloit vers eux troquer des marchandises qu'il avoit pris au magazin dudit sieur de Monts. A l'occasion de ce meurtre arriva la guerre mentionnée ci-dessus, conduite souz l'enseigne du Sagamos Membertou ; Ladite guerre faite au lieu là où je viens de dire que le sieur de Champ-doré traita la paix cette année."

"On the fair showing of the fruits of the land, the King confirmed to M. de Monts the monopoly of the beaver trade with the savages, in order to give him the requisite means for founding his colonies in New France. And last year with this aid, in the month of March 1608, he sent thither three ships provided with good workmen and with families, to begin states both Christian and French, which may God in His goodness bless and increase.

"On the return of these ships we were informed by M. de Champdoré and others of the state of the country which we had left, and of the wondrous beauty of the grain which M. de Poutrincourt had sown before leaving ; also of the seeds which had fallen in the gardens, which have so increased that it is a wonder. Membertou had gathered six or seven barrels of the grain which we had sown ; and he still had one which he was keeping for the French whom he expected, whom on their arrival he greeted with three musket-shots and with bonfires. When reproached for having eaten our pigeons which we had left there, he fell a-weeping, and to kissing his reproacher, saying that they knew of a truth that it was the Macharoa, to wit, the great birds, or eagles, which indeed ate many of them during our stay. Moreover all of them, great and small, asked how we were getting on, naming each of us by name, which is a sign of great friendship.

"From Port Royal the said M. de Champdoré went as far as Chouakouet, the beginning of the land of the Armouchiquois, where he reconciled this tribe with the Etechemins. This was not done without ceremony ; for when he had opened the subject, the chief who is there to-day as successor to Olmechin, named Astikou, a man of weight and of fine presence, savage though he be, asked that one be sent him on the part of the Etechemins, saying that he

by a formal letter written by my hand at the moment when I began this history, which was sent to his Holiness with letters from his said Majesty, in October 1608, which, as relevant to our subject; I have thought fit to set down here.¹

“*To our most blessed Lord, Pope Paul V.,*²

Pontifex Maximus

“Most blessed Father, by the word of divine truth and true divinity we know that ‘the Gospel of the kingdom of heaven shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.’ Wherefore (since the sunset of the world is nigh) God in these last times, mindful of his loving kindness, hath raised up men, mighty wrestlers of the Christian faith, leaders in either warfare, who, inflamed with zeal for the propagation of the faith, have carried the glory of the name of Christ through many dangers not only into the ends of the earth, but, if I may so say, unto new worlds. Hard indeed was their task; but, as one of the old poets has said, ‘to valour no path is pathless.’ I, would treat with him. Oagimont, chief of the river St. Croix, was delegated for this, but was very unwilling to trust himself, though he went on the assurance of the French. Some presents were made to Astikou, who, on the question of peace being raised, began to address his tribesmen, and to show them the reasons which should lead to an agreement. To this they condescended, with an exclamation at each article which he proposed to them. Five years before M. de Monts had similarly reconciled these tribes, and had declared to them that he would be the enemy of the first to begin war, and would attack him. But after his return to France they were unable to restrain themselves in peace, and the Armouchiquois killed a Souriquois savage named Panoniac, who was on his way to them to barter the goods which he had taken from the stores of the said M. de Monts. This murder was the cause of the war of which I have spoken above, waged under the banner of the Sagamos Membertou; the war, that is, made in the district wherein I have just said that M. de Champdoré had treated of peace this year.”

Eagles are still found in Nova Scotia; but the emotion shown by Membertou seems to point to the Macharoa having to do with the mysterious Culloo, the great were-bird of Micmac mythology. See S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Mic-macs* (1894), pp. 82 *sq.*

¹ This paragraph and the letter are omitted by Erondelle.

² Paul V. Camillo Borghese (1552-1621) was Pope from 1605 to 1621.

John de Biencour, commonly called de Poutrincourt, a lover of the religion of my sires and its constant defender, the least of the slaves of your Holiness, drawn, if I mistake not, by zeal equal to theirs, have, being one of many, devoted myself to Christ and to the salvation of the peoples, and men of the forests, as they are called, who dwell within the new lands of New France ; and in that calling I am now leaving my people and the house of my father, and am taking my wife and children to share in my perils, being mindful that Abraham, the father of the faithful, did the same, and that under the guidance of God he journeyed over a country which he knew not, which a people, born of his loins, was to possess, worshippers of the true God and of the true faith. Nor indeed do I ask a land rich in silver and gold, nor is it my desire to lay waste strange nations ; enough for me the favour of God, if this in any manner I may be able to win, and the lands granted to me by the gift of the King, and the yearly harvest of the sea, if I may but win the peoples for Christ. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. For those who live delicately, and take thought to heap up gold for themselves, neglect this task, loving this world more than is fitting. Yea, and those whose possessions are scanty cannot take upon them the weight of so great a task and are evidently unequal to bearing this burden. What then ? Shall a task so truly Christian, so evidently divine, be abandoned ? Have we then in vain, during the six years that are past, endured so many labours, escaped so many dangers, overcome so many anxieties, while our mind was set on these things ? No, of a truth. For since all things work together for good to them that fear God, it cannot be doubted that God, for whose glory we are attempting this labour of Hercules, favours our vows, as once He bare on eagle's wings His people Israel, and led them into a land flowing with milk and honey. Confident in this hope, I fear not freely and gladly in so noble an enterprise to expend my every resource,

my strength of body and of mind, especially now when war is still absent, nor is it given to valour to fulfil its office, unless we turn our swords against the Turks. But a task exists, more useful for the Kingdom of Christ, if we strive to bring to the knowledge of God those peoples spread far and wide in western lands. For there is no need of force of arms to compel them to the faith; the teaching of the lips alone is needful, and therewith the moulding of their character to good; as once by these means the apostles, with signs and wonders attendant, won over the greatest part of mankind to themselves, to God, and to His Christ. And thereby was proved the truth of that Scripture which saith: 'A people whom I have not known shall serve me; as soon as they hear of me they shall obey me, &c.'¹ Strange children are become liars unto me, &c.'

"These strange children are the peoples of the East, now estranged from the faith of Christ, to whom therefore can be applied that text of the Gospel which we now see fulfilled: 'The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.' Now therefore, behold the acceptable time, behold the day of salvation, in which God shall visit and redeem His people, and a people which hath not known Him shall serve Him, and in the hearing of the ear shall obey Him, if He suffer me, His unworthy servant, to be the leader of so great a deed. Wherein I implore the favour of Your Holiness by the bowels of the tender mercy of our God, I crave your sanction, I appeal to your righteousness, that as I am now hurrying forth to this task, with my most loving wife and children, you will deign to grant your blessing unto us, and bestow it also on my servants and assistants. For this I surely believe will aid us greatly, not only for the safety of our bodies, but also of our souls, yea, and will greatly advantage the fertility of our soil, and the success

¹ Lescarbot quotes from the Vulgate; but I have taken my translation from the Authorised Version, even when as here there is a difference of tense.

of our undertaking. May the God of all goodness and might, may our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, may the Holy Spirit also, grant that as you sit in the exalted seat of the chief of the apostles, you may for many generations hold the helm of His Holy Church, and see fulfilled in your days that which is of a surety your greatest glory, the prophecy of the holy Prophet concerning Christ : ‘Yea, all kings shall fall down before him ; all nations shall serve him.’¹

JOHN DE BIENCOUR,
The most lowly and most devoted
son of Your Holiness.”

¹ Lescarbot's Latin is exceedingly good.

HISTOIRE
DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE

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TROISIEME LIVRE DE L'HISTOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE :

CONTENANT LES NAVIGATIONS & DÉCOUVERTES DES FRANÇOIS
FAITES DANS LES GOLFE & GRANDE RIVIERE
DE CANADA

AVANT-PROPOS

I

L'HISTOIRE bien décrite est chose qui donne beaucoup de contentement à celui qui prend plaisir à la lecture d'icelle, mais principalement cela avient quand l'imagination qu'il a conceüe des choses y deduites, est aidée par la representation de la peinture : C'est pourquoy en lisant les écrits des Cosmographes il est difficile d'y avoir de la delectation ou de l'utilité sans les Tables geographiques. Or ayant en ce livre ici à recueillir les voyages faits en la Terre-neuve & grande riviere de Canada tant par le Capitaine Jacques
213 Quartier, que de freche memoire par Samuel Champlein (qui est vne même chose), & les découvertes & navigatiōs faites souz le gouvernement du sieur de Monts : considerant que les descriptions desdits Capitaine Quartier & Champlein sont des îles, ports, caps, rivières, & lieux qu'ils ont veu, lesquels étans en grand nombre apporteroient plutot vn degout au lecteur, qu'un appetit de lire, ayant moy-même quelquefois en semblable sujet passé par dessus les descriptiōs des provinces que Pline fait es livres III. IV. V. & VI. de sō Histoire naturelle : ce que je n'eusse fait si j'eusse eu la Charte geographique presente : J'ay pensé être à propos de représenter avec le discours, le pourtrait tant desdites Terres-neuves, que de ladite riviere de Canada jusques à son premier saut, qui sont de quatre à cinq cens lieuës de païs, avec les noms des lieux plus remarquables, afin qu'en lisant le lecteur voye la route suivie par noz François en leurs découvertes. Ce que j'ay fait au mieux qu'il m'a été possible, aiāt rapporté chacū lieu à sa propre élévation & hauteur : en quoy se sont equivoqué tous ceux qui s'en sont mêlez jusques à presēt.

Quant à ce qui est de l'Histoire, j'avois eu volonté de l'abbreger, mais j'ay considéré que ce seroit faire tort aux plus curieux, voire même aux mariniers, qui
214 par le discours entier peuvēt reconoitre les lieux dangereux, & se prendre garde de toucher. Joint que Pline & autres geographes n'estiment point être hors de leur sujet d'écrire de cette façō, iusques à particulariser les distâces des lieux & provinces. Ainsi j'ay laissé en leur entier les deux voyages dudit Capitaine Jacques

¹ The numbers in the inside margin give the pages of the original French edition of 1617-18. Those in the outside margin refer to the equivalent pages of the translation.

Quartier : le premier desquels étoit imprimé : mais le secōd ie l'ai pris sur l'original présenté au Roy écrit à la main, couvert en satin bleu. Et en ces deux ie trouve de la discordāce en vne chose, c'est qu'au premier voyage il est mentionné que ledit Quartier ne passa point plus de quinze lieuës par delà le cap de Mont-morenci : Et en la relation du second il dit qu'il remena en la terre de Canada qui est au Nort de l'ile d'Orleās (à plus de six vints lieuës dudit cap de Mont-morenci) les 3 deux Sauvages qu'il y avoit pris l'an precedēt. J'ay donc mis au front de ce troisiēme livre la charte de ladite grande riviere, Et du Golfe de Canada tout environné de terres Et iles, sur lesquelles le lecteur semblera être porté quand il y verra les lieux designez par leurs noms.

Au surplus ayant trouvé en tête du premier voyage du Capitaine Jacques Quartier quelques vers François qui me semblēt de bōne grace, ie n'en ay voulu frustrer l'auteur, duquel i'eusse mis le nom, s'il se fût donné à conoitre.

SVR LE VOYAGE

DE CANADA

215 **L**VOY ? serons-nous toujours esclaves des fureurs ?
 Gemirons-nous sans fin nos éternels mal-heurs ?
 Le Soleil a roulé quarante entiers voyages,
 Faisant soudre pour nous moins de iours que d'orages :
 D'un desastre mourant un autre pire est né,

Et n'appercevons pas le destin obstiné
 (Chetifs) qui nox conseils ravage comme l'onde
 Qui és humides mois culbutant vagabonde
 Du negeux Pyrené, ou des Alpes fourchus,
 Entreine les rochers, & les chênes branchus :
 Ou comme puissamment une tempête brise
 La fragile chaloupe en l'Océan surprise.
 Cedons, sages, cedons au ciel qui dépité
 Contre nôtre terroir, prophane, ensanglanté
 De meurtres fraternels, & tout puant de crimes,
 Crimes qui font horreur aux infernaux abymes,
 Nous chasse à coups de fouët à des bords plus heureux :
 Afin de r'aviver aux actes valeureux

216 Des renommez François la race abatardie :
 Comme on voit la vigueur d'une plante engourdie,
 Au changement de place alaigne s'éveiller,
 Et de plus riches fleurs le parterre émailler.
 Ainsi France Alemande en Gaule replantée :
 Ainsi l'antique Saxe en l'Angleterre entée :
 Bref, les peuples ainsi nouveaux sieges traçans,
 Ont redoublé gaillars leurs sceptres florissans :
 Faisans voir que la mer qui les astres menace,
 Et les plus aspres mons à la vertu font place.
 Sus, sus donc compagnons qui bouillez d'un beau sang,
 Et auxquels la vertu esperonne le flanc,
 Allons où le bon heur & le ciel nous appelle ;
 Et provignons au loin une France plus belle.
 Quittons aux faineans, à ces masses sans cœur,
 A la peste, à la faim, aux ebats du vainqueur,
 Au vice, au desespoir, cette campagne vsee,
 Haine des gens de bien, du monde la risee.
 C'est pour vous que reluit cette riche toison
 Deuë aux braves exploits de ce François Jason,

Auquel le Dieu marin favorable fait fête,
 D'un rude cameçon arrêtant la tempête.
 Les filles de Nérée attendent vos vaisseaux ;
 J'à caressent leur prouë, & balient les eaux
 De leurs paumes d'yvoire, en double rang fendues,
 Comme percent les airs les voyageres Grues,
 Quand la saison severe & la gaye à son tour
 Les convie à changer en troupes de sejour.
 C'est pour vous que de laict gazouillent les rivières :
 Que maçonnent és troncs les mouches menageres :
 Que le champ volontaire en drus épics iaunit :
 Que le fidele sep sans peine se fournit
 D'un fruit qui sous le miel ne couve la tristesse,
 Ains enclot innocent la vermeille liesse.
 La marâtre n'y sçait l'aconite tremper :
 Ni la fièvre alterée és entrailles camper :
 Le favorable trait de Proserpine envoie
 Aux champs Elysiens l'ame soule de joye :
 Et mille autres souhaits que vous irez cueillans,
 Que reserve le ciel aux estomachs vaillans.
 Mais tous au demarer fermons cette promesse :
 Disons, plutot la terre usurpe la vitesse
 Des flambeaux immortels : les immortels flambeaux
 Echangent leur lumiere aux ombres des tombeaux :
 Les prez hument plutot les montagnes fondues :
 Sans montagnes les vaux foulent les basses nues :
 L'Aigle soit veu nageant dans la glace de l'air :
 Dans les flots allumez la Baleine voler
 Plutot qu'en nôtre esprit le retour se figure :
 Et si nous parjurons, la mer nous soit parjure.
 O quels rempars ie voy ! quelles tours se lever !
 Quels fleuves à fonds d'or de nouveaux murs laver !
 Quels Royaumes s'enfler d'honorables conquêtes !
 Quels lauriers ombrager de genereuses têtes !
 Quelle ardeur me soulève ! Ouvrez-vous larges airs,
 Faites voye à mon aile : és bords de l'Univers,
 De mon cor haut-sonnant les victoires i'entonne
 D'un essaim belliqueux, dont la terre frissonne.

AMI Lecteur, n'ayant peu bonnement arranger en peu d'espace tant de ports, îles, caps, golfes ou bayes, detroits, & rivières desquels est fait mention és voyages que j'ay d'orenavant à te représenter en ce troisième livre, j'ay estimé meilleur & plus commode de te les indiquer par chiffres, ayant seulement chargé la Charte que ie te donne des noms les plus celebres qui soyent en la Terre-neuve & grande rivière de Canada.

LIEUX DE LA TERRE-NEUVE

1. *Cap de Bonne-veüe*, premier abord du Capitaine Iacques Quartier.
2. *Port de sainte Catherine.*
3. *Ile aux Oyseaux.* En cette île y a telle quantité d'oyseaux, que tous les navires de France s'en pourroient charger sans qu'on s'en apperceût : ce dit le Capitaine Iacques Quartier. Et ie le croy bien pour en avoir veu précedens de semblables.
4. *Golfe des Chateaux.*
5. *Port de Cerpunt.*
6. *Cap Razé*, où il y a vn port dit *Rougneusi.*
7. *Cap & Port de Degrad.*
8. *Ile sainte Catherine*, & là même le *Port des Chateaux.*
9. *Port des Gouttes.*
10. *Port des Balances.*
11. *Port de Blanc-sablon.*
12. *Ile de Brest.*
13. *Port des ilettes.*
14. *Port de Brest.*
15. *Port saint Antoine.*
16. *Port saint Servain.*
17. *Fleuve saint Iacques*, & *Port de Iacques Quartier.*
18. *Cap Tiennot.*
19. *Port saint Nicolas.*
20. *Cap de Rabast.*
21. *Baye de saint Laurent.*
22. *Iles saint Guillaume.*
23. *Ile sainte Marthe.*
24. *Ile saint Germain.*
25. *Les sept îles.*
26. *Rivière dite Chischedec*, où y a grande quantité de chevaux aquatiques, dits Hippopotames.
27. *Ile de l'Assumption*, autrement dite *Anticosti*, laquelle a environ trente lieues de longueur : & est à l'entrée de la grande rivière de *Canada.*
28. *Détroit saint Pierre.*

Ayant indiqué les lieux de la Terre-neuve qui regardent à l'Est, & ceux qui sont le long de la terre ferme du Nort, retournons à ladite Terre-neuve, & faisons le tour entier. Mais faut sçavoir qu'il y a deux passages principaux pour entrer au grand Golfe de *Canada*. Iacques Quartier en ses deux voyages 220 alla par le passage du Nort. Aujourd'huy pour éviter les glaces & pour le plus court plusieurs prennent celui du Su par le détroit qui est entre le Cap Breton & le Cap de Raye. Et cette route ayant été suivie par Champlain, la première terre découverte en son voyage fut

29. *Le Cap sainte Marie.*

30. *Iles saint Pierre.*

31. *Port du saint Esprit.*

32. *Cap de Lorraine.*

33. *Cap saint Paul.*

34. *Cap de Raye*, que ie pense être le *Cap pointu* de Iacques Quartier.

35. *Les mons des Cabanes.*

36. *Cap double.*

Maintenant passons à l'autre terre vers le Cap saint Laurent, laquelle i'appellerois volontiers l'île de *Bacaillos*, c'est à dire de Moruës (ainsi qu'à peu près l'a marquée Postel) pour lui donner vn propre nom, quoy que tout l'environ du Golfe de *Canada* se puisse ainsi nommer : car jusques à *Gachepé*, tous les ports sont propres à la pêcherie desdits poissons, voire même encore les ports qui sont au dehors & regardent vers le Su, comme le port aux 6 Anglois, de *Campseau*, & de Savalet. Or en commençant au détroit d'entre le Cap de Raye & le Cap saint Laurent (lequel a dix-huit lieues de large) on trouve

37. *Les îles saint Paul.*

38. *Cap saint Laurent.*

39. *Cap saint Pierre.*

40. *Cap Dauphin.*

41. *Cap saint Jean.*

42. *Cap Royal.*

43. *Golfe saint Iulien.*

44. *Passage*, ou *Détroit* de la baie de *Campseau*, qui separe l'île de *Bacaillos* de la terre ferme.

Depuis tant d'années ce détroit n'est point à peine reconnu, & toutefois il sert de beaucoup pour abbreger chemin (ou du moins servira à l'avenir, quand la Nouvelle-France sera habitée) pour aller à la grande rivière de *Canada*. Nous le vîmes l'année passée étans au port de *Campseau*, allans chercher quelque ruisseau pour nous pourvoir d'eau douce avant nôtre retour. Nous en trouvâmes vn petit que i'ay marqué vers le fond de la baie dudit *Campseau*, auquel lieu se fait grande pêcherie de moruës. Or quand ie considere la route de Iacques Quartier en son premier voyage, ie la trouve si obscure que rien plus, faute d'avoir remarqué ce passage. Car noz mariniers se servent le plus souvent des noms de l'imposition des Sauvages, comme *Tadoussac*, *Anticosti*, *Gachepé*, *Tregate*, *Misamichis*, *Campseau*, *Kebec*, *Batiscan*, *Saguenay*, *Chischedec*, *Mantanne*, & autres. En cette obscurité i'ay pensé que ce qu'il appelle les Îles Colombaires sont les îles dites Ramees qui sont plusieurs en nombre, ayant dit en son discours qu'une tîpète les avoit portez du Cap pointu à trente sept lieues loin : car il étoit ja passé de la bande du Nort vers le Su.

45. *Iles Colombaires*, aliàs *Iles Ramées*.

222 46. *Iles des Margaux*. Il y a trois iles remplies de ces oiseaux comme vn pré d'herbes, ainsi que dit Iacques Quartier.

47. *Ile de Brion*, où y a des Hippopotames, ou Chevaux marins.

48. *Ile d'Alezay*.

De là il dit qu'ils firent quelques quarante lieües, & trouverent.

7

49. *Le Cap d'Orleans*.

50. *Fleuve des Barques*, que ie prens pour *Mesamichis*.

51. *Cap des Sauvages*.

52. *Golfe saint Lunaire*, que ie prens pour *Tregate*.

53. *Cap d'Esperance*.

54. *Baye*, ou *Golfe de Chaleur*, auquel Iacques Quartier dit qu'il fait plus chaut qu'en Hespagne : En quoy ie ne le croiray volontiers iusques à ce qu'il y ait fait vn autre voyage, attendu le climat. Mais il se peut faire que par accident il y faisoit fort chaud quand il y fut, qui étoit au mois de Iuillet.

55. *Cap du Pré*.

56. *Saint Martin*.

57. *Baye des Morues*.

58. *Cap saint Louïs*.

59. *Cap de Montmorency*.

60. *Gachepé*.

61. *Ile percée*.

62. *Ile de Bonnaventure*.

223 Entrons maintenant en la grande riviere de *Canada*, en laquelle nous trouverons peu de ports en l'espace de plus de trois cens cinquante lieües : car elle est fort pleine de rochers & battures. A la ben-de du Su, passé *Gachepé* il y a

63. *Le Cap à l'Evesque*.

64. *Riviere de Mantane*.

65. *Les ileaux saint Iean*, que ie prens pour *Le Pic*.

66. *Riviere des Iroquois*.

A la ben-de du Nort, apres *Chischedec* mis ci-dessus au numero 27.

67. *Riviere sainte Marguerite*.

68. *Port de Lesquemin*, où les Basques vont à la pécherie des Baleines.

69. *Port de Tadoussac*, à l'emboucheure de la riviere de *Saguenay*, où se fait le plus grand trafic de pelleterie qui soit en tout le pais.

70. *Riviere de Saguenay*, à cent lieües de l'emboucheure de la riviere de *Canada*. Cette riviere est si creuse qu'on n'en trouve quasi point le fond. Ici la grande riviere de *Canada* n'a plus que sept lieües de large.

71. *Ile du Lièvre*.

72. *Ile aux Coudres*. Ces deux iles ainsi appellées par Iacques Quartier.

73. *Ile d'Orleans*, laquelle Iacques Quartier nomma *l'ile de Bacchus*, à-cause de la grande quantité de vignes qui y sont. Ici l'eau de la grande riviere est douce, & monte le flot plus de quarante lieües par-dela.

74. *Kébec*. C'est vn détroit de la grande riviere de *Canada*, que Iacques Quartier nomme *Achelaci*, où le sieur De Monts a fait vn Fort & habitation de François, auprès duquel lieu y a vn ruisseau qui tombe d'un rocher fort haut & droit.

75. *Port de sainte Croix*, où hiverna Iacques Quartier, & dit Champlein qu'il ne passa point plus outre, mais il se trompe : & faut conserver la memoire de ceux qui ont bien fait.
76. *Riviere de Batiscan*.
77. *Ile saint Eloy*.
78. *La riviere de Foix*, nommee par Champlein *Les trois rivières*.
79. *Hochelaga*, ville des Sauvages, du nom de laquelle Iacques Quartier a appelé la grande riviere que nous disons *Canada*.
80. *Mont Royal*, montagne voisine de *Hochelaga*, d'où l'on découvre la grande riviere de *Canada* à perte de veü au dessus du grand Saut.
81. *Saut de la grande riviere de Canada*, qui dure vne lieuë, tombant icelle riviere parmi des rochers en bas avec vn bruit étrange.
82. *La grande riviere de Canada*, de laquelle on ne sçait encore l'origine, & a plus de huit cens lieuës de conoissance, soit pour avoir veu, soit par le rapport des Sauvages. Je trouve au second voyage de Iacques Quartier qu'elle a trente lieues de large à son entree, & plus de deux cens brasses de profond. Cette riviere a esté appelée par le même Iacques Quartier *Hochelaga*, du nom du peuple qui de son temps habitoit vers le Saut d'icelle.

225 *Sommaire de deux voyages faits par le Capitaine Jacques Quartier en la Terre-neuve : Golfe & grande riviere de Canada : Éclaircissement des noms de Terre-neuve, Bacalos, Canada & Labrador : Erreur du sieur de Belle-foret.*

CHAP. I

19

EN l'année mille cinq cens trête-trois Jacques Quartier, excellent pilote Maloin, desireux de perpetuer son nom par quelque action signalée, fit sçavoir à Monsieur l'Admiral (qui étoit pour lors Messire Philippe Chabot, Comte de Burensais¹ & de Charni, Seigneur de Brion) la bonne volonté qu'il avoit de découvrir des terres ainsi que les Hespagnols avoient fait aux Indes Occidentales, & même neuf² ans auparavant Iean Verazzan par commission du Roy François I. lequel Verazzan, prevenu de mort, n'avoit conduit aucunes colonies és terres qu'il avoit découvertes, ains 20 seulement remarqué la côte depuis environ le trentième degré de la Terre-neuve qu'on appelle aujourd'huy la Floride, iusques au quarantième. Pour lequel dessein continuer il offroit ce qui étoit de son industrie, s'il plaisoit au Roy luy fournir les moyens à ce necessaires. Ledit sieur Admiral ayant pris 226 de bonne part ces paroles, il les representa à sa Majesté, & fit en sorte que ledit Quartier eut la charge de deux vaisseaux de chacun soixante tonneaux, garnis de soixante & vn hommes, pour l'exécution de ce qu'il avoit proposé. Et moyennant ce il fit vn voyage à la Terre-neuve du Nort, là où il découvrit les îles de ladite Terre-neuve, qui sont comme vn Archipelague, en nombre infini, & les côtes jusques à l'embouchure de la grande riviere de *Canada*, tant à la bende du Nort que du Su, & ne cessa de rechercher les ports & havres desdites terres, & reconoitre leur assiette, vtilité & nature, jusques à ce que la saison se passant, & les vens contraires à la route de France venans à s'élever, il print avis de retourner, & attendre à vne autre année à faire plus ample découverte, comme il fit incontinent après, & penetra en son second voyage jusques au grand saut de ladite riviere de *Canada*, en laquelle il avoit delibéré de donner commencement à vne habitation Françoisise au lieu dit Sainte Croix, décrit en la relation qu'il a fait de son second voyage : auquel lieu il hiverna, & y a encore presentement des meules à moulin qu'il y avoit portées comme instrumens principalement necessaires à la nourriture d'vn peuple. Mais 21 comme les plantes hors de leur province, & en leur propre province souvent transplantées ne profitent point tant qu'en leur lieu naturel : Et comme il y a des pais en la Frâce même où plusieurs forains & étrangers ne peuvent vivre (du moins en bonne santé), comme à Narbonne en Languedoc, & à 227 Yerres en Provence, d'où i'entens que les habitans sont contrains de rebatir

¹ Buzançaïs.

² The 1617-18 edition has, *douze* : those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

leur ville en vn autre endroit, pource qu'ilz n'y peuvent devenir vieux : Et pour l'effect de ce ont présenté requête au Roy : surquoy y a des oppositions par les Marseillois & les habitans de Tolon : Ainsi durant cet hiver plusieurs des gens dudit Quartier n'ayans la disposition du corps bien sympathisante avec le temperament de l'air de ce pais là, furent saisis de maladies inconnues qui en emportèrent vn bon nombre, & eussent pis fait sans le secours du remede que Dieu leur envoya, duquel nous r'apporterons en son lieu ce que ledit Quartier en a écrit.

Après que l'hiver fut passé, les gens dudit Quartier se facherent de cette demeure & voulurent retourner en France, même d'autant que les vivres commençoient à leur defaillir : de maniere que retournez pardeça, sur l'épouvantement qu'ilz donnerent de cette étrange maladie, l'ardeur d'habiter cette Terre-neuve fut refroidie iusques à ce qu'en l'an mille cinq cens quarante, se presenta le sieur de Roberval, Gentilhomme Picard, pour être conducteur de l'œuvre delaissé, & souz luy ledit Quartier fut constitué Capitaine general sur tous les vaisseaux de mer qui seroiēt employés à cette entreprise : pour
22 laquelle ie trouve que grâde depense fut faite sans que nous en voyons être reüssi aucun fruit : ainsi que plus particulièrement se reconoitra par le contenu au trentième chapitre ci-dessous.

Or ayans dorenavant à parler des pais de la Terre-neuve, de *Bacalos* & de *Canada*, il est bon avât qu'y entrer d'éclaircir le lecteur de ces trois mots, desquels tous les Geographes ne cōviennēt entr'eux. Quant au premier, il est
228 certain que tout ce pais que nous avons dit se peut appeller Terre-neuve, & le mot n'en est pas nouveau : car de toute memoire, & dés plusieurs siecles noz Dieppoïs, Maloïs, Rocheloïs, & autres mariniers du Havre de Grace, de Honfleur & autres lieux, ont les voyages ordinaires en ces pais-là pour la pécherie des Moruës dont ilz nourrissent préque toute l'Europe, & pourvoyent tous vaisseaux de mer. Et quoy que tout pais de nouveau découvert se puisse
23 appeller Terre-neuve, comme nous avons rapporté au quatrième chapitre du premier livre que Iean Verazzan appella la Floride Terre-neuve, pource qu'avant lui aucun n'y avoit encore mis le pied : toutefois ce mot est particulier aux terres plus voisines de la France és Indes Occidentales, lesquelles sont depuis les quarante iusques au cinquantième degré. Et par vn mot plus general on peut appeller Terre-neuve tout ce qui environne le Golfe de Canada, où les Terre-neuviens indifferement vont tous les ans faire leur pécherie : ce que j'ay dit être dés plusieurs siecles ; & partant ne faut qu'aucune autre nation se glorifie d'en avoir fait la découverte. Outre que cela est tres-
24 certain entre noz mariniers Normans, Bretons, & Basques, lesquels avoient imposé nom à plusieurs ports de ces terres avant que le Capitaine Iacques Quartier y allat ; Je mettray encore ici le témoignage de Postel que j'ay extrait de sa Charte géographique en ces mots : *Terra hæc ob lucrosissimam piscationis utilitatem summa litterarum memoria à Gallis adiri solita, & ante mille sexcentos*
229 *annos frequētari solita est : sed eò quòd sit urbibus inculta & vasta, spreta est.* De maniere que nôtre Terre-neuve étant du continent de l'Amerique, c'est aux François qu'appartient l'honneur de la premiere découverte des Indes Occidentales, & non aux Hespagnols.

Quant au nom de *Bacalos* il est de l'imposition de noz Basques, lesquels appellent vne Moruë *Bacaillos*, & à leur imitation noz peuples de la Nouvelle-France ont appris à nommer aussi la Moruë *Bacaillos*, quoy qu'en leur langage

le nom propre de la moruë soit *Apegé*. Et ont dés si long-temps la frequenta-
tion desdits Basques, que le langage des premieres terres est à moitié de Basque.
Or d'autant que toute la pécherie des Moruës (passé le Banc) se fait au Golfe
de Canada, ou en la côte y adjacente qui est au Su hors ledit Golfe, és Ports
des Anglois, & de *Campseau* : pour cette cause toute cette premiere terre
que nous avons dite Terre-neuve en general, se peut dire Terre de *Bacaillos*,
c'est à dire Terre de Moruës.

Et pour le regard du nom de *Canada* tant celebré en l'Europe, c'est propre- 25
ment l'appellation de l'une & de l'autre rive de cette grande riviere, à laquelle
on a donné le nom de *Canada*, comme au fleuve de l'Inde, le nom du peuple
& de la province qu'il arrouse. D'autres ont appelé cette riviere *Hochelaga*,
du nom d'une autre terre que cette riviere baigne au dessus de sainte Croix,
où Iacques Quartier hiverna. Or jaoit que la partie du Nort au dessus de
230 la riviere de *Saguenay* soit le Canada dudit Quartier ; toutefois les peuples
de *Cachepé* & de la baye de Chaleur, qui sont environ le quarante-huitième
degré de latitude au Su de ladite grande riviere, se disent *Canadaquoa*¹ (ilz
prononcent ainsi) c'est à dire Canadaquois, comme nous disons Souriquois, &
Iroquois, autres peuples de cette terre. Cette diversité a fait que les Geographes
ont varié en l'assiette de la province de *Canada*, les vns l'ayant située par les
cinquante, les autres par les soixante degrez. Cela presupposé, je dy que l'un
& l'autre côté de ladite riviere est *Canada*, & par ainsi justement icelle riviere
en porte le nom, plutôt que de *Hochelaga*, ou de saint Laurent.

Ce mot donc de *Canada* étant proprement le nom d'une province, je ne
me puis accorder avec le sieur de Belle-foret, lequel dit qu'il signifie Terre ;
ni à peine avec le Capitaine Iacques Quartier, lequel écrit que *Canada* signifie
ville. Je croy que l'un & l'autre s'est abusé, & est venu la deception de ce
que (comme il falloit parler par signes avec ces peuples) quelqu'un des François
interrogeant les Sauvages comment s'appelloit leur pais, lui montrans leurs
villages & cabanes, ou un circuit de terre, ils ont répondu que c'étoit *Canada*, 26
non pour signifier que leurs villages ou la terre s'appellassent ainsi, mais toute
l'étendue de la province.

Le même Belle-foret parlant des peuples qui habitent environ la baye (ou
Golfe) de Chaleur, les appelle peuples de *Labrador*, contre tous les Geographes
231 unverselement. En quoy il s'est equivoqué, veu que le pais de *Labrador*
est par les soixante degrez, & ledit Golfe de Chaleur n'est que par les quarante-
huit & demi. Je ne sçay quel est son auteur. Mais quant au Capitaine
Iacques Quartier, il ne fait nulle mention de *Labrador* en ses relations. Et
vaudroit mieux que ledit Belle-foret eût situé le pais de *Bacalos* là où il a mis
Labrador, que de l'avoir mis par les soixante degrez. Car de verité la plus
grande pécherie des Moruës (que nous avons dit être appellées *Bacaillos*) se
fait és environs de la baye de Chaleur, comme à *Tregat*, *Misamichi*, & la baye
qu'on appelle des Moruës.

¹ The edition of 1609 has, *Canadaquoa*.

Relation du premier voyage fait par le Capitaine Jacques Quartier en la Terre-neuve du Nort jusques à l'embouchure de la grande riviere de Canada. Et premierement l'état de son equipage, avec les découvertes du mois de May.

CHAP. II

APRÈS que Messire Charles de Moüy, sieur de la Milleraye,¹ & Vic-admiral de France eut fait jurer les Capitaines, Maitres & Cōpagnons des navires, de bien & fidelement se comporter au service du Roy Tres-Chrétien, souz la charge du Capitaine Jacques Quartier ; Nous partimes le vingtième d'Avril en l'an mille cinq cēs trente-quatre du port de saint Malo avec deux navires de charge chacun d'environ soixante tonneaux,²³² & armé de soixante & vn hommes : Et navigames avec tel heur que le dixième de May nous arrivames à la Terre-neuve, en laquelle nous entrames par le *Cap de Bonne-veuë*, lequel est au quarante-huitième degré & demi de latitude. Mais pour la grande quantité de glaces² qui étoit le long de cette terre, il nous fut besoin d'entrer en vn port que nous nommames de *Sainte Catherine*, distant cinq lieüx du port susdit vers le Su-Suest ; là nous arretames dix jours attendans la commodité du temps, & ce-pendant nous équippames & appareillames noz barques.

Le vingt-vnième de May fimes voile ayant vent d'Ouest, & tirames vers le
 28 Nort depuis le *Cap de Bonne-veuë* jusques à l'*Ile des Oyseaux*, laquelle étoit entierement environnée de glace, qui toutefois étoit rompuë & divisée en pieces, mais nonobstant cette glace noz barques ne laisserent d'y aller pour avoir des oyseaux, desquels y a si grand nombre que c'est chose incroyable à qui ne le void, par-ce que combien que cette ile (laquelle peut avoir vne lieü de circuit) en soit si pleine qu'il semble qu'ils y soient expressement apportés & préque comme semez : Neantmoins il y en a cent fois plus à l'entour d'icelle & en l'air que dedans, desquels les vns sont grands comme Pies, noirs & blancs, ayans le bec de Corbeau : ilz sont toujours en mer, & ne peuvent voler haut, d'autant que leurs ailes sont petites, point plus grandes que la moitié de la main, avec lesquelles toutefois ilz volent de telle vitesse à fleur d'eau²³³ que les autres oyseaux en l'air. Ilz sont excessivemēt gras, & étoient appelez par ceux du pais *Apponath*, desquelz noz deux barques se chargerent en moins de demie heure cōme l'on auroit peu faire de cailloux, de sorte qu'en chaque navire nous en fimes saler quatre ou cinq tonneaux, sans ceux que nous mangeames frais.

En outre il y a vne autre espece d'oyseaux qui volent haut en l'air, & à fleur d'eau, lesquels sont plus petits que les autres, & sont appelez *Godets*. Ilz s'assemblent ordinairement en cette Ile, & se cachent souz les ailes des grans.

¹ The edition of 1609 has the correct, *Meilleraye*.

² The edition of 1617-18 has, *places*. Those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

Il y en a aussi d'une autre sorte (mais plus grans & blâcs) separez des autres en vn canton de l'île, & sont tres-difficiles à prendre, par-ce qu'ilz mordent comme chiens, & les appelloient *Margaux* : Et bien que cette île soit distante 29 quatorze lieuës de la grande terre, neantmoins les Ours y viennent à nage, pour y manger de ces oyseaux, & les nôtres y en trouverent vn grand comme vne vache, blanc comme vn Cygne, lequel sauta en mer devant eux, & le lendemain de Pâques, qui étoit en May, voyageans vers la terre, nous le trouvâmes à moitié chemin nageant vers icelle aussi vite que nous qui allions à la voile ; mais l'ayans apperceu, luy donnâmes la chasse par le moyen de noz barques, & le primmes par force. Sa chair étoit aussi bonne & delicate à manger que celle d'un bœuf. Le Mercredi ensuivant, qui étoit le vingt-septième dudit mois de May, nous arrivâmes à la bouche du *Golfe des Châteaux* ; mais pour 234 la contrariété du temps, & à-cause de la grande quantité de glaces, il nous fallut entrer en vn port qui étoit aux environs de cette emboucheure, nommé *Carpunt*, auquel nous demeurâmes sans pouvoir sortir, jusques au neuvième de Juin, que nous partîmes de là pour passer outre ce lieu de *Carpunt*, lequel est au cinquante vnième degré de latitude.

La terre depuis le *Cap Razé* iusques à celui de *Degrad* fait la pointe de l'entrée de ce Golfe qui regarde de cap à cap vers l'Est, Nort & Su. Toutefois cette partie de terre est faite d'îles situées l'une auprès de l'autre, si qu'entre icelles n'y a que cômme petits fleuves, par lesquels l'on peut aller & passer avec 30 petits bateaux, & là y a beaucoup de bons ports, entre lesquels sont ceux de *Carpunt* & *Degrad*. En l'une de ces îles, la plus haute de toutes, l'on peut, état debout, clairement voir les deux îles basses pres le *Cap Razé*, duquel lieu l'on conte vingt-cinq lieuës jusques au port de *Carpunt*, & là y a deux entrées, l'une du côté d'Est, l'autre du Su, mais il faut prendre garde du côté d'Est, parce qu'on n'y void que bancs & eaux basses, & faut aller à l'entour de l'île vers Ouest, la lôneur d'un demi cable ou peu moins qui veut, puis tirer vers le Su, pour aller au susdit *Carpunt*, & aussi l'on se doit garder de trois bancs qui sont sous l'eau, & dans le canal, & vers l'île du côté d'Est, y a fond au canal de trois ou quatre brasses ; l'autre entrée regarde l'Est, & vers l'Ouest l'on peut mettre pied à terre.

Quittant la pointe de *Degrad*, à l'entrée du Golfe susdit, à la volte d'Ouest, 235 l'on doute de¹ deux îles qui restent au côté droit, desquelles l'une est distante trois lieuës de la pointe susdite, & l'autre sept, ou plus ou moins, de la première, laquelle est vne terre plate & basse, & semble qu'elle soit de la grâde terre. L'appellay cette île du nom de *sainte Catherine*, en laquelle vers Est, y a vn pais sec & mauvais terroir envirō vn quart de lieuë, pource 31 est-il besoin faire vn peu de circuit. En cette île est le *Port des Châteaux*, qui regarde vers le Nort-Nordest & le Su-Suroest, & y a distâce de l'un à l'autre environ quinze lieuës. Du susdit port des *Châteaux* iusques au *Port des Gouttes*, qui est la terre du Nort du Golfe susdit qui regarde l'Est-Nordest & l'Ouest-Suroest, y a distance de douze lieues & demie, & est à deux lieuës du *Port des Balâces*, & se trouve qu'en la tierce partie du travers de ce Golfe y a trête brasses de fond à plōb. Et de ce *Port des Balâces* jusques au *Blâc-sablon* y a vingt-cinq lieuës vers l'Ouest-Suroest. Et faut remarquer que du côté du Suroest de *Blâc-sablon* l'on void par trois lieues vn bâc qui paroît dessus l'eau ressemblât à vn bateau.

¹ *Sic pro*, "double."

Blanc-sablon est vn lieu où n'y a aucun abry du Su, ni du Suest, mais vers le Su-Suroüest de ce lieu y a deux iles, l'une desquelles est appelée *l'Isle de Brest*, & l'autre *l'Isle des Oyseaux*, en laquelle y a grande quantité de *Godets* & *Corbeaux* qui ont le bec & les piés rouges, & font leurs nids en des trous souz terre comme connils. Passé vn Cap de terre distant vne lieue de Blanc-sablon, l'on trouve vn port & passage appelé les Ilettes, qui est le meilleur lieu de
32 Blanc-sablon, & où la pécherie est fort grande. De ce lieu des Ilettes jusques
au *Port de Brest* y a dix-huit lieuës de circuit : & ce Port est au cinquante- 236
vnième degré cinquante-cinq minutes de latitude. Depuis les Ilettes jusques à ce lieu y a plusieurs iles, & le *Port de Brest* est même entre les iles, lesquelles l'environnent de plus de trois lieuës, & les iles sont basses, tellement que l'on peut voir pardessus icelles les terres susdites.

La navigation & découverte du mois de Iuin.

CHAP. III

33

LE dixième du susdit mois de Iuin, entrames dans le *Port de Brest* pour avoir de l'eau & du bois, & pour nous apprêter de passer outre ce Golfe : Le jour de saint Barnabé après avoir oui la Messe, nous tirames outre ce port vers Ouest, pour découvrir les ports qui y pouvoient être : Nous passames par le milieu des iles, lesquelles sont en si grand nombre qu'il n'est possible de les compter, par-ce qu'elles continuent dix lieues outre ce port : Nous demeurames en l'une d'icelles pour y passer la nuit, & y trouvames grande quantité d'œufs de Canes, & d'autres oyseaux qui y font leurs nids, & les appellames toutes en general, *les Iles*.

Le lendemain nous passames outre ces Iles, & au bout d'icelles trouvames vn bon port, que nous appellames de *saint Antoine*, & vne ou deux lieues plus
 237 outre découvrimus vn petit fleuve fort profond vers le Suroüest, lequel est entre deux autres terres, & y a là vn bon port. Nous y plantames vne croix, & l'appellames le *Port saint Servain* : & du côté du Suroüest de ce port & fleuve se trouve, à environ vne lieuë, vne petite ile ronde comme vn fourneau, environnée de beaucoup d'autres petites, lesquelles donnēt la conoissance de ces ports. Plus outre à deux lieuës, y a vn autre bon fleuve plus grand, auquel nous péchames beaucoup de Saumons, & l'appellames le *fleuve de saint Iacques*. 34
 Etans en ce fleuve nous avisames vne grande nave qui étoit de la Rochelle, laquelle avoit la nuit precedente passé outre le port de Brest, où ils pensoient aller pour pêcher, mais les mariniers ne sçavoient où étoit le lieu. Nous nous accostames d'eux, & nous mimes ensemble en vn autre port, qui est plus vers Ouest, environ vne lieuë plus outre que le susdit fleuve de saint Iacques, lequel i'estime estre vn des meilleurs ports du môde, & fut appelé le *Port de Iacques Quartier*. Si la terre correspoïdoit à la bôte des ports, ce seroit vn grand bien, mais on ne la doit point appeller terre, ains plustot cailloux & rochers sauvages, & lieux propres aux bêtes farouches, d'autant qu'en toute la terre devers le Nort, je n'y vis pas tant de terre qu'il en pourroit en vn benneau : & là toutefois je descendi en plusieurs lieux : & en l'île de Blanc-sablon n'y a autre chose que mousse, & petites épines & buissons ça & là sechez & demi-morts. Et en somme ie pense que cette terre est celle que Dieu donna à Cain. Là
 238 on y void des hommes de belle taille & grandeur, mais indomtés & sauvages. Ilz portent les cheveux liés au sommet de la tête, & étreints comme vne poignée de foin, y mettans au travers vn petit bois, ou autre chose au lieu de clou : & y tient ensemble quelques plumes d'oyseaux. Ilz vont vêtus de peaux d'animaux, aussi bien les hommes que les femmes, lesquelles sont toutesfois percluses & réfermées en leurs habits, & ceintes par le milieu du corps, ce que ne sont pas les hommes : ilz se peignent avec certaines couleurs rouges. Ils

ont leurs barques faites d'écorce d'arbre de Boul, qui est vn arbre ainsi appellé au pais, semblable à noz chênes, avec lesquelles ilz péchent grande quantité de Loups-marins : Et depuis mon retour i'ay entendu qu'ilz ne faisoient pas là leur demeure, mais qu'ilz y viennent de pais plus chauds par terre, pour prendre de ces Loups, & autres choses pour vivre.

35 Le treizième iour dudit mois, nous retournames à noz navires, pour faire voile, pource que le temps étoit beau, & le Dimanche fimes dire la Messe : Le Lundy suivât, qui étoit le quinzisième,¹ partimes outre le port de *Brest*, & primmes nôtre chemin vers le Su, pour avoir conoissance des terres que nous aviôs apperceuës, qui sembloïët faire deux Iles. Mais quâd nous fumes environ le milieu du Golfe, conumes que c'étoit terre ferme, où étoit vn gros cap double l'un dessus l'autre, & à cette occasion l'appellames *Cap double*. Au commencement du Golfe nous sondames aussi le fond, & le trouvames de cent brasses de tous côtéz. De *Brest* au Cap-double [y]² à distance d'environ 239 vingt lieuës, & à cinq lieues de là nous sondames aussi le fonds & le trouvames de quarante brasses. Cette terre regarde le Nord-est-Suroüest. Le iour ensuivant, qui étoit le seizième de ce mois, nous navigames le long de la côte par Suroüest & quart du Su, environ trente cinq lieues loin du Cap-double, & trouvames des montagnes tres-hautes & sauvages, entre lesquelles l'on voyoit ie ne sçay quelles petites cabannes, & pour-ce les appellames *Les montagnes des Cabannes* : les autres terres & montagnes sont taillées, rompues & entre-coupées, & entre icelles & la mer, y en a d'autres basses. Le jour precedent, pour le grand brouillas & obscurité du temps, nous ne peumes avoir conoissance d'aucune terre, mais le soir il nous apparut vne ouverture de terre ressemblâte à vne emboucheure de riviere, qui étoit entre ces môts des Cabannes. Et y avoit là vn Cap vers Suroüest éloigné de nous environ trois lieues, & ce Cap en son sommet est sans pointe tout à l'entour, & en bas vers la mer il finit en pointe, & pour ce il fut appellé le *Cap pointu*. Du côté du Nort de ce Cap, y a vne ile plate. Et d'autant que nous desiriôs avoir conoissance de cette embouchure pour voir s'il y avoit quelque bon port, nous mimes la voile bas pour y passer la nuit. Le jour suivât, qui étoit le dix-septième dudit mois, nous courumes fortune à cause du vêt de Nordest, & fumes côtraints mettre 36 la caque souris & la cappe, & cheminames vers Suroüest iusques au leudy matin, & fimes environ trente-[sept] lieuës : & nous nous trouvames au travers de plusieurs Iles rondes comme Colombiers, & pource leur dônames le 242 nô de *Colôbaires*.

Le *Golfe saint Julien* est distant sept lieuës d'un *Cap* nommé *Royal*, qui reste vers le Su & vn quart de Suroüest. Et vers l'Oüest-Suroüest de ce Cap, y en a vn autre, lequel au dessous est tout entre-rompu, & est rond au dessus. Du côté du Nort y a vne ile basse à environ demi-lieuë : & ce Cap fut appellé le *Cap de Laict*. Entre ces deux Caps y a de certaines terres basses, sur lesquelles y en a encores d'autres, qui demontre bien qu'il y doit avoir des fleuves. A deux lieuës du Cap Royal, l'on y trouve fond de vingt brasses, & y a la plus grande pêcherie de grosses Moruës qu'il est possible de voir, desquelles nous en primes plus de cent en moins d'une heure, en attendant la compagnie.

Le lendemain, qui étoit le dix-huictième du mois, le vent devint contraire

¹ The 1609 and 1611-12 editions have, *vingt-cinquième*.

² Words in the square brackets have been omitted in the third edition; but are to be found in the edition of 1609, the spelling of which has usually been preferred.

& fort impetueux, en sorte qu'il nous fallut retourner vers le Cap Royal, pensans y trouver port : & avec noz barques allames découvrir ce qui étoit entre le Cap Royal & le Cap de Lait : & trouvames que sur les terres basses y'a vn grād Golfe tres-profond, dās lequel y a quelques iles, & ce Golfe est clos & fermé du côté du Su. Ces terres basses font vn des côtes de l'entrée, & le Cap Royal est de l'autre côté, & s'avancent lesdites terres basses plus de demie lieuë dans la mer. Le país est plat, & consiste en mauvaise terre : & par 37 le milieu de l'entrée y a vne ile : & en ce jour ne trouvames point de port : & pour-ce la nuit nous retirames en mer, après avoir tourné le Cap à l'Ouest.

241 Depuis ledit jour jusques au vingt-quatrième du mois, qui étoit la fête de saint Iean, fumes battus de la tempête & du vent contraire : & survint telle obscurité que nous ne peumes avoir conoissance d'aucune terre jusques audit jour saint Iean, que nous découvrimes vn Cap qui restoit vers Surouest, distant du Cap Royal environ trente cinq lieuës : mais en ce jour le brouillas fut si épais, & le temps si mauvais, que nous ne peumes approcher de terre. Et d'autant qu'en ce jour l'on celebroit la fête de saint Iean Baptiste, nous le nommames *Cap de saint Iean*.

Le lendemain, qui étoit le vingt-cinquième, le temps fut encores facheux, obscur & venteux, & navigames vne partie du jour vers Ouest & Nort-ouest, & le soir nous primes le travers jusques au second quart que nous partimes de là, & pour lors nous conumes par le moyen de nôtre quadran que nous étions vers Nort-ouest & vn quart d'Ouest, éloignez de sept lieuës & demie du Cap saint Iean, & comme nous voulumes faire voile, le vent commēça à souffler de Nort-ouest, & pour-ce tirames vers Suest quinze lieuës, & approchames de trois iles, desquelles y en avoit deux petites droites comme vn mur, en sorte qu'il étoit impossible d'y monter dessus, & entre icelles y a vn petit écueil. Ces iles étoient plus remplies d'oiseaux que ne seroit vn pré d'herbes, lesquels faisoient là leurs nids, & en la plus grande de ces iles y en avoit vn monde de ceux que nous appellons *Margaux*, qui sont blancs & plus grands qu'Oysons, 38 & étoient separez en vn canton, & en l'autre part y avoit des *Godets*, mais sur le rivage y avoit de ces *Godets* & grands *Apponat* [s] semblables à ceux de cette ile dont nous avons fait mention. Nous descendimes au plus bas de la plus petite, & tuames plus de mille *Godets* & *Apponats* & en mimes tant que voulumes en noz barques, & en eussions peu en moins d'une heure remplir trente semblables barques. Ces iles furent appellées du nom de *Margaux*. A cinq lieuës de ces iles y avoit vne autre ile du côté d'Ouest qui a environ deux lieuës de longueur & autant de largeur ; là nous passames la nuit pour avoir de l'eau & du bois. Cette ile est environnée de sablon, & autour d'icelle y a vne bonne source de six ou sept brasses de fond. Ces iles sont de meilleure terre que nous eussions oncques veuës, en sorte qu'un champ d'icelles vaut plus que toute la Terre-neuve. Nous la trouvames pleine de grands arbres, de prairies, de campagnes pleines de froment sauvage, & de pois qui étoient floriss aussi épais & beaux comme l'on eût peu voir en Bretagne, qui sembloient avoir été semez par des laboureurs. L'on y voyoit aussi grande quantité de raisins ayans la fleur blāche dessus, des fraises, roses incarnates, persil, & d'autres herbes de bonne & forte odeur. A l'entour de cette ile y a plusieurs grandes bestes comme grands bœufs, qui ont deux dents en la bouche comme d'un 39 Elephant, & vivent même en la mer. Nous en vimes vne qui dormoit sur le rivage, & allames vers elle avec noz barques pensans la prendre, mais auss-

tôt qu'elle nous ouït elle se jetta en mer. Nous y vîmes semblablement des 243 Ours & des Loups. Cette île fut appelée l'île de Brion. En son contour y a de grâds marais vers Suest & Noroüest. Je croy par ce que l'ay peu comprendre, qu'il y ait quelque passage entre la Terre-neuve & la terre de Briö.¹ S'il étoit ainsi, ce seroit pour racourcir le temps & le chemin, *pourveu que l'on peut trouver quelque perfection en ce voyage* :² A quatre lieuës de cette île est la terre ferme vers Oüest-Suroüest, laquelle semble être comme vne île environnée d'îlettes de sable noir. Là y a vn beau Cap que nous appellâmes le *Cap Dauphin*, pource que là est le commencement des bonnes terres.

Le vingt-septième de Iuin nous circuîmes ces terres qui regardent vers Ouest-Suroüest, & paroissent de loin comme collines ou montagnes de sablon, bien que ce soient terres basses & de peu de fond. Nous n'y peumes aller, & moins y descendre, d'autant que le vent nous étoit contraire; & ce iour nous fîmes quinze lieuës.

Le lendemain allâmes le long desdites terres environ dix lieuës iusques à 40 vn Cap de terre rouge qui est roide & coupé comme vn roc, dâs lequel on void vn entre-deux qui est vers le Nort, & est vn pais fort bas, & y a aussi comme vne petite plaine entre la mer & vn étâg, & de ce cap de terre & étang iusques à vn autre cap qui paroissoit, y a enviro quatorze lieuës, & la terre se fait en façõ d'un demi cercle tout environné de sablon cõme vne fosse, sur laquelle l'on void des marais & étâgs aussi loin que se peut étêdre l'œil. Et avâ qu'arriver au premier cap l'õ trouve deux petites îles assez pres de terre. A 244 cinq lieuës du second cap y a vne île vers Suroüest, qui est tres-haute & pointue, laquelle fut nommée *Alezay*; le premier *Cap* fut appelé *de saint Pierre*, par-ce que nous y arrivâmes au iour & fête dudit Saint.

Depuis *Île de Brion* jusques en ce lieu y a bon fond de sablon, & ayans sondé egalement vers Suroüest jusques à en approcher de cinq lieuës de terre, nous trouvâmes vingt-cinq brasses; & à vne lieuë prés, douze brasses, & prés 41 du bord six plus que moins, & bon fond. Mais par-ce que nous voulions avoir plus grande conoissance de ces fonds pierreux pleins de roches, mîmes les voiles bas & de travers. Et le lendemain, penultième du mois, le vent vint du Su & quart de Sur-ouest, allâmes vers Ouest jusques au Mardi matin, dernier iour du mois, sans conoitre, & moins découvrir aucune terre, excepté que vers le soir nous apperceumes vne terre qui sembloit faire deux îles, qui demouroit derriere nous vers Ouest & Sur-ouest à environ neuf ou dix lieuës. Et ce jour allâmes vers Ouest jusques au lendemain lever du Soleil quelques quarante lieuës: Et faisant ce chemin conumes que cette terre qui nous étoit apparue comme deux îles étoit la terre ferme située au Sur-ouest & Nort-Nortouest jusques à vn tres-beau Cap de terre nommé le *Cap d'Orleans*. Toute cette terre est basse & plate, & la plus belle qu'il est possible de voir, pleine de beaux arbres & prairies; il est vray que nous n'y peumes trouver de port, pource qu'elle est entierement pleine de bancs & sables. Nous descendîmes en plusieurs lieux avec noz barques, & entr'autres nous entrâmes 245 dans vn beau fleuve de peu de fond, & pource fut appelé le *Fleuve des Barques* :

¹ In the margin Lescarbot has added: *Ce passage est aujourd'hui ordinaire, & y a 20 lieuës de mer entre l'une & l'autre terre.*

² This last phrase in the other editions is not in italic. In the margin is the following note: *La perfection que cherche Jacques Quartier est de trouver un passage pour aller par là en Orient.*

d'autant que nous vîmes quelques barques d'hommes Sauvages qui traversoient ⁴² le fleuve, & n'eumes autre conoissance de ces Sauvages, parce que le vent venoit de mer & chargeoit la côte, si bien qu'il nous fallut retirer vers noz navires. Nous allâmes vers Nordest jusques au lever du Soleil du lendemain premier de Juillet, auquel temps s'éleva vn brouillas & tempête, à-cause dequoy nous abbaissâmes les voiles iusques à environ deux heures avant midi, que le temps se fit clair, & que nous apperceumes le Cap d'Orleans, avec vn autre qui en étoit éloigné de sept lieuës vers le Nort vn quart de Nordest, qui fut appellé *Cap des Sauvages* : du côté du Nordest de ce Cap, à environ demi-lieuë, y a vn banc de pierre tres-perilleux. Pendant que nous étions près de ce Cap, nous apperceumes vn homme qui couroit derriere noz barques, qui alloit le long de la côte, & nous faisoit plusieurs signes que devions retourner vers ce Cap. Nous voyans tels signes commençâmes à tirer vers lui, mais nous voyant venir se mit à fuir. Etans descendus en terre, mîmes devant lui vn couteau, & vne ceinture de laine sur vn baton. Ce fait, nous retournâmes à noz navires. Ce iour nous allâmes tournoyans cette terre, neuf ou dix lieues cuidans trouver quelque bon port, ce qui ne fut possible, d'autant que, comme i'ay dé-jà dit, ²⁴⁶ toute cette terre est basse & est vn pais enviroñé de bancs & sablons. Neantmoins nous descendîmes ce iour en quatre lieux pour voir les arbres, qui y étoient tres-beaux & de grande odeur, & trouvâmes que c'étoient Cedres, Yfs, Pins, Ormeaux, Frenes, Saulx, & plusieurs autres à nous inconnus, tous neantmoins sans fruit. Les terres où n'y a point de bois sont tres-belles & toutes pleines de pois, de raisin blanc & rouge ayant la fleur blanche dessus, de fraizes, meures, froment sauvage, comme segle, qui semble y avoir été semé & labouré, & cette terre est de meilleure tēperature qu'aucune qui se puisse voir & de grande chaleur ; l'on y voit vne infinité de Grives, Ramiers, & autres oiseaux ; en somme, il n'y a faute d'autre chose que de bons ports.

CHAP. IV

LE lendemain, second de Juillet, nous découvrîmes & apperceumes la terre du côté du Nort à nôtre opposite, laquelle se joignoit avec celle ci devant dite. Après que nous l'eumes circuit tout autour, trouvâmes qu'elle contenoit en rondeur . . . de profond & autant de diametre. Nous l'appellâmes, *Le Golfe saint Lunaire*, & allâmes au Cap avec nos barques vers le Nort, & trouvâmes le païs si bas, que par l'espace d'une lieue il n'y avoit qu'une brasse d'eau. Du côté vers Nordest du cap susdit, environ sept ou huit lieues, y avoit un autre cap de terre, au milieu 247 desquels est un Golfe en forme de triangle qui a tres-grand fond de tant que pouvions étendre la vue d'icelui : il restoit vers Nordest. Ce Golfe est environné de sablons & lieux bas par dix lieues, & n'y a plus de deux brasses de fond. Depuis ce cap jusques à la rive de l'autre cap de terre y a quinze lieues. Etâs au travers de ces caps, découvrîmes une autre terre & cap qui 44 restoit au Nort un quart de Nordest pour tant que nous pouvions voir. Toute la nuit le temps fut fort mauvais & venteux, si bien qu'il nous fut besoin mettre la Cappe de la voile jusques au lendemain matin, troisième de Juillet, que le vent vint d'Ouest, & fumes portez vers le Nort pour conoitre cette terre qui nous restoit du côté du Nort & Nordest sur les terres basses, entre lesquelles basses & hautes terres étoit un grand golfe & ouverture de cinquante-cinq brasses de fond en quelques lieux, & large environ quinze lieues. Pour la grâde profondeur & largeur & changement des terres eumes esperance de pouvoir trouver passage comme le passage des Châteaux. Ce golfe regarde vers l'Est-Nordest, Ouest-Surouest. Le terroir qui est du côté du Su de ce golfe est aussi bon & beau à cultiver & plein de belles câpages & prairies que nous ayons veu, tout plat comme seroit un lac, & celui qui est vers Nort est un païs haut avec montagnes hautes pleines de forests, & de bois tres-hauts & gros de diverses sortes. Entre autres y a de tres-beaux Cedres & Sapins autant qu'il est possible de voir, & bons à faire mats de navires de plus de trois cens tonneaux, & ne vîmes aucun lieu qui ne fût plein de ces bois, excepté en deux 248 places que le païs étoit bas, plein de prairies, avec deux tres-beaux lacs. Le mitan de ce golfe est au quarante-huitième degré & demi de latitude.

Le Cap de cette terre du Su fut appelée *Cap d'Esperance*, pour l'esperance que nous avions d'y trouver passage. Le quatrième iour de Juillet allâmes le long de cette terre du côté du Nort pour trouver port, & entrâmes en un petit port & lieu tout ouvert vers le Su, où n'y a aucun abry pour ce vêt, & 45 trouvâmes bon d'appeller le lieu *Saint Martin*, & demeurâmes là depuis le quatrième de Juillet iusques au douzième. En pendant le temps que nous étions en ce lieu, allâmes le lundi sixième de ce mois, apres avoir ouy la Messe,

avec vne de noz barques pour découvrir vn cap & pointe de terre, qui en est éloigné sept ou huit lieues du côté d'Ouest, pour voir de quel côté se tournoit cette terre, & étans à demi-lieue de la pointe apperceumes deux bandes de barques d'hommes Sauvages qui passoient d'une terre à l'autre, & étoient plus de quarante ou cinquante barques, desquelles vne partie approcha de cette pointe, & sauta en terre vn grand nombre de ces gens faisant grâd bruit, & nous faisoient signe qu'allassions à terre, montrans des peaux sur quelques bois, mais d'autant que n'avions qu'une seule barque, nous n'y voulumes aller, & navigames vers l'autre bande qui étoit en mer. Eux nous voyans fuir, ordonnerent deux de leurs barques les plus grandes pour nous suivre, avec lesquelles
 249 se joignirent ensemble cinq autres de celles qui venoient du côté de mer, & tous s'approchèrent de nôtre barque, sautans & faisans signes d'allegresse & de vouloir amitié, disans en leur lague, *Napeu ton damen assur tah*, & autres paroles que nous n'entendions. Mais parce que, comme nous avons dit, nous n'avions qu'une seule barque, nous ne voulumes nous fier en leurs signes, & leur donnâmes à entendre qu'ilz se retirassent, ce qu'ilz ne voulurent faire, ains venoient avec si grande furie vers nous, qu'aussitôt ils environnerent nôtre
 46 barque avec les sept qu'ils avoient. Et parce que pour signes que nous fissions ils ne se vouloient retirer, lachames deux passe-volans sur eux, dont espouvantez retournerent vers la susdite pointe faisans tres-grand bruit, & demeurez là quelque peu, commencerent derechef à venir vers nous comme devant, en sorte qu'étans approchez de la barque, decochames deux de noz darts au milieu d'eux, ce qui les épouvanta tellement, qu'ilz commencerent à fuir en grand' hate, & n'y voulurent onc plus revenir.

Le lendemain partie de ces Sauvages vindrent avec neuf de leurs barques à la pointe & entrée du lieu d'où noz navires étoient partis. Et étans avertis de leur venue, allames avec noz barques à la pointe où ils étoient, mais si tôt qu'ils nous virent ilz se mirent en fuite, faisans signe qu'ils étoient venuz pour trafiquer avec nous, montrans des peaux de peu de valeur, dont ils se vètent. Semblablement nous leur faisons signe que ne leur vouliôs point de mal; &
 250 en signe de ce, deux des nôtres descendirent en terre pour aller vers eux, & leur porter couteaux & autres ferremens, avec vn chapeau rouge pour donner à leur Capitaine. Quoy voyans descendirênt aussi à terre portans de ces peaux, & commencerent à trafiquer avec nous, montrans vne grâde & merveilleuse allegresse d'avoir de ces ferremens & autres choses, dansans tousiours & faisans plusieurs ceremonies, & entre autres ilz se jettoient de l'eau de mer sur leur tête avec les mains: Si bien qu'ilz nous donnerent tout ce qu'ils avoient, ne retenans rien; de sorte qu'il leur fallut s'en retourner tous nuds, & nous firent signe qu'ilz retourneroient le lendemain & qu'ils apporteroient d'autres peaux.

Le Ieudi huictième du mois, par ce que le vent n'étoit bon pour sortir hors avec noz navires, appareillames noz barques pour aller découvrir ce golfe, & courumes en ce iour vingt-cinq lieues dans icelui. Le lendemain, ayans bon temps, navigames iusques à midy, auquel temps nous eumes conoissance d'une grande partie de ce golfe, & comme sur les terres basses il y avoit d'autres terres avec hautes montagnes. Mais voyans qu'il n'y avoit point de passage
 47 commençâmes à retourner faisans nôtre chemin le long de cette côte, & navigans vimes des Sauvages qui étoient sur le bord d'un lac qui est sur les terres basses, lesquelz Sauvages faisoient plusieurs feuz. Nous allames là &

trouvames qu'il y avoit vn canal de mer qui entroit en ce lac, & mimes noz barques en l'un des bords de ce canal. Les Sauvages s'approcherent de nous 251 avec vne de leurs barques & nous apporterent des pieces de Loups-marins cuites, lesquelles ilz mirent sur des boises, & se retirerent nous donnans à entendre qu'ilz nous les donnoient. Nous envoyames des hommes en terre avec des mitaines, couteaux, chapelets, & autres marchandises, desquelles choses ilz se rejouïrent infiniment, & aussi tôt vindrent tout à coup au rivage où nous étions avec leurs barques apportans peaux & autres choses qu'ils avoient pour avoir de noz marchandises, & étoïêt plus de trois cens tant hommes que femmes & enfans. Et voions vne partie des femmes qui ne passerent, lesquelles étoient iusques aux genoux dans la mer, sautans & chantans. Les autres qui avoient passé là où nous étions venoient privément à nous, frottans leurs bras avec leurs mains, & apres les haussoient vers le ciel, sautans & rendans plusieurs signes de jouïssance, & tellement s'assurerent avec nous qu'en fin ilz trafiquoient de main à main de tout ce qu'ils avoient, en sorte qu'il ne leur resta autre chose que le corps tout nud, par ce qu'ilz donnerent tout ce qu'ils avoient qui étoit chose de peu de valeur. Nous conumes que cette gent se pourroit aisément convertir à notre Foy. Ilz vont de lieu en autre, vivans de la pêche. Leur pais est plus chaud que n'est l'Hespagne, & le plus beau 48 qu'il est possible de voir, tout égal & vni, & n'y a lieu si petit où n'y ait des arbres, combien que ce soient sablons, & où il n'y ait du froment sauvage, qui a l'épic comme le segle, & le grain comme de l'avoine, & des pois aussi 252 épais comme s'ils y avoient été semez & cultivez, du raisin blanc & rouge avec la fleur blanche dessus, des fraises, meures, roses rouges & blâches, & autres fleurs de plaisante, douce & agreable odeur. Aussi il y a là beaucoup de belles prairies, & bonnes herbes, & lacs où il y a grande abondance de Saumons. Ils appellent vne mitaine en leur langue *Cochi*, & vn couteau *Bacon*. Nous appellames ce golfe, *Golfe de la chaleur*.

Etâs certains qu'il n'y avoit aucun passage par ce golfe, fimes voile, & partimes de ce lieu de saint Martin le Dimanche douzième de Juillet, pour découvrir outre ce golfe, & allames vers Est le long de cette côte environ dix-huit lieuës iusques au *Cap du Pré*, où nous trouvames le flot tres-grand & fort peu de fond, la mer courroucée & tempétueuse, & pour ce il nous fallut retirer à terre entre le Cap susdit & vne ile vers Est à environ vne lieuë de ce Cap, & là nous mouillames l'ancre pour icelle nuit. Le lendemain matin fimes voile en intention de circuir cette côte, laquelle est située vers le Nord & Nordest, mais vn vent survint si contraire & impetueux qu'il nous fut necessaire retourner au lieu d'où nous étions partis, & là demeurames tout ce jour jusques au lendemain que nous fimes voile, & vimmes au milieu d'un fleuve éloigné cinq ou six lieuës du *Cap du Pré*, & étans au travers du fleuve eumes de rechef le vent contraire avec vn grand brouillas & obscurité, tellement qu'il 49 nous fallut entrer en ce fleuve le Mardy quatorziesme du mois, & nous y 253 entrames à l'entrée jusques au seizième, attendans le bon temps pour pouvoir sortir. Mais en ce seizième jour, qui étoit le Jeudy, le vent creut en telle sorte qu'un de noz navires perdit vne ancre, & pource nous fut besoin passer plus outre en ce fleuve quelques sept ou huit lieuës pour gaigner vn bon port où il y eût bon fond, lequel nous avions été découvrir avec noz barques, & pour le mauvais temps, tempête & obscurité qu'il fit, demeurames en ce port jusques au vingt-cinquième sans pouvoir sortir. Ce-pendât nous vimes vne

grande multitude d'hommes Sauvages qui péchoient des tombes, desquelles il y a grande quantité ; ils étoient environ quelques quarante barques, & tant en hommes, femmes qu'enfans, plus de deux cens, lesquels après qu'ils eurent quelque peu cōversé en terre avec nous, venoient privément au bord de noz navires avec leurs barques. Nous leur donnions des couteaux, chappelets de verre, peignes, & autres choses de peu de valeur dont ilz se rejouissoient infiniment, levant les mains au ciel, chantans & dansans dans leur barques. Ceux-ci peuvent être vrayement appelez Sauvages ; d'autât qu'il ne se peut trouver gens plus pauvres au monde, & croy que tous ensemble n'eussent peu avoir la valeur de cinq sols excepté leurs barques & rets. Ilz n'ont qu'une petite peau pour tout vêtement, avec laquelle ilz couvrent les parties honteuses du corps, avec quelques autres vieilles peaux dont ils se vêtent à la mode des
254 Égyptiens. Ilz n'ont ni la nature, ni le langage des premiers que nous avons trouvez. Ils portent la tête entieremēt raze hors-mis vn floquet de cheveux au plus haut de la tête, lequel ilz laissent croître long comme vne queue de cheval qu'ilz lient sur la tête avec des éguillettes de cuir. Ils n'ont autre demeure que dessous ces barques, lesquelles ilz renversent, & s'étendent sous icelles sur la terre sans aucune couverture. Ils mangent la chair préque creuë 50 & la chauffent seulement le moins du monde sur les charbons, le même est du poisson. Nous allames le jour de la Magdelaine avec noz barques au lieu où ils étoient sur le bord du fleuve, & descendimes librement au milieu d'eux, dont ilz se reiouirent beaucoup, & tous les hommes se mirent à chanter & danser en deux ou trois bandes, & faisans grâs signes de joye pour nôtre venue. Ils avoient fait fuir les jeunes femmes dans les bois, hors-mis deux ou trois qui étoient restées avec eux, à chacune desquelles dōnames vn peigne, & clochette d'estain, dont elles se reiouirent beaucoup, remerciens le Capitaine & lui frottans les bras & la poitrine avec leurs propres mains. Les hommes voyans que nous avions fait quelques presens à celles qui étoient restées, firent venir celles qui s'étoient réfugiées au bois, afin qu'elles eussent quelque chose cōme les autres ; elles étoient environ vingt femmes, lesquelles toutes en vn monceau se mirent sur ce Capitaine, le touchans & frottans avec les mains selon leur coutume de caresser, & donna à chacune d'icelles vne clochette d'étain de
255 peu de valeur, & incontinent commencerent à danser ensemble disans plusieurs chansons. Nous trouvames là grande quantité de Tombes qu'ils avoient prises sur le rivage avec certains rets faits exprez pour pêcher, d'un fil de chanvre qui croit en ce pais où ils font leur demeure ordinaire, pource qu'ils ne se mettēt en mer qu'au temps qui est bon pour pêcher, comme i'ay entendu. Semblablement croit aussi en ce pais du mil gros comme pois, pareil à celui qui croit au Bresil, dont ilz mangent au lieu de pain, & en avoient abondance, & l'appellent en leur langue *Kapaige* ; Ils ont aussi des prunes qu'ilz sechent comme nous faisons pour l'hiver, & les appellent *Honésta*, mêmes ont des figues, noix, pommes & autres fruits, & des fèves qu'ilz nommēt *Sabu*, Les noix *Cabébya*, Les figues . . . les pommes. . . . Si on leur montrait quelque chose 51 qu'ilz n'ont & ne pouvoient sçavoir que c'étoit, branlans la tête, ilz disoient *Nohda*, qui est à dire qu'ilz n'en ont point, & ne sçavent que c'est. Ilz nous mōtroient par signes le moyen d'accoutrer les choses qu'ils ont, & comme elles ont coutume de croître. Ils ne māgent aucune chose qui soit salée, & sont grands larrons, & déroben tout ce qu'ilz peuvent.

*S'ensuivent les navigations & découvertes du mois d'Aoust,
& le retour en France.*

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CHAP. V

LE premier iour d'Aoust nous fimes faire vne croix haute de trente piés, & fut faite en la presêce de plusieurs d'iceux sur la pointe de l'entrée de ce port, au milieu de laquelle mimes vn ecusson relevé avec trois fleurs-de-Lis, & dessus étoit écrit en grosses lettres entaillées en du bois, VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE. En apres la plantames en leur presence sur ladite pointe, & la regardoiēt fort, tant lors qu'on la faisoit que quand on la plantoit. Et l'ayans levée en haut, nous nous agenouïllions tous ayans les mains iointes, l'adorans à leur veuë, & leur faisons signe, regardans & montrans le ciel, que d'icelle dependoit nôtre redemption : de laquelle chose ilz s'émerveillèrent beaucoup, se tournans entr'eux, puis regardans cette croix. Mais étans retournez en noz navires, leur Capitaine vint avec vne barque à nous, vêtu d'une vieille peau d'Ours noir, avec ses trois fils & vn sien frere, lesquels ne s'approcherent si pres du bord comme ils avoient accoutumé, & y fit vne longue harangue montrans cette croix, & faisans le signe d'icelle avec deux doigts. Puis il monroit toute la terre des environs, comme s'il eût voulu dire qu'elle étoit toute à lui, & que nous n'y devons planter cette croix sans son 257 congé. Sa harangue finie, nous lui montrames vne mitaine feignans de lui vouloir donner en échange de sa peau, à quoy il prit garde, & ainsi peu à peu s'accosta du bord de noz navires : mais vn de noz compagnons qui étoit dans 53 le bateau mit la main sur sa barque, & à l'instant sauta dedans avec deux ou trois, & le contraignirent aussi-tôt d'entrer en nos navires, dont ilz furent tout étōnez. Mais le Capitaine les assura qu'ils n'auroient aucun mal, leur montrant grand signe d'amitié, les faisant boire & manger avec bon accueil. En après leur donna on à entendre par signes, que cette croix étoit là plantée, pour donner quelque marque & conoissance pour pouvoir entrer en ce port, & que nous y voulîōs retourner en bref, & qu'apporterions des ferremens & autres choses, & que desirions mener avec nous deux de ses fils, & qu'en apres nous retournerions en ce port. Et ainsi nous fimes vêtir à ses fils à chacun vne chemise, vn sayon de couleur, & vne toque rouge, leur mettant aussi à chacun vne chaine de laiton au col, dont ils se contenterent fort, & donnerent leurs vieux habits à ceux qui s'en retournoient. Puis fimes present d'une mitaine à chacun des trois que nous renvoyames & de quelques couteaux ; ce qui leur apporta grande joye. Iceux étans retournez à terre, & ayans raconté les nouvelles aux autres, environ sur le midi vindrent à noz navires six de leurs barques ayans à chacune cinq ou six hommes qui venoient dire Adieu à ceux que nous avions retenus, & leur apporterent du poisson, & leur tenoient 258 plusieurs paroles que nous n'entendions point, faisans signe qu'ilz n'oteroient point cette croix.

Le lendemain se leva vn bon vent & nous mimes hors du port. Etans hors du fleuve susdit tirames vers Est-Nordest, d'autant que pres de l'emboucheure

de ce fleuve, la terre fait vn circuit, & fait vn Golfe en forme d'un demi-cercle, en sorte que de noz navires nous voyons toute la côte, derriere laquelle nous cheminames, & nous mimes à chercher la terre située vers Oüest & Noroüest, & y avoit vn autre pareil golfe distant vingt lieuës dudit fleuve.

Nous allames donc le long de cette terre qui est, comme nous avons dit, 54
située au Suest & Noroüest, & deux iours apres nous vimes vn autre Cap où la terre commence à se tourner vers l'Est, & allames le long d'icelle quelque seize lieuës, & de là cette terre commence à tourner vers le Nort, & à trois lieuës de ce cap y a fond de vingt-quatre brasses de plomb. Ces terres sont plates, & les plus découvertes de bois que nous ayons encores peu voir. Il y a de belles prairies & campagnes tres-vertes. Ce Cap fut nommé *de saint Louis*, pour ce qu'en ce jour l'on celebroit sa fête, & est au quarante-neufième degré & demi de latitude & de longitude . . . Ce jour au matin, nous étions vers l'Est de ce cap, & allames vers Noroüest pour approcher de cette terre, étant 259
préque nuit, & trouvames qu'elle regardoit le Nort & le Su. Depuis ce Cap de saint Louys jusques à vn autre nommé *le Cap de Montmorenci* y a quelques quinze lieuës, la terre commence à tourner vers Noroüest. Nous voulumes sonder le fond à trois lieuës près de ce cap : mais nous ne le peumes trouver 55
avec cent cinquante brasses, & pour ce allames le long de cette terre environ dix lieuës jusques à la latitude de cinquante degrez.

Le Samedy ensuivant au lever du Soleil conumes & vimes d'autres terres qui nous restoient du côté du Nort & Nordest, lesquelles étoient tres-hautes & coupées, & sembloient estre montagnes, entre lesquelles y avoit d'autres terres basses ayans bois & rivières. Nous passames autour de ces terres tant d'un côté que d'autre tirans vers Norouest, pour voir s'il y avoit quelque golfe ou bien quelque passage. D'une terre à l'autre il y a environ quinze lieuës, & le mitan est au cinquante & vn tiers degré de latitude, & nous fut tres-difficile de pouvoir faire plus de cinq lieuës à cause de la marée qui nous étoit contraire & des grands vents qui y sont ordinairement. Nous ne passames outre les cinq lieuës, d'où l'on voyoit aisément la terre de part en part, laquelle commence 260
là à s'élargir. Mais d'autant que nous ne faisons autre chose qu'aller & venir selon le vent, nous tirames pour cette raison vers la terre pour tâcher de gagner vn Cap vers le Su, qui étoit le plus loin & le plus avancé en mer que nous peussions découvrir, & étoit distant de nous environ quinze lieuës : Mais étans proches de là, trouvames que c'étoient rochers, pierres & écueils, ce que nous n'avions encores point trouvé aux lieux où nous avions été auparavant vers le Su depuis le Cap saint Iean, & pour lors étoit la marée qui nous portoit contre le vent vers l'Oüest : De maniere que navigans le long de cette côte, vne de noz barques heurta contre vn écueil, & ne laissa de passer outre, mais 56
il nous fallut tous sortir hors pour la mettre à la marée.

Ayans navigé le long de cette côte environ deux heures, la marée survint avec telle impetuosité qu'il ne nous fut jamais possible de passer avec treize avirons outre la longueur d'un jet de pierre. Si bien qu'il nous fallut quitter les barques & y laisser partie de noz gens pour la garde, & marcher par terre quelque dix ou douze hommes jusques à ce Cap, où nous trouvames que cette terre commence là à s'abaisser vers Suroüest. Ce qu'ayans veu & étans retournés à nos barques, revimmes à nos navires qui étoient ja à la voile qui pensoient toujours pouvoir passer outre : mais ils étoient avalsés à-cause du vent de plus de quatre lieuës du lieu où nous les avions laissez, où étans arrivés, fimes assembler tous les Capitaines, mariniers, maitres & com-

pagnons pour avoir l'avis & conseil de ce qui étoit le plus expedient à faire. Mais apres qu'vn chacun eut parlé, l'on considera que les grands vents d'Est commençoient à regner & devenir violens, & que le flot étoit si grand que nous ne faisons plus que ravaller, & qu'il n'étoit possible pour lors de gagner aucune chose : mêmes que les tempêtes commençoient à s'élever en cette saison en la Terre-neuve, que nous étions de lointain païs, & ne sçavions les 267 hazars & dangers du retour, & pource qu'il étoit temps de se retirer, ou bien s'arrêter là pour tout le reste de l'année. Outre cela nous discourions en cette sorte, que si vn changement de vent de Nort nous surprenoit, il ne seroit possible de partir. Lesquels avis ouïs & bien considerez nous firent entrer en deliberation certaine de nous en retourner. Et pource que le jour de la fête 57 de saint Pierre nous entrames en ce détroit, nous l'appellames à cette occasion *Détroit de saint Pierre*, où ayans ietté la sonde en plusieurs lieux, trouvames en aucuns cent cinquante brasses, autres cent, & pres de terre soixante avec bon fond. Depuis ce jour iusques au Mercredy nous eumes vent à souhait & circuimes ladite terre du côté du Nort, Est-Suest, Oüest, & Noroüest : car telle est son assiette, horsmis la longueur d'vn cap de terres basses qui est plus tourné vers Suest, éloigné à environ vingt-cinq lieuës dudit détroit. En ce lieu nous vimes de la fumée qui étoit faite par les gens de ce païs au dessus de ce Cap, mais pource que le vent ne cingloit vers la côte, nous ne les accostames point, & eux voyans que nous n'approchions d'eux, douze de leurs hommes vindrent à nous avec deux barques, lesquels s'accosterent aussi librement de nous comme si ce fussent eté François, & nous donnerent à entendre qu'ilz venoient du grand Golfe, & que leur Capitaine étoit vn nommé Tiennot, lequel étoit sur ce Cap, faisant signe qu'ilz se retiroient en leur païs, d'où nous 262 étions partis, & étoient chargez de poisson. Nous appellames ce Cap *Cap de Tiennot*. Passé ce Cap, toute la terre est posée vers l'Est-Suest, Oüest, Noroüest, & toutes ces terres sont basses, belles, & environnées de sablons, prés de mer, & y a plusieurs marais & bancs par l'espace de vingt lieuës, & en après la terre commence à se tourner d'Oüest à l'Est, & Nordest, & est entierement environnée d'îles éloignées de terre deux ou trois lieuës. Et ainsi comme 58 il nous semble y a plusieurs bancs dangereux plus de quatre ou cinq lieuës loin de la terre.

Depuis le Mercredy susdit jusques au Samedi nous eumes vn grand vent de Suroüest qui nous fit tirer vers l'Est-Nordest, & arrivames ce jour là à la terre d'Est en la Terre-neuve, entre les Cabannes & le Cap-double. Ici commença le vent d'Est avec tempête & grande impetuosité ; & pource nous tournames le Cap au Norouest & au Nort, pour aller voir le côté du Nort, qui est comme nous avons dit, entierement environné d'îles, & étans prés d'icelles le vent se changea & vint du Su, lequel nous conduit dans le golfe, si bien que par la grace de Dieu nous entrames le lendemain, qui étoit le neuvième d'Aoust, dans Blanc-sablon, & voila tout ce que nous avons decouvert.

En apres, le quinième Aoust, jour de l'Assumption de nôtre Dame, nous partimes de Blâc-sablon apres avoir ouï la Messe, & vimmes heureusement jusques au mitan de la mer qui est entre la Terre-neuve & la Bretagne, auquel lieu nous courumes grande fortune pour les vents d'Est, laquelle nous sup- 263 portames par l'aide de Dieu, & du depuis eumes fort bon temps, en sorte que le cinquième iour de Septembre de l'année susdite nous arrivames au port de saint Malo d'où nous étions partis.

Que la connoissance des voyages du Capitaine Jacques Quartier est necessaire principalement aux Terre-neuviens qui vont à la pêche : Quelle route il a prise en cette seconde navigation : Voyage de Champlain jusques à l'entrée de la grande rivière de Canada : Épitre présentée au Roy par ledit Jacques Quartier sur la relation de son deuxième voyage.

CHAP. VI

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PLUSIEURS sedentaires, & autres gens qui ont leur vie arretée és villes, trouveront, paravanture cette curiosité superflue de mettre ici tant d'îles, passages, ports, bancs, & autres particularitez, côme si la côte d'une terre git Est-Nord-est & Ouest-Sud-ouest, ou autrement. Ce que j'avois promis d'abreger au commencement du premier livre de cette histoire. Mais ayant depuis considéré que ce seroit frustrer les mariniers & Terre-neuviens de ce qui leur est plus necessaire, le voyage des Terres-neuves étant en la relation precedente & en celle-ci, si bien décrit, & par un grand Pilote, qu'ilz ne scauroient faillir de se bien conduire sous cette guide : j'ay ⁶⁴ pensé qu'il valoit mieux en cet endroit changer d'avis, & renouveler entièrement la memoire de ce personnage, duquel aussi j'ay voulu mettre l'Épitre liminaire qu'il adresse au Roy en tête de sadite Relation, laquelle je croy n'avoir point encore été mise au jour, puis qu'elle est écrite à la main au livre d'où ie l'ay prise, comme aussi tout le discours de cette seconde navigation, lequel a été extrait par le sieur de Belleforet, mais non entierement, ni avec la grace & naïveté que je trouve au propre écrit de l'Auteur : & s'est quelque fois equivoqué, en voulant apporter son iugement sur des choses particulieres ici recitées, lesquelles nous remarquerons comme il viendra à propos. Et d'autant que le voyage de Samuel Champlain fait depuis six ans est une même ⁶⁰ chose avec celui-ci, je les conjoindray ensemble tant qu'il me sera possible, pour ne remplir inutilement le papier de vaines repetitions. Et neantmoins le lecteur sera averti qu'au temps du Capitaine Jacques Quartier les Terres-neuves n'étoient pas si bien découvertes comme elles sont aujourd'hui, il prit sa route plus au Nord que ne font à present les Terre-neuviens, pour entrer au golfe de Canada, qui est côme l'entrée de la grande rivière, ne sachant pas au vray qu'il y eût passage par le Cap-Breton, comme nous avons vu au troisième chapitre de ce livre, là où il dit que *s'il y avoit passage entre la Terre-neuve & celle de Brion, ce seroit pour racourcir & le temps & le chemin.* Ainsi en ce second voyage il prit sa route droit au passage qui est entre la Terre-neuve & la terre ferme du Nord, par les cinquante un degrez. Vray est qu'au ⁶⁵ retour je trouve qu'il passa entre lesdites Terres-neuves & Brion, qui est aujourd'hui le passage plus ordinaire de nos mariniers, d'autant que prenant cette route en l'elevation de quarante-quatre, quarante-cinq & quarante-six degrez, ilz ne rencontrent point tant de grands bancs de glace (où quelquefois

les navires s'ahurtent à leur ruine) comme font ceux qui tirent plus au Nort. C'est pourquoy ledit Champlain, en la descriptiō de son voyage, dit qu'apres vne tourmente de dix-sept jours, durant laquelle ils eurent plus de dechet que d'avancement, ilz rencontrèrent des bancs de glace de huit lieuës de long, & autres moindres, haut élevez, ce qui les fit aller plus au Su chercher passage hors ces glaces par les quarante-quatre degrez, & en fin découvrirent le *Cap sainte Marie* en la Terre-neuve, puis trois jours apres eurent connoissance des *Iles saint Pierre* : & derechef apres autres trois iours vindrent au Cap de Raye (où il y avoit encor des bancs de glace de six ou huit lieuës de long), & de là aux Iles saint Paul & Cap saint Laurent, lequel il dit être en la terre-
 61 ferme du Su, & toutefois tout le trait de terre iusques à la baye de *Campseau* est vne ile, d'autant qu'au fonds de ladite baye il y a vn passage (que Jacques Quartier n'a point conu, ni beaucoup d'autres apres lui) par où l'on va audit golfe de *Canada*. Deux jours apres ilz découvrirent vne ile de vingt-cinq à trente lieuës de longueur, qui est l'entrée de la grande riviere. Cette ile est appellée par les Sauvages du pais *Anticosti*, qui est celle que Jacques Quartier a nommée l'ile de l'Assumption, parce qu'il y arriva le quinzième d'Aoust, 266
 iour de l'Assumption nôtre Dame, comme nous verrons quand il nous aura conduit iusques là, qui est à peu près la borne du premier voyage représenté ci-dessus.

Voici donc l'inscription du recit qu'il presenta au Roy de sa seconde navigation & découverte en la Terre-neuve & grande riviere de *Canada*, autrement par lui dite *Hochelaga*, du nom du pais qui est au Nort vers le Saut de ladite riviere.

Seconde navigation faite par le commandement & vouloir du Tres-Chrétien Roy François premier de ce nom au parachevement de la decouverte des terres Occidentales estantes souz le climat & paralleles des terres & Royaume dudit Seigneur, & par lui precedemment ja commencées à faire decouvrir : icelle navigation faite par Jacques Quartier, natif de saint Malo de l'Île en Bretagne, pilote dudit Seigneur, en l'an mil cinq cens trente cinq.

AV ROY TRES-CHRETIEN

“ Cosiderant, ô mon tres-redouté Prince, les grands biens & dons de grace qu'il a pleu à Dieu le Createur faire à ses creatures, & entre les autres de mettre
 62 & asseoir le Soleil, qui est la vie & connoissance de toutes icelles, & sans lequel nul ne peut fructifier ni generer en lieu & place là où il a son mouvement & declinaison contraire & non semblable aux autres planetes, par lesquels mouvement & declinaison toutes creatures étantes sur la terre en quelque lieu & place qu'elles puissent être en ont ou en peuvent avoir en l'an dudit Soleil, qui est trois cens soixante-cinq jours & six heures, autant de veuë oculaire 267
 les vns que les autres par ses rais & reverberations, ni la division des jours & nuits en pareille egalité, mais suffit qu'il est de telle sorte & tant temperamment, que toute la terre est, ou peut estre habitée en quelque zone, climat ou parallele que ce soit ; & icelle avec les eaux, arbres, herbes, & toutes autres creatures de quelque genre ou espece qu'elles soient, par l'influence d'icelui Soleil donner fruits & generations selon leurs natures pour la vie & nourriture

des creatures humaines. Et si aucuns vouloient dire le contraire de ce que dessus en allegant le dit des sages Philosophes du temps passé, qui ont écrit & fait division de la terre par cinq zones, dont ils ont dit & affirmé trois inhabitables ; c'est à sçavoir la zone Torride, qui est entre les deux Tropiques, ou solstices, pour la grande chaleur & reverberation du Soleil, qui passe par le zenit de ladite zone ; & les deux zones Arctique & Antarctique, pour la grande froideur qui est en icelles, à-cause du peu d'elevation qu'elles ont dudit Soleil, & autres raisons : je confesse qu'ils ont écrit à la maniere, & croy fermement qu'ilz le pensoient ainsi, & qu'ilz le trouvoient pour aucunes raisons naturelles là où ilz prenoient leur fondement, & d'icelles se contentoient seulement, sans aventurer, ni mettre leurs personnes aux dangers esquels ils eussent peu enchoir à chercher l'experience de leur dire. Mais je diray pour ma
268 269 replique que le Prince d'iceux Philosophes a laissé parmi ses écritures vn bref mot de grande consequence, qui dit que *Experientia est rerum magistra* : par l'enseignement duquel j'ay osé entreprendre d'adresser à la veuë de vôtre Majesté Royale cetui propos, & maniere de prologue de ce mien petit labeur. Car suivant vôtre Royal commandement les simples mariniers de present non ayans eu tant de crainte d'eux mettre en l'aventure d'iceux perils & dangers qu'ils ont eu, & ont de vous faire tres-humble service à l'augmentation de la tressainte Foy Chrétienne, ont connu le contraire de cette opinion desdits Philosophes par vraye experience. J'ay allegué ce que devant, pource que je regarde que le Soleil qui chacun iour se leve à l'Orient & se reconse à l'Occident, faisant le tour & circuit de la terre, donnant lumiere & chaleur à tout le môde en vingt-quatre heures, qui est vn jour naturel. A l'exemple dequoy je pense en mon simple entendement, & sans autre raison y alleguer, qu'il pleut à Dieu par sa divine bonté que toutes humaines creatures étantes & habitantes sur le globe de la terre, ainsi qu'elles ont veuë & connoissance d'icelui Soleil, ayent eu, & ayent pour le temps à-venir connoissance & creance de nôtre sainte Foy. Car premierement icelle nôtre tres-sainte Foy a été semée & plantée en la Terre-sainte, qui est en l'Asie à l'Orient de nôtre Europe : & depuis par succession de temps apportée & divulguée iusques à nous. Et finalement en l'Occident de nôtre dite Europe, à l'exemple dudit Soleil portant
269 268 sa clarté & chaleur d'Orient en Occident, comme dit est. Et maintenant le temps semble se preparer, auquel nous la verrons portée de vôtre France 64 Orientale en l'Occidentale d'outre-mer. A l'effect dequoy a été faite la presente navigation par vôtre Royal commandement és terres non auparavant à nous conuës, par le recit de laquelle pourrez voir & sçavoir la bonté & fertilité d'icelles, l'innumerable quantité des peuples y habitans, la bonté & paisibleté d'iceux, & pareillement la fecondité du grand fleuve qui decourt & arrouse le parmi d'icelles voz terres, qui est le plus grand sans comparaison, qu'on sçache jamais avoir veu. Quelles choses donnent à ceux qui les ont veuës certaine esperance de l'augmentation future de nôtre tres-sainte Foy, de voz Seigneuries & nom tres-Chrétien, ainsi qu'il vous plaira voir par ce present petit livre, auquel sont amplement contenuës toutes les choses dignes de memoire qu'avons veuës, & qui nous sont avenuës tant en faisant ladite 65 navigation, qu'étans & faisans séjour en vosdits pais & terres, les routes, dangers & gisemens d'icelles terres. Dieu vueille par sa grace vous inspirer, Sire, à embrasser serieusement cette sainte entreprise," &c.

*Preparation du Capitaine Jacques Quartier & des siens au voyage de la Terre-
neuve : Embarquement : Ile aux oyseaux : Découverte d'icelui iusques au
commencement de la grande riviere de Canada, par lui dite Hochelaga :
Largeur & profondeur nompareille d'icelle : Son commencement inconnu.*

LE Dimanche jour & fête de Pentecôte, sezième de May audit an mille cinq cens trente-cinq, du commandement du Capitaine, & bon vouloir de tous, chacun se confessa, & receumes tous ensemblement nôtre Createur en l'Eglise cathedrale dudit saint Malo : apres le quel avoit receu, fumes nous presenter au chœur de ladite Eglise devant reverend Pere en Dieu Monsieur de saint Malo, le quel en son état Episcopal nous donna sa benediction.

Et le Mercredy ensuivant, dix-neufième jour de May, le vent vint bon & convenable, & appareillames avec lesdits trois navires, sçavoir, *La grande Hermine* du port d'environ à cent ou six vingts tonneaux, où étoit ledit Capitaine general, & pour Maitre Thomas Froment, Claude du Pont-Briant, filz du sieur de Mont-real, & Eschanson de Monseigneur le Dauphin, Charles de 67 la Pommeraye, & autres Gentils-hommes. Au second navire nommé *La petite Hermine* du port d'environ soixante tonneaux étoit Capitaine sous ledit 271 Quartier Macé Ialobert, & maitre Guillaume le Marié. Et au tiers navire & plus petit, nommé *l'Emerillon*, du port d'environ quarante tonneaux, en étoit Capitaine Guillaume le Breton, & maitre Jacques Mingart. Et navigames avec bon temps iusques au vingt-sixième dudit mois de May que le temps se trouva en ire & tourmente, qui nous a duré en vents contraires & serraions autant que jamais navires qui passassent ladite mer eussent, sans aucun amende-ment. Tellement que le vingt-cinquième iour de Iuin, par ledit mauvais temps & serraison, nous entreperdimes tous trois, sans que nous ayons eu nouvelles les vns des autres jusques à la Terre-neuve, là où nous avions limité nous trouver ensemble.

Et depuis nous être entre-perdus avons été avec la nef generale par la mer de tous vents contraires iusques au septième jour de Iuillet que nous arrivames à ladite Terre-neuve, & primmes terre à *l'Ile des Oyseaux*, laquelle est à quatorze lieüs de la grande terre ; & si trespleine d'oiseaux, que tous les navires de France y pourroient facilement charger sans qu'on s'aperceut qu'on en eut tiré ; & là en primmes deux barquées pour parties de noz 68 victuailles. Icelle ile est en l'elevation du pole en quarante-neuf degrez quarante minutes.

Et le huitième iour dudit mois nous appareillames de ladite Ile, & avec bon temps vimmes au hable (l'Auteur écrit ainsi ce que nous disons havre) 272 de Blanc-sablon, étant en la baye des Chateaux, le quinzisième iour dudit mois,

qui est le lieu où nous devons rendre : auquel lieu fumes attendans noz compagnons iusques au vingt-sixième iour dudit mois qu'ils arriverent tous deux ensemble : & là nous accoutrames & primmes eaux, bois, & autres choses necessaires : & appareillames & fimes voiles pour passer outre le 26 iour dudit mois à l'aube du iour & fimes porter le long de la côte du Nort gisant Est-Nordest & Ouest-Surouest, iusques environ les huit heures du soir que mimes les voiles bas le travers de deux îles que nous nommames les îles saint Guillaume, lesquelles sont environ vingt lieues outre le hable de Brest. Le tout de ladite côte depuis les Chateaux iusques ici git Est-Nordest & Ouest-Surouest, rangée de plusieurs îles & terres toutes hachées & pierreuses, sans aucunes terres, ni bois, fors en aucunes vallées.

Le lendemain, penultième jour dudit mois, nous fimes courir à Oüest pour avoir connoissance d'autres îles qui nous demouroient envirō douze lieues & demie : entre lesquelles îles se faict vne couche vers le Nort, toute à îles & grandes bayes apparoissâtes y avoir plusieurs bōs hables. Nous les nommames les îles sainte Marte, hors lesquelles environ vne lieuë & demie à la mer y a vne basse bien dangereuse, où il y a quatre ou cinq têtes qui demeurent le travers desdites bayes en la route d'Est & Oüest desdites îles saint Guillaume, & autres îles qui demeurent à Oüest-Suroüest des îles sainte Marte environ 273 sept lieues : lesquelles îles nous vimmes querir ledit jour environ vne heure apres midi. Et depuis ledit jour jusques à l'orloge virante fimes courir environ quinze lieues iusques le travers d'un Cap d'îles basses que nous nommames Les îles saint Germain : Au Suest duquel Cap environ trois lieues y a vne autre basse fort dangereuse : & pareillement entre lesdits Cap saint Germain & sainte Marte y a vn banc hors desdites îles environ deux lieues, sur lequel n'y a que quatre brasses : & pour le danger de ladite côte mimmes les voiles bas, & ne fimes porter ladite nuit.

Le lendemain, dernier jour de Iuillet, fimes courir le long de ladite côte, qui git Est & Ouest quart de Suest, laquelle est toute rangée d'îles & basses, & côte fort dangereuse : laquelle contiēt d'empuis ledit Cap des îles saint Germain jusques à la fin des îles environ dix-sept lieues & demie : & à la fin desdites îles y a vne moult belle terre basse pleine de grands arbres & hauts : & est icelle côte toute rangée de sablons sans y avoir aucune apparoissance de hable iusques au Cap de Tiennot, qui se rabbat au Nor-Ouest, qui est à environ sept lieues desdites îles : le quel Cap conoissions du voyage precedent : & pource fimes porter toute la nuit à Ouest-Norouest iusques au jour que le vent vint contraire, & allames chercher vn havre où mimes nos navires, qui est vn bon petit 70 havre outre ledit Cap Tiennot environ sept lieues & demie, & est entre quatre 274 îles sortantes à la mer. Nous le nommames *Le havre saint Nicolas* ; & sur la plus prochaine île plantames vne grande Croix de bois pour merche (*il veut dire*, marque). Il faut amener ladite Croix au Nordest, puis l'aller querir & la laisser de tribort (*mot de marine signifiant*, à droite) & trouverez de profond six brasses, posez dedans ledit hable à quatre brasses : & se faut donner de garde de quatre basses qui demeurēt des deux côtez à demie lieue hors. Toute cette-dite côte est fort dangereuse, & pleine de basses. Nonobstât qu'il semble y avoir plusieurs hables, n'y a que basses & plateis. Nous fumes audit hable d'empuis ledit iour iusques au Dimanche huictième d'Aoust, auquel nous appareillames, & vimmes querir la terre du Su vers le Cap de Rabast, qui est distant dudit hable environ vingt lieues, gisant Nort-nordest,

& Su-Suroüest. Et le lendemain le vent vint contraire : & pource que ne trouvames nuls hables à ladite terre du Su, fimes porter vers le Nort outre le precedent hable d'environ dix lieuës, où trouvames vne fort belle & grâde baye pleine d'îles & bonnes entrées, & posage de tous les temps qu'il pourroit faire, & pour conoissance d'icelle baye y a vne grande ile comme vn cap de terre, qui s'avâce dehors plus que les autres, & sur la terre environ deux lieues y a vne montagne faite comme vn tas de blé. Nous nommames ladite baye *La baye saint Laurent*.

71 Le quatorzième dudit mois nous partimes de ladite baye saint Laurêt, & fimes porter à Ouest, & vimmes querir vn cap de terre devers le Su qui gist environ l'Ouest vn quart de Suroüest dudit hable saint Laurent environ vingt-cinq lieues. Et par les deux Sauvages qu'avions prins le premier voyage, nous fut dit que c'étoit de la terre devers le Su, & que c'étoit vne ile, & que par le Su d'icelle étoit le chemin à aller de *Hongnedo*,¹ où nous les avions prins le premier voyage, à *Canada* : & qu'à deux iournées de-là dudit Cap & ile commençoit le *Saguenay*, à la terre devers le Nort allant vers ledit *Canada*. Le travers dudit Cap environ trois lieuës y a de profond cent brasses & plus, & n'est memoire de iamais avoir veu tant de Baillames que nous vimes celle journée le travers dudit Cap.

Le lendemain, jour nôtre Dame d'Aoust, quinzisième dudit mois, nous passames le détroit : la nuit devant, & le lendemain eumes conoissance des terres qui nous demeuroient vers le Su, qui est vne terre à hautes môtagnes à merveilles, dôt le cap susdit de ladite ile que nous avons nômée *l'Île de l'Assumption*, & vn cap desdites hautes terres, gisent Est-Nordest, & Ouest Surouest, & y a entre eux vingt-cinq lieuës, & voit-on les terres du Nort encore plus hautes que celles du Su à plus de trente lieuës. Nous rangeames lesdites terres du Su d'empuis ledit jour jusques au Mardi midi, que le vent vint Ouest, 72 & mimes le cap au Nort pour aller querir lesdites hautes terres que voyions : & nous étans là, trouvames lesdites terres vnies & basses vers la mer & les montagnes de devers le Nort par-sus lesdites basses terres, gisantes icelles Est & Ouest vn quart de Suroüest : & par les Sauvages qu'avions, nous a été dit que c'étoit le commencement du *Saguenay*, & terre habitée, & que de là venoit le cuivre rouge, qu'ilz appellent *Caquetdazé*. Il y a entre les terres du Su & celles du Nort environ trente lieues, & plus de deux cens brasses de parfond. Et nous ont lesdits Sauvages certifié être le chemin & commencement du grand fleuve de *Hochelaga* & chemin de *Canada*, lequel alloit toujours en étroicissant iusques à *Canada* : & puis, que l'on trouve l'eau douce audit fleuve, qui va si long que jamais homme n'avoit été au bout, qu'ils eussent ouï, & qu'autre passage n'y avoit que par bateaux. Et voyans leur dire, & qu'ils affermoient n'y avoir autre passage, ne voulut ledit Capitaine passer outre iusques à avoir veu la reste & côte de vers le Nort, qu'il avoit obmis à voir depuis la baye saint Laurent pour aller voir la terre du Su, pour voir s'il y avoit aucun passage.

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *Honguedo*, like the 1545 Cartier.

Retour du Capitaine Jacques Quartier vers la Baye saint Laurent : Hippopotames : Continuation du voyage dans la grande riviere de Canada, iusques à la riviere de Saguenay, qui sont cent lieuës.

CHAP. VIII

73

277 **L**E Mercredi dixhuitième iour d'Aoust, ledit Capitaine fit retourner les navires en arriere, & mettre le cap à l'autre bord, & rangeames ladite côte du Nort, qui gist Nordest & Surouest, faisant vn demi arc, qui est vne terre fort haute, non tant comme celle du Su, & arrivames le Ieudy à sept îles moult hautes, que nous nommames *Les îles rondes*, qui sont à environ quarante lieuës des terres du Su, & s'avancent hors en la mer trois ou quatre lieuës : le travers desquelles y a vn cōmencement de basses terres pleines de beaux arbres, lesquelles terres nous rangeames le Vendredy avec noz barques, le travers desquelles y a plusieurs bancs de sablons plus de deux lieuës à la mer fort dangereux, lesquels demeurent de basse mer : & au bout d'icelles basses terres (qui contiennent environ dix lieuës) y a vne riviere d'eau douce sortante à la mer, tellement qu'à plus d'une lieue de terre elle est aussi douce qu'eau de fontaine. Nous entrames en ladite riviere avec noz barques, & ne trouvames à l'entrée que brasse & demie. Il y a dedans ladite riviere plusieurs poissons qui ont forme de chevaux, lesquels vont à la terre de nuit, & de iour à la mer, ainsi qu'il nous fut dit par noz deux Sauvages : & de cesdits poissons vimmes grand nombre dedans ladite riviere.¹

Le lendemain, vingt-vnième jour dudit mois, au matin à l'aube du jour, 74 fimes voile & porter le long de ladite côte tant que nous eumes conoissance de la reste d'icelle côte du Nort que n'avions veu, & de l'île de l'Assumption que nous avions été querir au partir de ladite terre : & lors que nous fumes certains que ladite côte étoit rangée, & qu'il n'y avoit nul passage, retournames 278 à nos navires, qui étoient esdites sept îles, où il y a bonnes rades à dix-huit & vingt brasses, & sablon : auquel lieu avons été sans pouvoir sortir, ni faire voiles, pour la cause des bruines & vens contraires, iusques au vingt-quatrième dudit mois, que nous appareillames, & avons été par la mer chemin faisans iusques au vingt-neufième dudit mois, que sommes arrivés à vn hable de la côte du Su, qui est environ quatre-vingts lieuës desdites sept îles, lequel est le travers de trois îles petites, qui sont par le parmi du fleuve, & environ le mi-chemin desdites îles & ledit hable, devers le Nort, y a vne fort grande riviere, qui est entre les hautes & basses terres, laquelle fait plusieurs bancs à la mer à plus de trois lieuës, qui est vn païs fort dangereux, & sonne de deux brasses & moins, & à la choiste d'iceux bancs trouverez vingt-cinq & trête brasses bort à bort. Toute cette côte du Nort git Nor-nordest & Su-Suroüest.

Le hable devant-dit où posames, qui est à la terre du Su, est hable de
¹ Laquelle est appelée aujour'hui Chischedec d'un nom de l'imposition des Sauvages.

marée, & de peu de valeur. Nous les nommames *Les ileaux saint Iean*, par-ce que nous y entrames le iour de la Decollation dudit saint. Et auparavant
 75 qu'arriver audit hable y a vne ile à l'Est d'icelui, environ cinq lieuës, où il n'y a point de passage entre terre & elle que par bateaux. Ledit hable des ileaux saint Iean asseche toutes les marées, & y marine l'eau de deux brasses. Le meilleur lieu à mettre navires est vers le Su d'vn petit ilot qui est au parmi dudit hable, bord audit ilot.

Nous appareillames dudit hable le premier iour de Septembre pour aller vers *Canada*. Et environ quinze lieuës dudit hable à l'Oüest-Suroüest y a 279 trois iles au parmi dudit fleuve, le travers desquelles y a vne riviere fort profonde & courante, qui est la riviere & chemin du Royaume & terre de *Saguenay*, ainsi que nous a été dit par noz hommes du pais de *Canada* : & est icelle riviere entre hautes môtagnes de pierre nuë, & sans y avoir que peu de terre, & nonobstant y croit grande quantité d'arbres, & de plusieurs sortes, qui croissent sur ladite pierre nuë, comme sur bonne terre. De sorte que nous y avons veu tel arbre suffisant à master navire de trente tôneaux aussi vert qu'il est possible, lequel étoit sus vn roc, sans y avoir aucune saveur de terre.

A l'entrée d'icelle riviere trouvames quatre barques de *Canada*, qui étoient là venuës pour faire pécherries de Loups-marins & autres poissons. Et nous étans posez dedans ladite riviere, vindrent deux desdites barques vers noz navires, lesquelles venoient en vne peur & crainte, de sorte qu'il en ressortit vne, & l'autre approcha si près, qu'ilz peurent entendre l'vn de noz Sauvages, qui se nomma & fit sa conoissance, & les fit venir seurement à bord.

Or maintenant laissons le Capitaine Iacques Quartier deviser avec ses Sauvages au port de la riviere de *Saguenay*, qui est *Tadoussac*, & allons au devant de Champlein, lequel nous avons cy-dessus laissé à *Anticosti* (qui est l'île de l'Assumptiō), car il nous décrira *Tadoussac* & *Saguenay*, selō le rapport des hōmes du pais, au pardessus de ce qu'il a veu : voire encore nous dira-il la
 76 receptiō que leur aurōt fait les Sauvages à leur arrivée. En quoy si, rapportant 280 les mots de l'Autheur, on trouve quelquefois vn langage moins orné & poli, le Lecteur se souviendra que ie n'y ay rien voulu changer : bien ay-je retrenché quelque chose de moins necessaire. Voici donc comme il continue le discours que nous avons laissé au chapitre sixième.

Voyage de Champlain depuis Anticosti iusques à Tadoussac : Description de Gachepé, riviere de Mâtanne, port de Tadoussac, baye des Moruës, Ile percée, Baye de Chaleur : Remarques des lieux, iles, ports, bayes, sables, rochers, & rivières qui sont à la bende du Nort en allant à la riviere de Saguenay : Description du port de Tadoussac, & de ladite riviere de Saguenay : Contradiction de Champlain.

CHAP. IX

77

A PRES avoir decouvert *Anticosti*, le lendemain nous eumes conoissance de *Gachepé*, terre fort haute. C'est vne baye du côté du Su, laquelle contient quelques sept ou huit lieues de long, & à son entrée quatre lieuës de large. Là y a vne riviere qui va quelques trête lieues dans les terres. Ici est le commencement de la grâde riviere de *Canada*, sur laquelle à la bède du Su y a la riviere *Mantâne*, laquelle va quelques dix-
 281 huit lieues dâs les terres. Elle est petite & à soixante lieuës dudit *Gachepé*. Mais les Sauvages étans au bout d'icelle portent leurs canots (qui sont petits bateaux d'écorce) environ vne lieuë par terre, & se viennent rendre en la Baye de Chaleur : par où ilz font des grans voyages. De ladite riviere de *Mantanne* on vient vers le Pic, où il y a vingt lieuës : & delà, en traversant la riviere, on vient à *Tadoussac*, d'où il y a quinze lieuës. C'est le chemin que nous suivimes en allant. Mais comme nous eumes là sejourné quelque temps, & après que nous fumes allé au saut de ladite grande riviere de *Canada*, nous retournames
 78 quelque nombre de *Tadoussac* à *Gachepé*, & de là nous allames à la Baye des *Moruës*, laquelle peut tenir quelque trois lieuës de long, & autant de large à son entrée : Puis vimmes à l'île *percée*, qui est comme vn rocher fort haut élevé des deux côtéz, où il y a vn trou par où les chaloupes & bateaux peuvent passer de haute mer, & de basse mer on peut aller de la grande terre à ladite île, qui n'en est qu'à quatre ou cinq cens pas. Et à l'environ d'icelle y a vne autre île dite l'île de *Bonaventure*, & peut tenir de long demie lieuë : En tous lesquels lieux se fait grand' pecherie de poisson sec & verd. Et passé ladite île percée on vient à ladite Baye de Chaleur, qui va comme à l'Ouest-Surouest quelques quatre-vingts lieues dans les terres, contenant de large en son entrée quelques quinze lieuës. Et disent les Sauvages qu'en icelle baye il a vne riviere qui va quelques vingt lieuës dans les terres, au bout dequoy est vn lac
 282 qui peut tenir quelques vingt lieuës, auquel il y a fort peu d'eau, & qu'en Été il asseche : auquel ilz trouvent (environ vn pié dans la terre) vne maniere de metal, qui ressemble à l'argent, & qu'en vn autre lieu proche dudit lac il y a vne autre mine de cuivre. Ayans trouvé ceux que nous cherchions à l'île percée, nous retournames derechef à *Tadoussac*. Mais comme nous fumes à quelques trois lieuës du cap l'Evesque, nous fumes contrariéz d'une tourmente, laquelle dura deux jours, qui nous fit relacher dedans vne grande anee en attendant

le beau temps. Le lendemain nous en partimes & fumes encores contrariez
 79 d'une autre tourmente : Ne voulans relacher, & pensans gagner chemin, nous
 fumes à la côte du Nort, le vingt-huitième jour de Juillet, mouiller l'ancre à
 vne ance qui est fort mauvaise, à-cause des bancs de rochers qu'il y a. Cette
 ance est par les cinquante-vnième degrés & quelques minutes. Le lendemain
 nous vimmes mouiller l'ancre proche d'une riviere qui s'appelle *Sainte*
Marguerite, où il y a de pleine mer quelques trois brasses d'eau, & brasse &
 demie de basse mer ; elle va assez avant. A ce que j'ay veu, dans terre du
 côté de l'Est il y a vn saut d'eau qui entre dans ladite riviere, & vient de
 quelques cinquante ou soixante brasses de haut, d'où procede la plus grād'
 part de l'eau qui descend dedans : A son entrée il y a vn banc de sable, où il
 peut avoir de basse eau demie brasse. Toute la côte du côté de l'Est est sable
 mouvant, où il y a vne pointe à quelque demie lieuë de ladite riviere, qui avance
 vne demie lieuë en la mer : & du côté de l'Ouest il y a vne petite ile : cedit
 lieu est par les cinquante degrez. Toutes ces terres sont tres-mauvaises, remplies
 de sapins : la terre est quelque peu haute, mais non tant que celle du Su. A
 quelques trois lieuës de là nous passames proche d'une autre riviere, laquelle
 sembloit estre fort grāde, barrée neantmoins la plupart de rochers. A
 quelques huit lieuës de là il y a vne pointe qui avāce vne lieuë & demie à la
 mer, où il n'y a que brasse & demie d'eau. Passé cette pointe, il s'en trouve
 vne autre à quelque quatre lieuës où il y a assez d'eau : Toute cette côte est
 terre basse & sablonneuse. A quelques quatre lieuës de là il y a vne ance où
 entre vne riviere, il y peut aller beaucoup de vaisseaux du côté de l'Ouest,
 80 c'est vne pointe basse qui avance environ vne lieuë en la mer. Il faut ranger
 la terre de l'Est comme de trois cens pas, pour pouvoir entrer dedans : Voila
 le meilleur port qui est en toute la côte du Nort, mais il fait fort dangereux
 y aller pour les basses & bancs de sable qu'il y a en la plupart de la côte près
 de deux lieuës à la mer. On trouve à quelque six lieuës de là vne baye, où
 il y a vne ile de sable. Toute ladite baye est fort baturiere, si ce n'est du
 côté de l'Est, où il peut avoir quelque quatre brasses d'eau : dās le canal qui
 entre dās ladite baye à quelque quatre lieuës de là, il y a vne belle ance où
 entre vne riviere : Toute cette côte est basse & sablonneuse, il y descend vn
 saut d'eau qui est grād. A quelques cinq lieuës de là il y a vne pointe qui
 avāce environ demie lieuë en la mer, où il y a vne ance, & d'une pointe à l'autre
 y a trois lieuës ; mais ce n'est que batures où il y a peu d'eau. A quelques
 deux lieues il y a vne plage où il y a vn bon port, & vne petite riviere, où il
 y a trois iles, & où des vaisseaux se pourroient mettre à l'abry. A quelques
 trois lieues de là il y a vne pointe de sable qui avance environ vne lieue, où au
 bout il y a vn petit ilet. Puis allant à Lesquemin vous rencontrez deux
 petites iles basses, & vn petit rocher à terre. Cesdites iles sont environ a demi
 lieuë de Lesquemin, qui est vn fort mauvais port, entouré de rochers &
 asseché de basse mer, & faut variser pour entrer dedans au derriere d'une petite
 pointe de rocher, où il n'y peut qu'un vaisseau. Vn peu plus haut, il y a vne
 riviere qui va quelque peu dans les terres : c'est le lieu où les Basques font
 81 la pêche des baleines. Pour dire verité, le port ne vaut du tout rien. Nous
 vimmes de là audit port de *Tadoussac*. Toutes cesdites terres ci-dessus sont
 basses à la côte, & dans les terres fort hautes. Elles ne sont si plaisantes ni
 fertiles que celles du Su, bien qu'elles soient plus basses.

Ayans mouillé l'ancre devant le port de *Tadoussac* à notre premiere arrivée,

nous entrames dedans ledit port le vingt-sixième iour de May. Il est fait comme vne anse, gisant à l'entrée de la riviere de *Saguenay*, en laquelle il y a vn courant d'eau & maree fort étrange, pour sa vitesse & profondeur, où quelquefois il vient des vêts impetueux, lesquels amènent avec eux de grandes froidures. L'on tient que ladite riviere a quelques quarante-cinq ou cinquante
 285 lieues iusques au premier saut, & vient du côté du Nor-norouest. Ledit port de *Tadoussac* est petit, où il ne pourroit que dix ou douze vaisseaux : mais il y a de l'eau assez à Est, à l'abry de ladite riviere de *Saguenay*, le long d'une petite montagne, qui est préque coupée de la mer : le reste ce sont montagnes hautes élevées, où il y a peu de terre, sinon rochers & sables remplis de bois, de pins, ciprez, sapins, boules & quelques manieres d'arbres de peu : il y a vn petit étang proche dudit port renfermé de montagnes couvertes de bois. A l'entrée dudit port il y a deux pointes, l'une du côté d'Oüest contenant vne lieuë en mer, qui s'appelle la poincte de saint Matthieu ; & l'autre du côté de Suest, contenant vn quart de lieue, qui s'appelle la pointe de tous les
 82 diables, les vens du Su & Su-suest, & Su-suroüest frappent dedans ledit port. Mais de la pointe de saint Matthieu iusques à ladite pointe de tous les diables, il y a près d'une lieue : l'une & l'autre pointe asseche de basse mer.

Quant à la riviere de *Saguenay*, elle est tres-belle, & a vne profondeur incroyable. Elle procede, selon que j'ay entëdu, d'un lieu fort haut, d'où descend vn torrent d'eau d'une grande impetuosité ; mais l'eau qui en vient, n'est point capable de faire vn tel fleuve comme cetui-là, & faut qu'il y ait d'autres rivières qui s'y dechargent : & y a depuis le premier saut iusques au port de *Tadoussac* (qui est l'entrée de ladite riviere de *Saguenay*) quelques
 40. ou 50. lieues, & vne bonne lieue & demie de large au plus, & vn quart au plus étroit, qui fait qu'il y a grand courant d'eau. Toute la terre que
 286 j'ay veu ne sont que montagnes de rochers la plupart, couvertes de bois de sapins, cyprez, & boules, terre fort mal plaisante, où je n'ay point trouvé vne lieuë de terre plaine, tant d'un côté que d'autre. Il y a quelques montagnes de sable & îles en ladite riviere, qui sont hautes élevées. En fin ce sont de vrays deserts habitables tant seulement aux animaux & oyseaux ; car je vous asseure qu'allant chasser par les lieux qui me sembloient les plus plaisans, ie ne trouvay rien qui soit, sinon de petits oyseaux qui sont comme rossignols, & hirondelles, lesquels y viennent en Été : car autrement je croy qu'il n'y en a point, à-cause de l'excessif froid qu'il y fait, cette riviere venant de devers le Nor-ouest. Les Sauvages me firent rapport, qu'ayant passé le premier saut d'où vient ce torrent d'eau, ilz passent huit autres sauts, & puis vont vne
 83 journée sans en trouver aucun, puis passent autres dix sauts, & viennent dedans vn lac, où ilz sont deux jours à passer : & en chaque jour ilz peuvent faire à leur aise quelques douze à quinze lieuës. Audit bout du lac il y a des peuples qui sont cabannez : puis on entre dans trois autres rivières, quelques trois ou quatre journées dans chacune, où au bout desdites rivières, il y a deux ou trois manieres de lacs, d'où prend sa source le *Saguenay*, de laquelle source jusques audit port de *Tadoussac*, il y a dix journées de leurs Canots. Au bord desdites rivières, il y a quantité de cabannes, où il vient d'autres nations du côté du Nort troquer avec les Montagnais qui vont là, des peaux de castor
 287 & martre, avec autres marchandises qui donnent les vaisseaux François ausdits Montagnés. Lesdits Sauvages du Nort disent, qu'ilz voient vne mer qui est salée.

Voila ce qu'a écrit Champlain dés l'an six cens cinq, de la riviere de Saguenay. Mais depuis il dit en sa derniere relation que du port de *Tadoussac*, jusques à la mer que les Sauvages de *Saguenay* decouvrent au Nort, il y a de quarante à cinquante journées ; ce qui est bien éloigné des dix que maintenāt il a dit. Or s'ilz font de douze à quinze lieuës par jour, voila plus de six cens lieuës tirant au Nort : D'où je collige qu'il a eu tort de nous bailler vne charte géographique de la Nouvelle-France, en laquelle ayant voulu suivre celle que les Anglois ont publiée de leur derniere decouverte de l'an mille six 84 cens onze, il s'est du tout contrarié à ce qu'il écrit. Car depuis *Tadoussac* jusques à cette mer (qui n'est point au Nort, mais à l'Ouest du *Saguenay*) il n'y a pas deux cens lieuës. Et si on y veut aller par la riviere dite *Les trois rivières* en sa charte, il ne s'en trouvera que six-vints. Et toutefois je ne voudrois aisement croire lédits Anglois, disans qu'il se trouve vne mer dans les terres au cinquantième degré. Car il y a long temps qu'elle seroit decouverte étant si voisine de *Tadoussac*, & en même élévation.

288 *Bonne reception faite aux François par le grand Sagamo des Sauvages de Canada, Leurs festins & danses : La guerre qu'ils ont avec les Iroquois.*

CHAP. X

85

LE vingt-septième d'Avril nous fumes trouver les Sauvages à la pointe de saint Matthieu, qui est à vne lieue de *Tadoussac*, avec les deux Sauvages que mena la sieur du Pôt de Honfleur, pour faire le rapport de ce qu'ils avoient veu en France, & de la bonne reception que leur avoit fait le Roy. Ayans mis pied à terre, nous fumes à la cabanne de leur grand *Sagamo*, qui s'appelle *Anadabijou*, où nous le trouvames avec quelques quatre-vingts ou cent de ses compagnons qui faisoient *Tabagie*¹ (qui veut dire festin), lequel nous receut fort bien selon la coutume du pais, & nous fit assoir après lui, & tous les Sauvages arangez les vns auprès des autres des deux côtéz de ladite cabanne. L'vn des Sauvages que nous aviös amené commença à faire sa harâgue, de la bonne reception que leur avoit fait le Roy, & le bon traitement qu'ils avoient receu en France, & qu'ils s'assurassent que sadite Majesté leur vouloit du bien, & desiroit peupler leur terre, & faire paix avec leurs ennemis (qui sont les Iroquois) ou leur envoyer des forces pour les veindre :
289 en leur cõtant aussi les beaux chateaux, palais, maisons, & peuples qu'ils avoient veu, & nôtre façon de vivre. Il fut entendu avec vn silence si grand, qu'il ne se peut dire de plus. Or après qu'il eut achevé sa harangue, ledit grand *Sagamo Anadabijou* l'ayant attentivement ouï, il commença à prendre du petun, & en donner audit sieur du Pont, & à moy, & à quelques autres *Sagamos* qui étoient auprès de lui. Ayant bien petuné, il commença à faire sa harangue à tous, parlant posément, s'arrêtant quelquefois vn peu, & puis reprenant sa parole, en leur disant : Que veritablement ilz devoient estre fort contens d'avoir sadite Maïesté pour grand ami. Ilz répondirent, tous d'vne 86 voix, *ho, ho, ho*, qui est à dire, *oui, oui*. Lui, continuant toujours sadite harangue, dit : Qu'il estoit fort aise que sadite Maïesté peuplat leur terre, & fit la guerre à leurs ennemis, qu'il n'y avoit nation au monde à qui ilz voulussent plus de bien qu'aux François. En fin il leur fit entendre à tous le bien & vtilité qu'ilz pourroïent recevoir de sadite Maïesté. Après qu'il eut achevé sa harangue, nous sortimes de sa cabanne, & eux commencerent à faire leur *Tabagie*, qu'ilz font avec des chairs d'Orignac (qui est comme Bœuf) d'Ours, de Loups-marins, & Castors, qui sont les viandes les plus ordinaires qu'ils ont, & du gibier en quantité. Ils avoient huit ou dix chaudières pleines de viandes au milieu de ladite cabanne, & étoient éloignez les vns des autres quelques six pas, & chacune a son feu. Ilz sont assis des deux côtéz (comme j'ay dit ci-dessus) avec chacun son écuelle d'écorce d'arbre : &

¹ The 1617-18 edition has, *Tabagio*.

lors que la viande est cuite, il y en a vn qui fait les partages à chacun dans 290
lesdites écuelles, où ilz mangent fort salement : car quand ils ont les mains
grasses, ils les frottent à leurs cheveux faute de serviettes, ou bien au poil de
leurs chiens dont ils ont quantité pour la chasse. Premier que leur viande
fût cuite, il y en eut vn qui se leva, & print vn chien, & s'en alla sauter autour
desdites chaudieres d'un bout de la cabanne à l'autre : Etant devant le grand
Sagamo, il ietta son chien à terre de force, & puis tous d'une voix s'écrierent
ho, ho, ho : ce qu'ayant fait s'en alla asseoir à sa place. En même instant vn
autre se leva, & fit le semblable, continuant toujours iusques à ce que la viande
fût cuite. Or après avoir achevé leur *Tabagie*, ilz commencerent à danser,
en prenant les têtes de leurs ennemis, qui leur pendoient par derriere. En
signe de jouissance, il y en a vn ou deux qui chantent en accordant leurs
voix par la mesure de leurs mains qu'ilz frappent sur leurs genoux, puis ilz
s'arrêtent quelquefois en s'écrians, *ho, ho, ho*, & recommencent à danser en
soufflant, comme vn homme qui est hors d'haleine. Ilz faisoient cette jouis-
sance pour la victoire par eux obtenüe sur les Iroquois, dont ilz en avoient
tué quelques cent, ausquels ilz coupperent les têtes, qu'ils avoient avec eux
pour leur ceremonie. Ils estoient trois nations quand ilz furent à la guerre,
87 les Etechemins, Algonmequins, & Montagnais, au nombre de mille, qui allerent
faire la guerre ausdits Iroquois, qu'ilz rencontrerent à l'entrée de la riviere 291
desdits Iroquois, & en assommerent vne centaine. La guerre qu'ilz font n'est
que par surprises, car autrement ils auroient peur, & craignent trop lesdits
Iroquois, qui sont en plus grand nombre que lesdits Montagnais, Etechemins,
& Algonmequins. Le vingt-huitième jour dudit mois ilz se vindrent cabanner
audit port de *Tadoussac*, où étoit nôtre vaisseau. A la pointe du jour leurdit
grand *Sagamo* sortit de sa cabanne, allant autour de toutes les autres cabannes,
en criant à haute voix, qu'ils eussent à déloger pour aller à *Tadoussac*, où étoient
leurs bons amis. Tout aussi-tôt vn chacun d'eux deffit sa cabanne en moins
d'un rien, & ledit grand Capitaine le premier commença à prendre son canot,
& le porter à la mer, où il embarqua sa femme & ses enfans, & quantité de
fourrures, & se mirent ainsi près de deux cens canots, qui vont étrangement :
car encore que nôtre chaloupe fût bien armée, si alloient-ilz plus vite que
nous. Ils étoient au nombre de mille personnes tant d'hommes que femmes
& enfans.

⁹² *La rejouissance que font les Sauvages après qu'ils ont eu victoire sur leurs ennemis :
Leurs humeurs : Sont malicieux : Leur croyance & faulses opinions : Que
leurs devins parlent visiblement aux Diables.*

CHAP. XI

88

LE neuvième iour de Iuin les Sauvages commencerent à se réiouir tous ensemble & faire leur *Tabagie*, comme l'ay dit ci-dessus, & dâser, pour ladite victoire qu'ils avoient obtenue contre leurs ennemis. Or apres avoir fait bonne chere, les Aloumequins, vne des trois nations, sortirent de leurs Cabannes, & se retirerēt à part dās vne place publicque, firēt arranger toutes leurs femmes & filles les vnes près des autres, & eux se mirent derriere chantans tous d'une voix comme l'ay dit ci-devant. Aussi-tôt toutes les femmes & filles cōmencerēt à quitter leurs robbes & peaux, & se mirent toutes nues montrans leur nature, neantmoins parées de *Matachia*, qui sont patenôtres & cordōs entre-lassez faits de poil de Porc-épic, qu'ils teignent de diverses couleurs. Après avoir achevé leurs chants, ilz dirent tous d'une voix, *ho, ho, ho*. A même instant toutes les femmes & filles se couvrirent de leurs robbes (car elles les jettent à leurs piés) & s'arrêterent quelque peu : & puis aussi tôt recommençans à chanter, elles laisserent aller ⁹³ leurs robbes comme auparavant. Or en faisant cette danse, le *Sagamo* des Aloumequins, qui s'appelle *Besouat*, étoit assis devant lesdites femmes & filles, au milieu de deux batons, où étoient les têtes de leurs ennemis pendues : quelquefois il se levoit & s'en alloit haranguant & disant aux Montagnés & Etechemins, voyez comme nous-nous rejouissons de la victoire que nous avons obtenue de nos ennemis, il faut que vous en faciés autant, afin que nous soyons contens : puis tous ensemble disoient, *ho, ho, ho*. Retourné qu'il fut en sa place, le grand *Sagamo* avec tous ses compagnons dépouillerent leurs robbes estans tout nuds (hors-mis leur nature, qui est couverte d'une petite peau) ⁸⁹ & prindrent chacun ce que bon leur sembla, comme *Matachia*, haches, épées, chauderons, graisses, chair d'Orignac, Loup-marin : bref chacun avoit vn present qu'ils allerent donner aux Aloumequins. Après toutes ces ceremonies la danse cessa, & lesdits Aloumequins hommes & femmes emporterent leurs presens en leurs cabannes. Ilz firent encores mettre deux hommes de chacune nation des plus dispos qu'ilz firent courir, & celui qui fut le plus vite à la course eut vn present.

Tous ces peuples sont tous d'une humeur assez joyeuse, ilz rient le plus souvent, toutefois ilz sont quelque peu Saturniens ; Ils parlēt fort posément, comme se voulans bien faire entendre, & s'arrētent aussi-tôt en songeant vne grāde espace de temps, puis reprennent leur parole. Ils vsent bien souvent de cette façon de faire parmi leurs harangues au cōseil, où il n'y a que les plus ⁹⁴ principaux, qui sont les anciens ; Les femmes & enfans n'y assistent point.

Ce sont la pluspart gens qui n'ont point de loy, selon que i'ay peu voir & m'informer audit grand *Sagamo*, lequel me dit : Qu'ilz croyent veritablement qu'il y a vn Dieu qui a creé toutes choses. Et lors je lui dis, Puis qu'ilz croyent à vn seul Dieu : Comment est-ce qu'il les avoit mis au monde, & d'où ils étoient venus ? Il me répondit. Apres que Dieu eut fait toutes choses, il print quantité de fleches, & les mit en terre, d'où sortit hommes & femmes, qui ont multiplié au monde jusques à present, & sont venus de cette façon. Il lui répondis que ce qu'il disoit étoit faux : mais que veritablement il y avoit vn seul Dieu, qui avoit creé toutes choses en la terre, & aux cieux. Voyant toutes ces choses si parfaites, sans qu'il eût personne qui gouvernât en ce monde, il print du limon de la terre, & en crea Adam nôtre premier Pere, & comme il sommeilloit, Dieu print vne de ses côtes, & en forma Eve, qu'il lui donna pour compagne, & que c'étoit la verité qu'eux & nous etions venus de cette façon, & non de fleches comme ilz croyoient. Il ne me dit rien, sinon : Qu'il
90 avouoit plutôt ce que je lui disois, que ce qu'il me disoit. Il luy demanday aussi s'il ne croyoit point qu'il y eût vn autre qu'un seul Dieu. Il me dit, que leur croyance étoit : Qu'il y avoit vn seul Dieu, vn Fils, vne Mere & le Soleil, qui étoient quatre. Neantmoins que Dieu étoit pardessus tous ; mais que le Fils étoit bon. Il luy remontray son erreur selon nôtre Foy, enquoy il
ajouta quelque peu de creance. Il lui demanday s'ilz n'avoient point veu,
ni ouï dire à leurs ancestres que Dieu fût venu au monde : Il me dit, Qu'il ne l'avoit point veu : mais qu'anciennement il y eut cinq hommes qui s'en
allèrent vers le Soleil couchant, lesquels rencontrèrent Dieu, qui leur demanda. Où allez-vous ? Ilz dirent, Nous allons chercher nôtre vie : Dieu leur répondit, Vous la trouverez ici. Ilz passerent plus outre, sans faire état de ce que Dieu leur avoit dit, lequel print vne pierre & en toucha deux, & furent transmués en pierre, & dit derechef aux trois autres, Où allez-vous ? & ilz respondirent
comme à la premiere fois : & Dieu leur dit derechef, Ne passez plus outre, vous la trouverez ici : Et voyâz qu'il ne leur venoit rien, ilz passerent outre ; & Dieu print deux batons, & il en toucha les deux premiers, qui furent transmués en batons, & le cinquième s'arrêta, ne voulât passer plus outre : Et Dieu lui demanda derechef, Où vas-tu ? Il vois¹ chercher ma vie : Demeure, & tu la trouveras : Il demeura sans passer plus outre, & Dieu lui donna de la viande, & en mangea : Après avoir fait bonne chere, il retourna avec les autres Sauvages, & leur raconta tout ce que dessus. Il me dit aussi, Qu'une autrefois il y avoit vn homme qui avoit quantité de *Tabac* (qui est vne herbe dequoy ilz prennent la fumée), & que Dieu vint à cet hôte, & lui demanda où étoit son petunoir : l'homme print son petunoir, & le dōna à Dieu, qui petuna
91 beaucoup. Après avoir bien petuné, Dieu rompit ledit petunoir en plusieurs pieces, & l'homme lui demanda, Pourquoi as-tu rompu mon petunoir, & tu vois bien que je n'en ay point d'autre ? & Dieu en print vn qu'il avoit & le lui donna, lui disant : en voila vn que ie te donne, porte-le à ton grand *Sagamo*, qu'il le garde, & s'il le garde bien, il ne manquera point de chose quelconque, ni tous ses compagnons : ledit hôte print le petunoir, qu'il donna à son grand *Sagamo*, lequel tandis qu'il l'eut, les Sauvages ne manquerent de rien du monde : Mais que du depuis ledit *Sagamo* avoit perdu ce petunoir, qui est l'occasion de la grande famine qu'ils ont quelquefois parmi eux. Il lui demanday s'il croyoit tout cela. Il me dit qu'oui, & que c'étoit verité.

¹ The original edition of Champlain has, *vois*.

Or je croy que voila pourquoy ilz disent que Dieu n'est pas trop bon. Mais je luy repliquay & lui dis, Que Dieu étoit tout bon, & que sans doute c'étoit le diable qui s'étoit montré à ces hommes là, & que s'ils croyoient comme nous en Dieu, ilz ne manqueroient de ce qu'ils auroient besoin. Que le Soleil qu'ilz voyent, la Lune & les Etoilles avoient été créés de ce grâd Dieu, qui a fait le ciel & la terre, & n'ont nulle puissance que celle que Dieu leur a donnée : Que nous croyons en ce grand Dieu, qui par sa bôté nous avoit envoyé son cher Fils, lequel cœcu du saint Esprit, print chair humaine dans le ventre virginal de la Vierge Marie, ayant été trête-trois ans en terre, faisant vne infinité de miracles, ressuscitant les morts, guerissant les malades, chassant les diables, illuminant les aveugles, enseignant aux hommes la volonté de Dieu son Pere, pour le servir, honorer & adorer, a épandu son sang, & souffert mort & passion pour nous & pour noz pechez, & racheté le genre humain, étant enseveli & ressuscité, descendu aux enfers, & monté au ciel, où il est assis à la dextre de Dieu son Pere, Que c'étoit la croyance de tous les Chrétiens, qui croyoient au Pere, au Fils & au saint Esprit, qui ne sont pourtât trois Dieux, ains vn même, & vn seul Dieu en vne Trinité, en laquelle il n'y a point de plutô, ou d'après, rien de plus grâd ne de plus petit. Que la Vierge Marie, 92 mere du Fils de Dieu, & tous les hommes & femmes qui ont vécu en ce monde, faisans les commandemens de Dieu, & ont enduré martyre pour son nom, & qui par la permission de Dieu ont fait des miracles, & sont saints au ciel en son Paradis, prient tous pour nous cette grande Majesté divine, de nous pardonner noz fautes & noz pechez que nous faisons contre sa loy & ses commandemens : Et ainsi par les prieres des Saints au ciel, & par noz prieres que nous faisons à sa divine Majesté, il nous donne ce que nous avons besoin, & le Diable n'a nulle puissance sur nous : & ne nous peut faire de mal. Que s'ils avoient cette croyance, ilz seroient comme nous, que le Diable ne leur pourroit plus faire de mal, & ne manqueroient de ce qu'ils auroient besoin. Alors ledit *Sagamo* me dit, qu'il avoüoit ce que je disois. Je lui demanday de quelle ceremonie ils vsoient à prier leur Dieu : Il me dit, Qu'ilz n'vsoient point autrement de ceremonies, sinon qu'un chacun prioit en son cœur comme il 93 vouloit : Voila pourquoy je croy qu'il n'y a aucune loy parmi eux, ne savent que c'est d'adorer & prier Dieu, & vivent la pluspart comme bêtes brutes, & croy que promptement ilz seroient reduits bons Chrétiens si l'on habitoit leurs terres, ce qu'ilz desiroient la pluspart. Ils ont parmi eux quelques Sauvages qu'ils appellent *Pilotoua*, qui parlent au Diable visiblement, & leur dit ce qu'il faut qu'ilz facent, tant pour la guerre que pour autres choses, & que s'il leur commandoit qu'ils allassent mettre en execution quelque entreprise, 94 ou tuer vn François, ou vn autre de leur nation, ils obeiroient aussi-tôt à son commandement. Aussi ilz croyent que tous les songes qu'ilz font sont veritables ; & de fait, il y en a beaucoup qui disent avoir veu & songé choses qui aviennent ou avientront : Mais pour en parler avec verité, ce sont visions du diable, qui les trompe & seduit.

Comme le Capitaine Jacques Quartier part de la riviere de Saguenay pour chercher un port, & s'arrête à Sainte-Croix : Poissons inconnus : Grandes Tortuës : Ile aux Coudres : Ile d'Orleans : Rapport de la terre du païs : Accueil des François par les Sauvages : Harangue des Capitaines Sauvages.

CHAP. XII

LAISSONS maintenant Champlain faire la *Tabagie*, & discourir avec les *Sagamos Anadabijou & Bezouât*, & allons reprendre le Capitaine Jacques Quartier, lequel nous veut mener à-mont la riviere de *Canada* jusques à Sainte-Croix, lieu de sa retraite, où nous verrons ²⁹⁹ quelle chere on lui fit, & ce qui lui avint parmi ces peuples nouveaux (j'enten nouveaux, parce qu'avant lui jamais aucun n'étoit entré seulement en cette riviere). Voici donc comme il poursuit.

Le deuxième iour de Septembre nous sortimes hors de ladite riviere pour faire le chemin vers *Canada*, & trouvames la marée fort courante & dangereuse, pour ce que devers le Su de ladite riviere y a deux iles à l'entour desquelles à plus de trois lieuës n'y a que deux ou trois brasses sémées de groz'perrons comme tonneaux & pippes, & les marées decevantes par entre lesdites iles : de sorte que cuidames y perdre nôtre gallion, sinon le secours de noz barques, & à la choïste desdits plateis (*c'est à dire, à la cheute desdits rochers*) y a de profond trente brasses & plus. Passé ladite riviere de *Saguenay* & lesdites iles, environ cinq lieuës vers le Sur-ouïest, y a vne autre ile vers le Nort, aux côtes de laquelle y a de moult hautes terres, le travers desquelles cuidames ⁹⁶ poser l'ancre pour étaller l'Ebe, & n'y peumes trouver le fond à six-vingts brasses & vn trait d'arc de terre, de sorte que fumes contraints de retourner ver ladite ile, où posames à ¹ trente-cinq brasses & beau fond.

Le lendemain au matin fimes voiles & appareillames pour passer outre, & eumes connoissance d'une sorte de poissons, desquels il n'est memoire d'hôme avoir veu, ni ouï. Lesdits poissons sont aussi gros comme *Moroux*, sâs avoir aucun estoc, & sont assez faits par le corps & tête de la façon d'un levrier, aussi ³⁰⁰ blancs comme neige, sans aucune tache, & y en a moult grand nombre dedans ledit fleuve, qui vivent entre la mer & l'eau douce. Les gens du païs les nomment *Adbothuis*, & nous ont dit qu'ilz sont fort bons à manger, & si nous ont affermé n'y en avoir en tout ledit fleuve ni païs qu'en cet endroit.

Le sixième jour dudit mois, avec bon vent, fimes courir à-mont ledit fleuve environ quinze lieuës, & vimmes poser à vne ile qui est bort à la terre du Nort, laquelle fait vne petite baye & couche de terre, à laquelle y a vn nombre inestimable de grandes tortuës, qui sont les environs d'icelle ile. Pareillement par ceux du païs se fait és environs d'icelle ile grande pécherie des *Adbothuis*

¹ The edition of 1617-18 has, *pasames*.

ci-devant écrits. Il y a aussi grand courant és environs de ladite ile, comme devant Bourdeaux, de flot & ebe. Icelle ile contient environ trois lieues de long, & deux de large, & est vne fort bonne terre & grasse, pleine de beaux & grands arbres de plusieurs sortes : & entre autres y a plusieurs Coudres franches que trouvames fort chargez de noizilles aussi grosses & de meilleure saveur ⁹⁷ que les nôtres, mais vn peu plus dures. Et par-ce la nommames *l'ile és Coudres*.

Le septième jour dudit mois, jour de nôtre Dame, apres avoir ouï la Messe, nous partimes de ladite ile pour aller à-mont ledit fleuve, & vimmes à quatorze ¹ iles qui étoient distantes de ladite ile és Coudres de sept à huit lieues, qui est ³⁰¹ le commencement de la terre & province de *Canada* : desquelles y en a vne grande environ dix lieues de long, & cinq de large, où il y a gens demourans qui font grande pécherie de tous les poissons qui sont dans ledit fleuve selon les saisons, dequoy sera fait ci-apres mention. Nous étans posez [&] à l'ancre entre icelle grande ile & la terre du Nort, fumes à terre & portames les deux hommes que nous avions prins le precedent voyage ² & trouvames plusieurs gens du pais, lesquels commencerent à fuir, & ne voulurent approcher jusques a ce que lesdits deux hommes commencerent à parler & leur dire qu'ils étoient *Taiguragni & Domagaya* : & lorsqu'ils eurent conoissance d'eux, commencerent à faire grand' chere, dansans & faisans plusieurs ceremonies, & vindrent partie des principaux à noz bateaux, lesquels nous apporterent force anguilles, & autres poissons, avec deux ou trois charges de gros mil, qui est le pain duquel ilz vivent en ladite terre, & plusieurs gros melons. Et icelle journée vindrèt à noz navires plusieurs barques dudit pais chargées de gens tant hommes que femmes pour faire chere à noz deux hommes, lesquels furent tous bien receuz par ledit Capitaine, qui les fétoya de ce qu'il peut. Et pour faire sa conoissance ⁹⁸ leur donna aucuns petits presens de peu de valeur, desquels se contenterent fort.

Le lendemain le Seigneur de *Canada* nommé *Donnacona* en nom, & l'appellant pour seigneur *Agoubanna*, vint avec deux barques accompagné de plusieurs gens devant noz navires, puis en fit retirer en arriere dix, & vint ³⁰² seulement avec deux à bord desdits navires accôpagné de seize hommes, & commença ledit *Agoubanna* le travers du plus petit de noz navires à faire vne predication & prechement à leur mode en demenant son corps & membres d'une merveilleuse sorte, qui est vne ceremonie de joye & assurance. Et lors qu'il fut arrivé à la nef generale où étoient lesdits *Taiguragny & Domagaya*, parla ledit seigneur à eux, & eux à lui, & lui commencerent à conter ce qu'ils avoient veu en France, & le bon traitement qui leur avoit été fait, dequoy fut ledit seigneur fort joyeux, & pria le Capitaine de lui bailler ses bras pour les baiser & accoller, qui est leur mode de faire chere en ladite terre. Et lors le Capitaine entra dedans la barque dudit *Agoubanna*, & commanda qu'on apportât pain & vin pour faire boire & manger ledit Seigneur & sa bende. Ce qui fut fait. Dequoy furent fort contens : & pour lors ne fut autre present fait audit Seigneur, attendant lieu & temps. Apres lesquelles choses faites se departirent les vns des autres, & prindrent congé, & se retira ledit *Agoubanna* à ses barques, pour soy retirer & aller en son lieu. Et pareillement ledit Capitaine fit apporter noz barques pour passer outre, & aller à-mont ledit fleuve avec le flot pour chercher hable & lieu de sauveté, pour mettre les navires, &

¹ The edition of 1617-18 has, *quatre*: those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

² Il n'est fait mention de ceci au precedent voyage.

fumes outre ledit fleuve environ dix lieuës côtoyans ladite ile, & au bout d'icelle trouvames vn affourc d'eau fort beau & plaisant, auquel lieu y a vne petite riviere, & hable de barre¹ marinât de deux à trois brasses, que trouvames lieu à nous propice pour mettre nosdites navires à sauveté. Nous nommames³⁰³ 99 ledit lieu SAINTE-CROIX, par ce que ledit jour y arrivames. Auprès d'icelui lieu y a vn peuple dôt est Seigneur ledit *Donnacona* & y est sa demeure, laquelle se nomme *Stadaconé*,² qui est aussi bonne terre qu'il soit possible de voir & bien fructiferante, pleine de moult beaux arbres de la nature & sorte de France, comme Chénes, Ormes, Fraines, Noyers, Pruniers, Ifs, Cedres, Vignes, Aubépines, qui portêt fruit aussi gros que prunes de Damas, & autres arbres, souz lesquels croit [d']aussi bon Chanvre que celui de France, lequel vient sans semence ni labeur. Après avoir visité ledit lieu, & trouvé être convenable, se retira ledit Capitaine & les autres dedans les barques pour retourner aux navires. Et ainsi que sortimes hors ladite riviere, trouvames au devât de nous l'vn des Seigneurs dudit peuple de *Stadaconé*, accompagné de plusieurs gens tant hommes que femmes, lequel Seigneur commença à faire vn prechement à la façon & mode du pais, qui est [de] joye & assurance, & les femmes dansoient & chantoïët sans cesse étâs en l'eau jusques aux genoux. Le Capitaine voyant leur bon amour & bon vouloir, fit approcher la barque où il étoit, & leur dôna des couteaux & petites patenotres de verre, dequoy menerent vne merveilleuse joye : de sorte que nous étâs départis d'avec eux, distans d'vne lieuë ou environ, les oyions chanter, danser, & mener fête de nôtre venuë.

¹ Hable de barre, c'est à dire, Havre qui asseche de basse mer.

² Stadaconé, c'est aujourd'hui Kebec.

304 *Retour du Capitaine Jacques Quartier à l'île d'Orleans, par lui nommée l'île de Bacchus, & ce qu'il y trouva : Balises fichées au port Sainte Croix : Forme d'alliance : Navire mis à sec pour hiverner : Sauvages ne trouvent bon que le Capitaine aille en Hochelaga : Etonnement d'iceux au courdonnement des Canons.*

CHAP. XIII

100

LA saison s'avançoit des-ja fort & pressoit le Capitaine Jacques Quartier de chercher vne retraite pour l'hiver, ce qui le faisoit hâter, se trouvant en pais inconnu, où jamais aucun Chrétien n'avoit été : puis il vouloit voir vne fin à la découverte de cette grande riviere de *Canada*, dans laquelle jamais nos mariniers n'étoient entrez, cuidans (à cause de son incroyable largeur) que ce fust vn golfe : & pour ce ledit Capitaine Quartier ne s'arrêta gueres ni en la riviere de *Saguenay*, ni és îles aux Coudres & d'Orleans (ainsi s'appelle aujourd'hui celle où il mit à terre les deux Sauvages qu'il avoit r'amené de France). Il passa donc chemin sans perdre temps, & ayant rencontré vn lieu assez commode pour loger ses navires (ainsi que nous avons n'agueres veu), il delibera de s'y arrêter. Et pour-ce retourna querir les navires qu'il avoit laissés en ladite île d'Orleans, comme nous verrons par la
305 suite de son histoire, laquelle il continuë ainsi :

Après que nous fumes arrivés avec les barques ausditz navires, & retournez de la riviere Sainte-Croix, le Capitaine commanda apprêter lesdites barques pour aller à terre à ladite île voir les arbres (qui sembloient à voir fort beaux) & la nature de la terre d'icelle. Ce qui fut fait. Et étans à ladite île, la trouvames pleine de fort beaux arbres, comme Chênes, Ormes, Pins, Cedres, & autres bois de la sorte des nôtres, & pareillement y trouvames force vignes, ce que n'avions veu par ci-devant en toute la terre. Et pource la nommames *l'île de Bacchus* : Icelle île tient de longueur environ douze lieuës, & est moult belle terre & vnie, pleine de bois, sans y avoir aucun labourage, 101
fors qu'il y a petites maisons, où ilz font pécherie, comme ci-devant est fait mention.

Le lendemain partimes avec nosditz navires pour les mener audit lieu de Sainte-Croix, & y arrivames le lendemain quatorzième dudit mois ; & vindrent au-devant de nous lesditz *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya*, avec vingt-cinq barques chargées de gens, lesquels venoient du lieu d'où étions partis, & alloient audit *Stadaconé*, où est leur demeure : & vindrent tous à noz navires faisans plusieurs signes de joye, fors les deux hommes qu'avions apporté, sçavoir *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya*, lesquels étoient tout châgez de propos & de courage, & ne voulurent entrer dans nosdits navires, nonobstant qu'ils en fussent plusieurs fois priez : dequoy eumes aucune defiance. Le Capitaine leur
306 demanda s'ilz vouloient aller (comme ilz lui avoient promis) avec lui à

Hochelaga : & ilz répondirent qu'ouy, & qu'ils étoient déliberez d'y aller : & alors chacun se retira.

Et le lendemain, quinziesme dudit mois, le Capitaine, accompagné de plusieurs de ses gens, fut à terre pour faire planter balises & merches, pour plus seurement mettre les navires à seureté. Auquel lieu trouvames & se rendirent audevant de nous grand nombre des gens du pais : & entre autres lesdits *Donnacona*, noz deux hommes & leur bende, lesquels se tindrent à part sous vne pointe de terre qui est sur le bord dudit fleuve, sans qu'aucun d'eux vint environ nous, comme les autres qui n'étoient de leur bende faisoient. Et apres que ledit Capitaine fut averti qu'ils y étoient, commanda à partie de ses gens aller avec lui, & furent vers eux souz ladite pointe, & trouverent lesdits *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya* & autres. Et apres s'être entresaluez, s'avança ledit *Taiguragni* de parler, & dit au Capitaine que ledit seigneur *Donnacona* étoit marri dont ledit Capitaine & ses gens portoient tant de batons de guerre, parce que de leur part n'en portoient nuls. Aquoy 102 répondit le Capitaine que pour sa marrison ne laisseroit à les porter, & que c'étoit la coutume de France, & qu'il le sçavoit bien. Mais pour toutes ces paroles ne laisserent lesdits Capitaine & *Donnacona* de faire grand'chere ensemble. Et lors apperceumes que tout ce que disoit ledit *Taiguragni* ne venoit que de lui & son compagnon. Car avant de¹ partir dudit lieu firent vne assurance ledit Capitaine & Seigneur de sorte merveilleuse. Car tout le 307 peuple dudit *Donnacona* ensemblement jetterent & firent trois cris à pleine voix, que c'étoit chose horrible à ouïr. Et à tant prindrent congé les vns des autres.

Le lendemain, sezième dudit mois, nous mimes noz deux plus grandes navires dedans ledit hable & riviere, où il y a de pleine mer trois brasses, & de basse eau demie-brasse, & fut laissé le gallion dedans la rade pour mener à *Hochelaga*. Et tout incontinent que lesdits navires furent audit hable [&] à sec, se trouverent devant lesdits navires lesdits *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya*, avec plus de cinq cès personnes, tât hômes, femmes qu'enfans. Et entra ledit Seigneur avec dix ou douze autres des plus grands personnages, lesquels furent par ledit Capitaine & autres fétoyez & receuz selon leur état, & leur furent dōnez aucuns petits presens : & fut par *Taiguragni* dit audit Capitaine que ledit seigneur étoit marri dont il alloit à *Hochelaga*, & que ledit seigneur ne vouloit point que lui qui parloit allat avec lui, comme il avoit promis, parce que la riviere ne valoit rien (*c'est vne façon de parler des Sauvages, pour dire qu'elle est dangereuse, comme de vérité elle est, passé le lieu de Sainte-Croix*). Aquoy fit réponse ledit Capitaine, que pour tout ce ne laisseroit d'y aller s'il luy estoit possible, parce qu'il avoit commandement du Roy son maitre d'aller au plus avant qu'il lui seroit possible : mais si ledit *Taiguragni* y vouloit aller, comme il avoit promis, qu'on lui feroit present dequoy il seroit content & grand' chere, & qu'ilz ne feroient seulement qu'aller voir *Hochelaga*, puis 308 retourner. A quoy répondit ledit *Taiguragni* qu'il n'iroit point. Lors se retirèrent en leurs maisons.

103 Le lendemain, dix-septiesme dudit mois, ledit *Donnacona* & les autres revindrent comme devant, & apporterent force anguilles & autres poissons, duquel se fait grande pécherie audit fleuve, comme sera ci-apres dit. Et lors qu'ilz furent arrivez devant nosdits navires, ilz commencerent à danser & chanter

¹ The 1617-18 edition has, *que* : the other editions as above.

comme ils avoiët de coutume. Et après qu'ils eurent ce fait, fit ledit *Donnacona* mettre tous ses gens d'un côté, & fit vn cerne sur le sablon, & y fit mettre ledit Capitaine & ses gens, puis commença vne grande harangue tenant vne fille d'environ de l'aage de dix ans en l'une de ses mains, puis la vint presenter audit Capitaine, & lors tous les gens dudit seigneur se prindrent à faire trois cris en signe de joye & alliance, puis derechef presenta deux petits garçons de moindre aage l'un apres l'autre, desquels firent telz cris & ceremonies que devant. Duquel present fut ledit Seigneur par ledit Capitaine remercié. Et lors *Taiguragni* dit audit Capitaine que la fille étoit la propre fille de la sœur dudit Seigneur, & l'un des garçons frere de lui qui parloit : & qu'on les lui donnoit sur l'intention qu'il n'allat point à *Hochelaga*. Lequel Capitaine répondit que si on les lui avoit donné sur cette intention, qu'on les reprint, & que pour rien il ne laisseroit à aller audit *Hochelaga*, par-ce qu'il avoit com-
309 mandement de ce faire. Sur lesquelles paroles *Domagaya*, compagnon dudit *Taiguragni*, dit audit Capitaine que ledit sieur luy avoit donné lesdits enfans pour bon amour, & en signe d'assurance, & qu'il étoit content d'aller avec ledit Capitaine à *Hochelaga* : dequoy eurent grosses paroles lesdits *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya*. Dont apperceumes que ledit *Taiguragni* ne valoit rien, & qu'il ne songeoit que trahison, tant par ce, qu'autres mauvais tours que lui avions veu faire. Et sur ce ledit Capitaine fit mettre lesdits enfans dedans les navires, & apporter deux épées, vn grand bassin d'airain, plain, & vn ouvré à laver les mains, & en fit present audit *Donnacona*, qui fort s'en contenta, & remercia ledit Capitaine, & commanda à tous ses gens chanter & danser : & pria le Capitaine faire tirer vne piece d'artillerie, parce que *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya* 104 lui en avoient fait fête, & aussi que iamais n'en avoient veu ni ouï. Lequel Capitaine répondit qu'il en étoit content, & commanda tirer vne douzaine de barges avec leurs boulets le travers du bois qui étoit joignant lesdits navires & hommes Sauvages ; dequoy furent tous si étonnez qu'ils pensoient que le ciel fût cheu sur eux, & se prindrent à hurler & hucher si tresfort, qu'il sembloit qu'enfer y fût vuïdé. Et auparavant qu'ilz se retirassent, ledit *Taiguragni* fit dire par interposées personnes que les compagnons du gallion, lesquels étoient en la rade, avoient tué deux de leurs gens de coups d'artillerie, dont se retirerent tous si à grand hâte qu'il sembloit que les voulussions tuer.
310 Ce qui ne se trouva verité : car durant ledit jour ne fut dudit gallion tirée artillerie.

Ruse inepte des Sauvages pour détourner le Capitaine Jacques Quartier du voyage en Hochelaga : Comme ilz figurent le diable : Depart de Champlain de Tadoussac pour aller à Sainte-Croix : Nature & rapport du país : Ile d'Orleans : Kebec : Diamans audit Kebec : Riviere de Batiscan.

CHAP. XIV

IE ne trouve point en tout ce discours le sujet pourquoy les Sauvages de Canada habitez près sainte Croix ne vouloient que le Capitaine Quartier allât en *Hochelaga*, qui est vers le saut de la grande riviere. Neantmoins je pense que c'étoient leurs ennemis, & pour ce n'avoient point ce voyage agreable : ou bien ilz craignoïent que ledit Capitaine ne les abandonnât, & allât demeurer en *Hochelaga*. Et pour ce, voyans que pour leurs beaux yeux icelui Capitaine ne vouloit point differer son entreprise, ilz s'aviserent d'une ruse grossiere (de verité) envers nous, qui sommes armez du bouclier de la foy, mais qui n'est impertinente entre eux & leurs semblables. Voici donc ce que l'Auteur en dit.

Le dix-huitième jour dudit mois de Septembre, pour nous cuider toujours empêcher d'aller à *Hochelaga*, songerent vne grande finesse, qui fut telle : ilz ³¹¹ firent habiller trois hommes en la façon de trois diables, lesquelz étoient vêtus de peaux de chiens noirs & blancs, & avoient cornes aussi longues que le bras, & étoïent peints par le visage de noir comme charbon : & les firent mettre dans vne de leurs barques à nôtre non sceu. Puis vindrent avec leur bende comme avoient de coutume auprès de noz navires, & se tindrent dedans le bois sans apparoitre environ deux heures, attendans que l'heure & marée fût venuë pour l'arrivée de ladite barque : à laquelle heure sortirent tous, & se presenterent devant nosdites navires sans eux approcher ainsi qu'ilz souloient faire. Et commença *Taiguragni* à saluer le Capitaine, lèquel luy demanda s'il vouloit avoir le bateau. À quoy lui répondit ledit *Taiguragni* que non pour l'heure, mais que tantôt il entreroit dedans lesdits navires. Et incontinent arriva ladite barque, où étoient lesditz trois hommes apparoißans être trois diables, ¹⁰⁶ ayans de grandes cornes sur leurs têtes, & faisoit celui du milieu, en venant, vn merveilleux sermon, & passerent le long de noz navires avec leurdite barque sans aucunemēt tourner leur veuë vers nous, & allerent assener & donner en terre avec leurdite barque, & tout incontinent ledit *Donnacona* & ses gens prindrent ladite barque & lesdits hommes, lesquelz s'étoient laissé choir au fond d'icelle, comme gens morts, & porterent le tout ensemble dans le bois, qui estoit distant desdites navires d'un jet de pierre, & ne demeura vne seule personne que tous ne se retirassent dedans ledit bois. Et eux étans retirez ³¹² commencerent vne predication & prechement que nous oyons ¹ de noz navires,

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *oyons*.

qui dura environ demie heure. Après laquelle sortirent lesdits *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya* dudit bois marchans vers nous ayans les mains jointes & leurs chapeaux souz leurs coudes, faisans vne grande admiration. Et commença ledit *Taiguragni* à dire & proferer par trois fois, Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, levant les yeux vers le ciel. Puis *Domagaya* commença à dire, Iesus Maria, Iacques Quartier, regardant le ciel comme l'autre. Et le Capitaine voyant leurs mines & ceremonies leur commença à demâder qu'il y avoit, & que c'étoit qui étoit survenu de nouveau; lesquelz répondirent qu'il y avoit de piteuses nouvelles, en disant, Nenni est-il bon [c'est à dire qu'elles ne sont pas bonnes]¹. Et le Capitaine leur demanda derechef que c'étoit. Et ilz lui dirent que leur dieu nommé *Cudouagni* avoit parlé à *Hochelaga*, & que les trois hommes devant-dits étoient venus de par lui leur annoncer les nouvelles, & qu'il y avoit tât de glaces & neges, qu'ilz mourroient tous. Desquelles paroles nous primmes tous à rire, & leur dire que *Cudouagni* n'étoit qu'un sot, & qu'il ne sçavoit ce qu'il disoit, & qu'ilz le dissent à ses messagers, & que Iesus les garderoit bien du froid s'ils lui vouloient croire. Et lors ledit *Taiguragni* & son cōpagnon demanderent audit Capitaine s'il avoit parlé à Iesus. Et il répondit que ses Pretres y avoient parlé, & qu'il feroit beau temps. Dequoy remercierent fort ledit Capitaine, & s'en retournerent dedans le
 313 bois dire les nouvelles aux autres, lesquels à l'instant sortirent dudit bois,² 107 feignans être joyeux desdites paroles. Et pour montrer qu'ils en étoient joyeux, tout incontinent qu'ilz furent devant les navires commencerent d'une commune voix à faire trois cris & heurlemens, qui est leur signe de joye, & se prindrent à danser & chanter comme avoient de coutume. Mais par resolution lesdits *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya* dirent audit Capitaine que ledit *Donnacoma* ne vouloit point que nul d'eux allât à *Hochelaga* avec lui s'il ne bailloit plege qui demeurât à terre avec ledit *Donnacoma*. A quoy leur répondit le Capitaine que s'ilz n'étoient deliberez y aller de bon courage, qu'ilz demeurent, & que pour eux ne lairoient mettre peine à y aller.

Or devant que nôtre Capitaine Iacques Quartier s'embarque pour faire son voyage, allons querir Champlein, lequel nous avons laissé à *Tadoussac* entretenant les Sauvages de discours Theologiques, & le conduisons jusques à Sainte-Croix, où l'ayans laissé, nous reprendrons ledit Capitaine pour nous conduire à *Hochelaga* & au saut de la grande riviere: en quoy faisant nous remarquerons paraventure avec ledit Champlein quelques particularitez que nous n'avons veuës. Car je n'estime pas qu'il y ait peu fait d'avoir remarqué & comme pontillé jusques aux petites roches & battures qui sont dans icelle riviere pour la seureté des navigâs, & à fin qu'en moins de temps ilz puissent penetrer partout, marchâs souz cette conduite comme sur un chemin tout frayé. Il dit donc.

314 Le Mercredy dix-huictième jour de Juin nous partimes de *Tadoussac* pour aller au Saut. Nous passames près d'une ile qui s'appelle l'ile du Lièvre, qui peut être à deux lieuës de la terre & bende du Nort, à quelques sept lieuës dudit *Tadoussac*, & à cinq lieuës de la terre du Su. De l'ile au Lièvre nous reengeames la côte du Nort, environ demie lieuë, jusques à vne pointe qui avance à la mer, où il faut prendre plus au large: Ladite pointe est à vne lieuë d'une ile qui s'appelle l'ile au Coudre, qui peut tenir enviro deux lieuës 108

¹ This phrase is given in all editions in square brackets.

² The other editions have, *lesquels sortirent dudit bois tout incontinent*.

de large, & de ladite ile à la terre du Nort, il y a vne lieuë. Cette ile est quelque peu vnïe, venant en amoindrissant par les deux bouts. Au bout de l'Ouest il y a des prairies & pointes de rochers qui avancent quelque peu dans la riviere. Elle est quelque peu agreable pour les bois qui l'environnent. Il y a force ardoise, & y est la terre quelque peu graveleuse ; au bout de laquelle il y a vn rocher qui avance à la mer environ demie lieuë. Nous passames au Nort de ladite ile, distante de l'île au Lièvre de douze lieuës.

Le Ieudy ensuivant nous en partimes & vimmes mouiller l'ancre à vne ane dangereuse du côté du Nort, où il y a quelques prairies, & vne petite riviere, où les Sauvages cabannent quelquefois. Cedit iour reneans toujours ladite côte du Nort, jusques à vn lieu où nous relachames pour les vens qui nous étoient contraires, où il y avoit force rochers & lieux fort dangereux, nous fumes trois jours en attendant le beau temps. Toute cette côte n'est que montagnes tant du côté du Su que du côté du Nort, la pluspart ressemblant 315 à celle du Saguenay.

Le Dimanche vingt-deuxième iour dudit mois, nous en partimes pour aller à l'île d'Orleans, où il y a quantité d'îles à la bendu du Su, lesquelles sont basses, & couvertes d'arbres, semblans estre fort agreables, contenans (selon que j'ay peu juger) les vnes deux lieuës, & vne lieuë, & autres demie : Autour de ces îles ce ne sont que rochers & basses, fort dangereux à passer, & sont éloignez quelques deux lieuës de la grand'terre du Su. Et delà vimmes 109 rerger à l'île d'Orleans du côté du Su. Elle est à vne lieuë de la terre du Nort, fort plaisante & vnïe, contenant de long huit lieuës. Le côté de la terre du Su est terre basse, quelques deux lieuës avant en terre ; lesdites terres commencent à être basses à l'endroit de ladite ile, qui peut être à deux lieues de la terre du Su. A passer du côté du Nort, il y fait fort dangereux pour les bancs de sable & rochers qui sont entre ladite ile & la grand'terre, & 109 asseche préque toute de basse mer. Au bout de ladite ile ie vis vn torrent d'eau qui débordoit de dessus vne grande montagne de ladite riviere du Canada, & dessus ladite montagne est terre vnïe & plaisante à voir, bien que dedans lesdites terres l'on voit de hautes montagnes qui peuvent estre à quelques vingt ou vingt-cinq lieuës dans les terres, qui sont proches du premier Saut du Saguenay. Nous vimmes mouiller l'ancre à *Kebec*, qui est vn détroit de ladite riviere de Canada, qui a quelque trois cens pas de large. Il y a à ce détroit du côté du Nort vne montagne assez haute qui va en abbaissant des 316 deux côtez. Tout le reste est pais vni & beau, où il y a de bonnes terres pleines d'arbres comme chênes, cyprès, boules, sapins & trembles, & autres arbres fruitiers sauvages, & vignes : qui fait qu'à mon opinion si elles étoient cultivées elles seroient bonnes comme les nôtres. Il y a le long de la côte dudit *Kebec* des diamans dans des rochers d'ardoise, qui sont meilleurs que ceux d'Alençon. Dudit *Kebec* jusques à l'île au Coudre il y a vingt-neuf lieuës.

Le Lundi vingt-troisième dudit mois nous partimes de *Kebec*, où la riviere commence à s'élargir quelquefois d'une lieuë, puis de lieuë & demie, ou deux lieuës au plus. Le pais va de plus en plus en embellissant. Ce sont toutes terres basses, sans rochers, que fort peu. Le côté du Nort est rempli de rochers & bancs de sable, il faut prendre celui du Su, comme d'une demie lieuë loin de terre. Il y a quelques petites rivières qui ne sont point navigables, si ce 110 n'est pour les canots des Sauvages, ausquelles y a grande quantité de sauts. Nous vimmes mouiller l'ancre jusques à Sainte-Croix, distante de *Kebec* de

quinze lieuës. C'est vne pointe basse qui va en haussant des deux côtéz : Le
 pais est beau & vni, & les terres meilleures qu'en lieu que j'eusse veu, avec
 quantité de bois : mais fort peu de sapins & cyprés. Il s'y trouve en quantité
 de vignes, poires, noisettes, cerises, grozelles rouges & vertes, & de certaines
 317 petites racines de la grosseur d'une petite noix, ressemblant au goust comme
 truffes, qui sont tres-bonnes roties & bouillies ; Toute cette terre est noire,
 sans aucuns rochers, sinon qu'il y a grande quantité d'ardoise : elle est fort
 tendre, & si elle étoit bien cultivée, elle seroit de bon rapport. Du côté du
 Nort il y a vne autre riviere qui s'appelle *Batiscan*, qui va fort avant en terre,
 par où quelquefois les Algoumequins viennent : & vne autre du même côté,
 à trois lieuës dudit Sainte-Croix sur le chemin de *Kebec*, qui est celle où fut
 Jacques Quartier au commencement de la découverte qu'il en fit, & ne
 passa point plus outre.

*Voyage du Capitaine Jacques Quartier à Hochelaga : Nature & fruits du païs :
 Reception des François par les Sauvages : Abondance de vignes & raisins :
 Grand lac : Rats musquez : Arrivée en Hochelaga : Merveilleuse réjouis-
 sance desdits Sauvages.*

III

CHAP. XV

VN Poëte Latin, parlant des langues & dictiones qui perissent bien souvent, & se remettent sus selon les humeurs & vsages des temps, dit fort bien,

*Multi renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque.*¹

Ainsi est-il des faits de plusieurs personnages, desquels la memoire se pert bien souvent avec les hommes & sont frustrez de la louange qui leur appartient. Et pour n'aller chercher des exemples externes, le voyage de nôtre Capitaine Jacques Quartier, depuis Sainte-Croix jusques au saut de la grande riviere, étoit inconnu en ce temps ici, les ans & les hommes (car Belleforet n'en parle point) lui en avoient ravi la louange, si bien que Champlain pensoit être le premier qui en avoit gagné le pris. Mais il faut rendre à chacun ce qui lui appartient, & suivant ce, dire que ledit Champlain a ignoré l'histoire du voyage dudit Quartier : Et neantmoins ne laisse d'estre louable en ce qu'il a fait. Mais je m'étonne que le sieur du Pont Gravé, Capitaine hantant dés long temps les Terres-neuves, & conducteur de la navigation dudit Champlain pour le sieur de Monts, ait ignoré cela. Or pour ne nous amuser, voila la description du voyage d'icelui Quartier au dessus du port de Sainte-Croix. 318

Le dix-neufième jour de Septembre nous appareillames & fimes voile avec le gallion & les deux barques pour aller avec la marée amont ledit fleuve, où trouvames à voir des deux côtez d'icelui les plus belles & meilleures terres qu'il soit possible de voir, aussi vnies que l'eau, pleines des plus beaux arbres du monde, & tant de vignes chargées de raisins le long du 112 fleuve, qu'il semble mieux qu'elles y aient été plantées de main d'homme qu'autrement. Mais pource qu'elles ne sont cultivées, ni taillées, ne sont lesdits raisins si doux, ne si gros comme les nôtres. Pareillement nous trouvames grand nombre de maisons sur la rive dudit fleuve, lesquelles sont habitées de gens qui font grande pécherie de tous bons poissons selon les 319 saisons. Et venoient en noz navires en aussi grand amour & privauté que si eussions été du païs, nous apportans force poisson & de ce qu'ils avoient, pour avoir de nôtre marchandise, tendans les mains au ciel, faisans plusieurs ceremonies & signes de joye. Et nous étans posés environ à vingt-cinq lieux

¹ Horace, en son art Poëtique.

de *Canada*, en vn lieu nommé *Achelaci*, qui est vn détroit dudit fleuve, fort courant & dangereux tant de pierres que d'autres choses, là vindrent plusieurs barques à bord, & entre autres y vint vn grand seigneur du pais, lequel fit vn grand sermon en venant & arrivant à bord, montrant par signes evidens, avec les mains & autres ceremonies, que ledit fleuve étoit vn peu plus à-mont fort dangereux, nous avertissant de nous en donner garde. Et presenta celui Seigneur au Capitaine deux de ses enfans à don, lequel print vne fille de l'age d'environ huit à neuf ans, & refusa vn petit garçon de deux ou trois ans, parce qu'il étoit trop petit. Ledit Capitaine festiva ledit Seigneur & sa bête de ce qu'il peut, & lui donna aucun petit present, duquel remercia ledit Seigneur le Capitaine, puis s'en allerent à terre. Dempuis sont venus celui Seigneur & sa femme voir leur fille jusques à *Canada*, & apporter aucun petit present au Capitaine.

Dempuis ledit jour dix-neufième jusques au vingt-huitième dudit mois nous avõs été navigans à-mont ledit fleuve, sans perdre heure ni jour, durant
 320 lequel temps avons veu & trouvé aussi beaucoup de pais & terres aussi vnies que l'on sçauroit desirer, pleines de plus beaux arbres du monde, sçavoir 113
 chênes, ormes, noyers, pins, cedres, pruches, fraines, boules, sauls, oziers, & force vignes (qui est le meilleur), lesquelles avoient si grande abondance de raisins, que les compagnons (*c'est à dire les matelots*) en venoient tout chargés à bord. Il y a pareillement force gruës, cygnes, outardes, oyes, cannes, alouettes, faisans, perdris, merles, mauvis, tourtres, chardonnerets, serins, linottes, rossignols, & autres oyseaux comme en France, & en grande abondance.

Ledit vingt-huitième de Septembre nous arrivames à vn grand lac & plaine dudit fleuve, large d'environ cinq ou six lieues, & douze de long. Et navigames ce jour à-mont ledit lac sans trouver par tout icelui que deux brasses de profond également sans hausser ni baisser. Et nous arrivans à l'vn des bouts dudit lac, ne nous apparoissoit aucun passage, ni sortie, ains nous sembloit icelui être tout clos, sans aucune riviere, & ne trouvames audit bout que brasse & demie, dont nous convint poser & mettre l'ancre hors, & aller chercher passage avec noz barques, & trouvames qu'il y a quatre ou cinq rivières toutes
 sortantes dudit fleuve en icelui lac, & venantes dudit *Hochelaga*. Mais en
 icelles ainsi sortantes y a barres & traverses faites par le cours de l'eau, où il
 n'y avoit pour lors qu'une brasse de profond, & lesdites barres passées y a
 quatre ou cinq brasses, qui étoit le temps des plus petites eaux de l'année, ainsi
 321 que vimes par les flots desdites eaux qu'elles croissent de plus de deux brasses de pic.

Toutes icelles rivières circuisent & environnent cinq ou six belles îles qui font le bout d'icelui lac, puis se rassemblēt environ quinze lieues à-mont toutes en vne. Celui jour nous fumes à l'une d'icelles, où trouvames cinq hommes qui prenoient des bêtes sauvages, lesquels vindrent aussi privément à noz barques que s'ilz nous eussent veuz toute leur vie, sans en avoir peur ni crainte. Et noz dites barques arrivées à terre, l'un d'iceux hommes print ledit Capitaine entre ses bras, & le porta à terre ainsi qu'il eust fait vn enfant de six ans, tant estoit icelui homme fort & grād. Nous leur trouvames vn grād mōceau de Rats sauvages qui vôt en l'eau, & sont gros cōme Cōnils, & bōs à merveilles à mâger, desquelz firēt present audit Capitaine, qui leur donna des couteaux & patenôtres pour recompense. Nous leur demādames par signes si c'étoit

le chemin de *Hochelaga* ; & ilz nous répondirent qu'oui : & qu'il y avoit encore trois iournées à y aller.

Le lendemain vingt-neufième de Septembre, le Capitaine, voyât qu'il n'étoit possible de pouvoir pour lors passer ledit gallion, fit avictuallier & accoutrer les barques, & mettre victuailles pour le plus de temps qu'il fût possible & que lesdites barques en peurent accueillir, & se partant avec icelles accompagné de partie des Gentils-hommes, sçavoir de Claude du Pontbriant, Echanson de Monseigneur le Dauphin, Charles de la Pommeraye, Iean Gouyon,¹ & vingt-huit mariniers, y compris Macé Ialouber & Guillaume le Breton, ayant la charge souz ledit Quartier des deux autres navires, pour aller à-mont ledit 322 fleuve au plus loin qu'il nous seroit possible. Et navigames de temps à gré
115 iusques au deuxième iour d'Octobre, que nous arrivames à *Hochelaga*, qui est distant du lieu où étoit demeuré le gallion d'environ quarante-cinq lieus.

Durant lequel temps & chemin faisans, trouvames plusieurs gens du país qui nous apportèrent du poisson & autres victuailles, dansans & menans grand' joye de nôtre venuë. Et pour les attraire & tenir en amitié avec nous leur donnoit ledit Capitaine pour recompense des couteaux, patenôtres & autres menuës hardes, dequoy se contentoient fort. Et nous arrivez audit *Hochelaga*, se rendirent audevant de nous plus de mille personnes tant hommes, femmes qu'enfans, lesquelz nous firent aussi bon recueil que jamais pere fit à enfant, menans vne joye merveilleuse. Car les hommes en vne bende dançoient, & les femmes de leur part, & leurs enfans d'autre, lesquelz nous apportoit force poisson & de leur pain fait de gros mil, lequel ilz jettoient dedans noz-dites barques, en sorte qu'il sembloit qu'il tombât de l'air. Voyant ce, le Capitaine descendit à terre accompagné de plusieurs de ses gens, et si tôt qu'il fut descendu, s'assemblerent tous sur lui & sur les autres, en faisans vne chere inestimable : & apportoit les femmes leurs enfans à brassées pour les faire toucher audit Capitaine, & és autres qui étoient en sa compagnie, en faisant vne fête qui dura plus de demie heure. Et voyant ledit Capitaine leur largesse 323 & bon vouloir, fit asseoir & ranger toutes les femmes, & leur donna certaines patenôtres d'étain & autres menuës besongnes ; & à partie des hommes des couteaux. Puis se retira à bord desdites barques pour soupper & passer la nuit : durant laquelle demeura icelui peuple sur le bord dudit fleuve, au plus près desdites barques, faisans toute nuit plusieurs feuz & danses, en disant à toutes heures *Aguiazé*, qui est leur dire du salut & joye.

¹ The edition of 1617-8 has, *Gouyon* : the others as above.

Comment les Capitaines & les Gentils-hommes de sa compagnie, avec ses mariniers bien armez & en bon ordre, allerent à la ville de Hochelaga : Situation du lieu : Fruits du país : Batimens : & maniere de vivre des Sauvages.

CHAP. XVI

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LE lendemain au plus matin le Capitaine s'accoutra, & fit mettre ses gens en ordre pour aller voir la ville & demeure dudit peuple, & vne montagne qui est jacente à ladite ville, où allerent avec ledit Capitaine les Gentils-hommes & vingt mariniers, & laissa le par-sus pour la garde des barques, & print trois hommes de ladite ville de *Hochelaga* pour les mener & conduire audit lieu. Et nous étas en chemin, le trouvames aussi battu qu'il soit possible de voir en la plus belle terre & meilleure plaine : des chénes aussi beaux qu'il y en ait en forest de France, souz lesquels estoit toute la terre couverte de glans. Et nous ayans fait environ lieuë & demie, trouvames sur le chemin l'un des principaux seigneurs de ladite ville de *Hochelaga*, avec plusieurs personnes, lequel nous fit signe qu'il se falloit reposer audit lieu près vn feu qu'ils avoient fait audit chemin. Et lors commença ledit seigneur à faire vn sermon & prechement, comme ci-devant est dit être leur coutume de faire joye & conoissance, en faisant celui seigneur chere audit Capitaine & sa compagnie, lequel Capitaine lui donna vne couple de haches & vne couple de couteaux, avec vne Croix & remembrance du Crucifix qu'il lui fit baiser, & le lui pendit au col. Dequoy il rëdit grace audit Capitaine. Ce fait marchames plus outre, & environ demie lieuë de là commëçames à trouver les terres labourées, & belles grandes campagnes pleines de blé de leurs terres, qui est comme mil de Bresil, aussi gros ou plus que pois, duquel ilz vivent ainsi que nous faisons de froment. Et au parmi d'icelles campagnes est située & assise ladite ville de *Hochelaga*, près & joignant vne montagne qui est à-l'entour d'icelle, bien labourée & fort fertile, de dessus laquelle on voit fort loin. Nous 117 nommames icelle montagne *Le Mont Royal*. Ladite ville est toute ronde, & close de bois à trois rangs, en façon d'une Pyramide croisée par le haut, ayant la rengée du parmi en façon de ligne perpendiculaire, puis rengée de bois couchez de long bien joints & cousus à leur mode, & est de la hauteur 325 d'environ deux lances. Et n'y a en icelle ville qu'une porte & entrée, qui ferme à barres, sur laquelle & en plusieurs endroits de ladite cloture y a manieres de galleries & echelles à y monter, lesquelles sont garnies de rochers & cailloux pour la garde & defense d'icelle. Il y a dans icelle ville environ cinquante maisons lōgues d'environ cinquante pas ou plus chacune, & douze ou quinze pas de large, toutes faites de bois, couvertes & garnies de grandes écorces & pelures desdits bois, aussi larges que tables, bien cousues artificiellement selon leur mode : & par dedans icelles y a plusieurs aires & chambres : & au milieu d'icelles maisons y a vne grande salle par terre où font leur feu, & vivent en

communauté, puis se retirent en leursdites chambres les hommes avec leurs femmes & enfans, & pareillement ont greniers au haut de leurs maisons où mettēt leur blé, duquel ilz font leur pain, qu'ils appellent *Caraconi*, & le font en la maniere ci-apres. Ils ont des piles de bois, comme à piler chanvre, & battent avec pilons de bois ledit blé en poudre, puis l'amassent en pâte, & en font des tourteaux, qu'ilz mettent sur vne pierre chaude, puis le couvrent
 118 de cailloux chauds, & ainsi cuisent leur pain en lieu de four. Ils font pareillement force potages dudit blé & de fèves & pois, desquels ils ont assez : & aussi de gros concombres, & autres fruits. Ils ont aussi de grands vaisseaux comme tonnes en leurs maisons, où ilz mettent leur poisson, sçavoir anguilles & autres, qui seichent à la fumée durant l'Eté, & [en] vivent en Hiver, & de ce font vn
 326 grand amas, comme avons veu par experience. Tout leur vivre est sans aucun goût de sel, & couchent sur écorces de bois étêduës sur la terre, avec méchantes couvertures de peaux, dequoy font leurs vêtements, sçavoir Loires, Biévres, Martres, Renars, Chats sauvages, Daims, Cerfs, & autres sauvagines ; mais la plus grande part d'eux sont quasi tout nuds.

La plus precieuse chose qu'ils ayent en ce mōde est *Esurngi*,¹ lequel est blanc, & le prennent audit fleuve en Cornibots en la maniere qui ensuit. Quand vn homme a deservi la mort ou qu'ilz ont prins aucuns ennemis à la guerre, ilz le tuēt, puis l'incisent par les fesses & cuisses, & par les jambes, bras & épaules à grandes taillades. Puis és lieux où est ledit *Esurngi* avallent ledit corps au fond de l'eau, & le laissent dix ou douze heures, puis le retirent à-mont, & trouvent dedans lesdites taillades & incisions lesdits Cornibots, desquelz ilz font des patenôtres, & de ce vsent comme nous faisons d'or & d'argent, & le tiennent la plus precieuse chose du monde. Il a la vertu d'étancher le sang des nazilles : car nous l'avons experimēté. Cedit peuple ne s'addōne qu'à labourage & pécherie pour vivre. Car des biens de ce monde ne font compte, parce qu'ilz n'en ont conoissance, & qu'ilz ne bougent de leur païs, & ne sont ambulatoires comme ceux de *Canada* & du *Saguenay* : non-obstant que lesdits Canadiës leur soient sujets, avec huit ou neuf autres peuples qui sont sur ledit fleuve.

¹ Voyez au liv. 6, où est parlé des ornemens des Sauvages qu'ils appellent *Matachia*.

327 *Arrivée du Capitaine Quartier à Hochelaga : Accueil & caresses à lui faites : Malades lui sont apportez pour les toucher : Mont-Royal : Saut de la grâde riviere de Canada : Etat de ladite riviere outre ledit Saut : Mines : Armures de bois, duquel vsent certains peuples : Regret de sa départie.*

CHAP. XVII

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AINSI comme fumes arrivés auprès d'icelle ville, se rendirent au devant de nous grand nombre des habitants d'icelle, lesquels à leur façon de faire nous firent bon recueil, & par noz guides & conducteurs fumes remenez au milieu d'icelle ville, où y a vne place entre les maisons spacieuse d'un jet de pierre en quarré, ou environ, lesquelz nous firêt signe que nous arretassions audit lieu : ce que nous fimes : & tout soudain s'assemblerent toutes les femmes & filles de ladite ville, dont l'une partie étoient chargez d'enfans entre leurs bras, qui nous vindrent baiser le visage, bras & autres endroits de dessus le corps où ilz pouvoient toucher, pleurans de joye de nous voir, nous faisant la meilleure chere qu'il leur étoit possible, en nous faisant signe qu'il nous pleust¹ toucher leursdits enfans. Apres ces choses faites, les hommes firent retirer les femmes, & s'assirent sur la terre à l'entour
328 de nous comme si eussions voulu iouer un mystere. Et tout incontinent revindrent plusieurs femmes qui apporterent chacune vne natte quarrée en façon de tapisserie, & les étendirent sur la terre au milieu de ladite place, & nous firêt mettre sur icelles. Apres lesquelles choses ainsi faites, fut apporté par neuf ou dix hommes le Roy & Seigneur du pais, qu'ilz appellent en leur langue *Agoubāna*, lequel estoit assis sus vne grande peau de cerf, & le vindrent poser dans ladite place sur lesdites nattes près du Capitaine, en faisant signe que c'étoit leur Seigneur. Celui *Agoubanna* étoit de l'âge d'environ cinquante ans, & n'étoit point mieux accoutré que les autres, fors qu'il avoit à l'entour de sa tête vne maniere de liziere rouge pour sa Corone,² faite de poil d'herissons, & étoit celui Seigneur tout perclus & malade de ses membres. Apres qu'il eut fait son signe de salut audit Capitaine & à ses gens, en leur faisant signes 120 evidens qu'ilz fussent les bien venus, il montra ses bras & jambes audit Capitaine, le priant les vouloir toucher, comme s'il lui eût demandé guerison & santé. Et lors le Capitaine commença à lui frotter les bras & jambes avec les mains : & print ledit *Agoubanna* la liziere & Corone qu'il avoit sur sa tête, & la donna audit Capitaine. Et tout incontinent furent amenés audit Capitaine plusieurs malades, comme aveugles, borgnes, boiteux, impotens, & gens si tres-vieux, que les paupieres des yeux leur pendoient sur les jouës : & seioient

¹ The 1617-8 edition has, *peût*, but those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

² J'ay veu à plusieurs Sauvages de tels ornemens de tête, encore qu'ils ne fussent capitaines.

& couchoïent près ledit Capitaine pour les toucher : tellement qu'il sembloit que Dieu fût là descendu pour les guerir. Ledit Capitaine voyant la pitié 329 & foy de cedit peuple, dit l'Evangile saint Jean, sçavoir l'*In principio*, faisant le signe de la Croix sur les pauvres malades, priant Dieu qu'il leur donnât connoissance de nôtre sainte Foy, & de la passion de nôtre Sauveur, & grace de recouvrer Chrétienté & Baptême. Puis print ledit Capitaine vne paire d'Heures, & tout hautement leut mot à mot la Passion de nôtre Seigneur, si que tous les assistans la peurent ouïr, où tout ce pauvre peuple fit vn grâd silence, & furent merveilleusement bien entendibles, regardans le ciel & faisant pareilles ceremonies qu'ilz nous voyoient faire. Apres laquelle fit ledit Capitaine râger tous les hommes d'vn côté, les femmes d'vn autre, & les enfans d'autre, & donna és principaux & autres des couteaux & des hachots : & és femmes des patenôtres & autres menuës choses : puis jetta parmi la place entre lesdits enfans des petites bagues & *Agnus Dei* d'étain, dequoy menerent vne merveilleuse joye. Ce fait, le Capitaine commanda sonner les trompettes & autres instrumens de Musique, dequoy ledit peuple fut fort rejoui. Apres lesquelles choses nous prîmes congé d'eux, & nous retirâmes. Voyans ce, les femmes se mirent au devant de nous pour nous arrêter & nous apportèrent de leurs vivres, lesquels ilz nous avoient apprêtez, sçavoir poisson, potages, 121 fèves, pain, & autres choses, pour nous cuider faire repaître, & diner audit lieu. Et pource que lesdits vivres n'étoient à nôtre goust, & qu'il n'y avoit gout de sel, les remercîames, leur faisons signe que n'avions besoin de repaître. 330

Après que nous fumes sortis de ladite ville, fumes conduits par plusieurs hommes & femmes d'icelle sur la montagne devant dite, qui est par nous nommée Mont-Royal, distant dudit lieu d'vn quart de lieuë. Et nous étans sur ladite montagne, eumes connoissance de plus de trente lieuës à l'environ d'icelle, dont y a vers le Nort vne rangée de montagnes, qui sont Est & Ouest gisantes, & autant vers le Su : entre lesquelles montagnes est la terre la plus belle qu'il soit possible de voir, labourable, vnie & plaine : & par le milieu desdites terres voyions ledit fleuve outre le lieu où étoient demeurées noz-dites barques, où il y a vn Saut d'eau le plus impetueux qu'il soit possible de voir, lequel ne nous fut possible de passer, & voyions ledit fleuve tant que l'on pouvoit regarder grand, large & spacieux, qui alloit au Surouest, & passoit par auprès de trois belles montagnes rondes que nous voyions, & estimions qu'elles étoient à environ quinze lieuës de nous : & nous fut dit & montré par signes par les trois hommes qui nous avoient conduit, qu'il y avoit trois itieux Sauts d'eau audit fleuve, comme celui où étoient noz-dites barques : mais nous ne peumes entendre quelle distance il y avoit entre l'vn & l'autre. Puis nous montroient que lesdits Sauts passez, l'on pouvoit naviger plus de trois lunes (*c'est à dire trois mois*) par ledit fleuve. Et là-dessus me souvient que *Donnacona*, seigneur des Canadiens, nous a dit quelquefois avoir été à vne terre, où ilz sont vne lune à aller avec leurs barques depuis *Canada* iusques à ladite 331 terre, en laquelle il y croit force canelle & girofle. Et appellant ladite canelle 122 *Adotathui*, le girofle *Canonotha*.¹ Et outre nous montroient que le long desdites môtagnes estant vers le Nort y a vne grande riviere qui descend de l'Occident comme ledit fleuve. Nous estimons que c'est la riviere qui passe par le royaume & province du *Saguenay*. Et sans que leur fissions aucune demande & signe, prindrent la chaîne du sifflet du Capitaine qui est d'argent,

¹ The edition of 1617-18 has, *Cananotha* : those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

& vn manche de poignard qui étoit de laiton jaune comme or, lequel étoit au côté de l'un de noz mariniers, & montrerent que cela venoit d'amont ledit fleuve, & qu'il y avoit des *Agojuda*, qui est à dire mauvaises gens, qui étoient armez jusques sur les doigts, nous montrans la façon de leurs armures, qui sont de cordes & bois lassez & tissus ensemble, nous donnans à entendre que lesdits *Agojuda* menioient la guerre continuelle les vns és autres : mais par défaut de langue ne peumes avoir connoissance combien il y avoit jusques audit

332 Ledit Capitaine leur montra du cuivre rouge, qu'ils appellent *Caiguedazé*, montrant vers ledit lieu, & demandant par signe s'il venoit de là. Ilz commencerent à secoüer la tête disans que non, & montrans qu'il venoit du *Saguenay*, qui est au contraire du precedent. Après lesquelles choses ainsi veuës & entenduës nous retirames à noz barques, qui ne fut sans avoir conduite de grand nombre dudit peuple, dont partie d'eux quand venoient noz gens las les chargeoient sur eux comme sur chevaux, & les portoient. Et nous arrivez à noz barques fimes voiles pour retourner à nôtre gallion pour doute qu'il n'eût aucun encombrier. Lequel partement ne fut sans grand regret dudit peuple. Car tant qu'ilz nous peurent suivre à-val ledit fleuve, ilz nous suivirent. Et tant fumes que nous arrivames à nôtre gallion le Lundi quatrième jour d'Octobre.

Retour de Jacques Quartier au port de Sainte-Croix, après avoir été à Hochelaga : Sauvages gardent les têtes de leurs ennemis : Les Toudamans, ennemis des Canadiens.

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CHAP. XVIII

LE Mardi cinquième jour dudit mois d'Octobre nous fîmes voiles, & appareillâmes avec nôtre dit gallion & barques pour retourner à la province de Canada, au port de Sainte-Croix, où étoient demeurez nosditz navires : & le septième jour nous vîmes poser le travers d'une riviere qui vient devers le Nort sortant audit fleuve, à l'entour de laquelle y a quatre petites îles, & pleines d'arbres. Nous nommâmes icelle riviere *La riviere de Fouez (ie croy qu'il veut dire Foix)*. Et pource que l'une d'icelles îles s'avance audit fleuve, & la voit-on de loin, ledit Capitaine fit planter une belle Croix sur la pointe d'icelle, & commanda apporter les barques, 333 pour aller avec marée dedans icelle riviere, pour voir le parfond & nature d'icelle. Et nagerent celui jour à-mont ledit fleuve. Mais parce qu'elle fut trouvée de nulle experience, ni profonde, retournerent, & appareillâmes pour aller à-val.

Le Lundy vnième jour d'Octobre nous arrivâmes au hable de Sainte-Croix où étoient noz navires, & trouvâmes que les Maitres & mariniers qui étoient demeurez avoient fait un Fort devant lesdits navires tout clos de grosses pieces de bois plantées debout joignant les vnes aux autres, & tout à l'entour garni d'artillerie, & bien en ordre pour se defendre contre tout le pais. Et tout incontinent que le Seigneur du pais fut averti de nôtre venuë, vint le lendemain accompagné de *Taiguragni, Domagaya*, & plusieurs autres pour voir ledit Capitaine, & lui firent une merveilleuse fête, feignans avoir grand' joye de sa venuë, lequel pareillement leur fit assez bon recueil, toutefois qu'ilz ne l'avoient pas desservi. Le Seigneur *Donnacona* pria le Capitaine d'aller le 124 lendemain voir à *Canada*. Ce que lui promit ledit Capitaine. Et le lendemain, trezième dudit mois, ledit Capitaine accompagné des Gentils-hommes & de cinquante compagnons bien en ordre, allerent voir ledit *Donnacona* & son peuple, qui est distant du lieu où étoient noz navires de demie lieuë, & se nomme leur demeure *Stadaconé*. Et nous arrivés audit lieu, vindrent les habitans au devant de nous loin de leurs maisons d'un jet de pierre, ou 334 mieux ; & là se rangerent & assirent à leur mode & façon de faire, les hommes d'une part, & les femmes de l'autre, debout, chantans & dansans sans cesse. Et apres qu'ilz s'entrefurentaluez & fait chere les uns aux autres, le Capitaine donna es hommes des couteaux & autre chose de peu de valeur, & fit passer toutes les femmes & filles pardevant lui, & leur donna à chacune une bague d'étain, dequoy ilz remercierent ledit Capitaine, qui fut par ledit *Donnacona*

& *Taiguragni* mené voir leurs maisons, lesquelles étoient bien étorées de vivres selon leur sorte pour passer leur hiver. Et fut par ledit *Donnacona* montré audit Capitaine les peaux de cinq têtes d'hommes étenduës sur des bois, comme peaux de parchemin : & nous dit que c'étoit des *Toudamans* de devers le Su, qui leur menoient continuellement la guerre. Outre nous fut dit qu'il y a deux ans passez que lesdits *Toudamans* les vindrent assaillir jusques dedans ledit fleuve à vne ile qui est le travers du *Saguenay*, où ils étoient à passer la nuit tendans aller à *Hongnedo* leur mener guerre avec environ deux cens personnes tant hommes, fêmes, qu'enfans, lesquels furent surpris en dormât dedans vn Fort qu'ils avoient fait : où mirent lesditz *Toudamans* le feu tout à l'entour, & comme ilz sortoient les tuerent tous, reservez cinq, qui échapperent. De laquelle détrousse se plaignent encore fort, nous montrans qu'ils en auroient vengeance. Apres lesquelles choses veuës nous retirames en noz navires.

Voyage de Champlain depuis le Port de Sainte-Croix jusques au Saut de la grande riviere, où sont remarquées les rivières, îles, & autres choses qu'il a découvertes audit voyage : & particulièrement la riviere, le peuple, & le país des Iroquois.

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CHAP. XIX

PAR le rapport des quatre derniers chapitres nous avons vu que (contre l'opinion de Champlain) le Capitaine Iacques Quartier a penetré dans la grande riviere jusques où il est possible d'aller. Car de gagner le dessus du Saut, qui dure vne lieuë, tombant toujours ladite riviere en precipices & parmi les roches, il n'y a pas de moyen avec bateaux. Aussi le même Champlain ne l'a point fait : & ne recite point de plus grandes merveilles de cette riviere que ce que nous avons entendu par le recit dudit Quartier. Mais il ne nous faut pas pourtant negliger ce qu'il nous en a laissé par écrit. Car on pourroit paraventure accuser iceluy Quartier d'avoir fait à croire ce qu'il auroit voulu, & par le temoignage & rapport d'un qui ne sçavoit point la verité de ses découvertes la chose sera mieux confirmée. Car *En la bouche de deux ou trois témoins toute parole sera resoluë & arretée.*¹ Joint qu'en vn voyage de quelques deux cens lieuës qu'il y a depuis Sainte-Croix jusques audit Saut, ledit Champlain a remarqué des choses à quoy ledit Quartier n'a pas pris garde. Oyons donc ce qu'il dit en la relation de son voyage.

Le Mercredy vingt-quatrième jour du mois de Juïn, nous partimes dudit Sainte-Croix, où nous retardames vne marée & demie, pour le lendemain pouvoir passer de jour, à-cause de la grande quantité de rochers qui sont au travers de ladite riviere (chose étrange à voir), qui asseche préque toute de² basse mer : Mais à demi flot, l'on peut commencer à passer librement, toutefois il faut y prendre bien garde, avec la sonde à la main. La mer y croit près de trois brasses & demie. Plus nous allions en avant & plus le país est beau : nous fumes à quelques cinq lieuës & demie mouiller l'ancre à la bende du Nort. Le mercredi ensuivant nous partimes de cedit lieu, qui est país plus plat que celui de devât, plein de grande quantité d'arbres comme à Sainte-Croix : Nous passames près d'une petite île qui étoit remplie de vignes, & vimmes mouiller l'ancre à la bende du Su, près d'un petit côleau : mais étant dessus, ce sont terres vnies. Il y a vne autre petite île à trois lieues de Sainte-Croix, proche de la terre du Su. Nous partimes le Jeudi ensuivant dudit côleau, & passames près d'une petite île que est proche de la bende du Nort, où ie fus à quelques six petites rivières, dont il y en a deux qui peuvent porter bateaux

¹ Deut. xix. vers. 15.

² The editions of 1611-12 and 1617-18 have, *la* : that of 1609 and Champlain as above.

assez avant, & vne autre qui a quelque trois cens pas de large : à son entrée
 337 il y a quelques iles, & va fort avâť dans terre. C'est la plus creuse de toutes
 les autres, lesquelles sont fort plaisantes à voir, les terres étans pleines d'arbres
 qui ressemblent à des noyers, & en ont la même odeur, mais ie n'y ay point
 veu de fruit, ce qui me met en doute. Les Sauvages m'ont dit qu'il porte son
 fruit comme les nôtres. Passant plus outre, nous rencontrames vne ile, qui
 s'appelle *Saint Eloy*, & vne autre petite ile, laquelle est tout proche de la terre
 du Nort. Nous passames entre ladite ile & ladite terre du Nort, où il y a de
 l'vne à l'autre quelques cent cinquante pas. De ladite ile jusques à la bande
 du Su vne lieuë & demie passames proche d'vne riviere, où peuvent aller les
 Canots. Toute cette côte du Nort est assez bonne. L'on y peut aller libre-
 ment, neantmoins la sonde à la main, pour eviter certaines pointes. Toute
 cette côte que nous rengineames est sable mouvant, mais entrant quelque peu
 dans les bois la terre est bonne. Le Vendredi ensuivant nous partimes de
 cette ile, côtoyans toujours la bende du Nort tout proche terre, qui est basse,
 & pleine de tous bons arbres, & en quantité jusques aux trois rivieres, où il 127
 commence d'y avoir temperature de temps, quelque peu dissemblable à celuy
 de Sainte-Croix, d'autant que les arbres y sont plus avancez qu'en aucun lieu
 que j'eusse encore veu. Des trois rivieres jusques à Sainte-Croix il y a quinze
 lieuës. En cette riviere il y a six iles, trois desquelles sont fort petites, & les
 338 autres de quelque cinq à six cens pas de long, fort plaisantes & fertiles pour
 le peu qu'elles cottiennêt. Il y en a vne au milieu de ladite riviere qui regarde
 le passage de celle de *Canada*, & commande aux autres éloignées de la terre,
 tant d'vn côté que d'autre de quatre à cinq cens pas. Elle est élevée du côté
 du Su, & va quelque peu en baissant du côté du Nort : Ce seroit à mon
 jugement vn lieu propre pour habiter, & pourroit-on le fortifier promptement,
 car sa situation est forte de soy, & proche d'vn grand lac qui n'en est qu'à
 quelques quatre lieuës, lequel préque joint la riviere du *Saguenay*, selon le
 rapport des Sauvages qui vont prés de cent lieuës au Nort, & passent nombre
 de Sauts, puis vont par terre quelques cinq ou six lieuës, & entrent dedans
 vn lac, d'où ledit *Saguenay* prend la meilleure part de sa source, & lesdits
 Sauvages viennent dudit lac à *Tadoussac*. Aussi que l'habitation des trois
 rivieres seroit vn bien pour la liberté de quelques nations qui n'osent venir par
 là, à-cause desdits *Iroquois* leurs ennemis, qui tiennent toute la riviere de
Canada bordée : mais étât habité, on pourroit rendre lesdits *Iroquois* & autres
 Sauvages amis, ou à tout le moins souz la faveur de ladite habitation lesdits 128
 Sauvages viendroient librement sans crainte & danger, d'autant que ledit lieu
 des trois rivieres est vn passage. Toute la terre que ie veis à la terre du Nort
 est sablonneuse. Nous entrames environ vne lieuë dans ladite riviere, & ne
 peumes passer plus outre, à-cause du grand courant d'eau. Avec vn esquif
 339 nous fumes pour voir plus avant, mais nous ne fimes pas plus d'vne lieuë que
 nous rencontrames vn Saut d'eau fort étroit, comme de douze pas, ce qui
 fut occasion que nous ne peumes passer plus outre. Toute la terre que ie
 vis aux bords de ladite riviere va en haussant de plus en plus, qui est remplie
 de quantité de sapins & cyprez, & fort peu d'autres arbres.

Le Samedi ensuivant nous partimes des trois rivieres & vimmes mouiller
 l'ancre à vn lac où il y a quatre lieuës. Tout ce país depuis les trois rivieres
 jusques à l'entrée dudit lac, est terre à fleur d'eau, & du côté du Su quelque
 peu plus haute. Ladite terre est tres-bonne & la plus plaisante que nous

eussions encores veuë ; les bois y sont assez clairs, qui fait que l'on les pourroit traverser aisément. Le lèdemain, vingt-neufième de Juin, nous entrâmes dans le lac, qui a quelque quinze lieuës de long, & quelques sept ou huit lieuës de large. A son entrée du côté du Su, environ vne lieuë, il y a vne riviere qui est assez grâde, & va dans les terres quelques soixante ou quatre-vingts lieuës, & continuant du même côté il y a vne autre petite riviere qui entre environ deux lieuës en terre, & sort de dedans vn autre petit lac qui peut contenir
 129 quelques trois ou quatre lieuës. Du côté du Nort, où la terre y paroist fort haute, on voit iusques à quelques vingt lieuës, mais peu à peu les montagnes viennent en diminuant vers l'Oüest comme pais plat. Les Sauvages disent que la pluspart de ces montagnes sont mauvaises terres. Ledit lac a quelques trois brasses d'eau par où nous passâmes, qui fut préque au milieu. La longueur git d'Est & Ouest, & la largeur du Nort au Su. Je croy qu'il ne
 340 laisseroit d'y avoir de bons poissons, côme les especes que nous avons pardeça. Nous le traversâmes en ce même jour & vimmes mouiller l'ancre environ deux lieuës dans la riviere qui va au haut, à l'entrée de laquelle il y a trente petites îles ; selon ce que j'ay peu voir, les vnes sont de deux lieuës, d'autres de lieuë & demie, & quelques vnes moindres, lesquelles sont rēplies de quantité de Noyers, qui ne sont gueres differens de[s] nôtres, & croy que les noix en sont bonnes en leur saison. L'en vis en quantité souz les arbres, qui étoient de deux façons, les vnes petites & les autres longues, comme d'vn pouce, mais elles étoient pourries. Il y a aussi quātité de vignes sur le bord desdites îles ; mais quand les eaux sont grandes, la pluspart d'icelles sont couvertes d'eau ; & ce pais est encore meilleur qu'aucun autre que j'eusse veu. Le dernier de Juin nous en partîmes, & vimmes passer à l'entrée de la riviere des *Iroquois*, où étoient cabannez & fortifiez les Sauvages qui leur alloient faire la guerre. Leur forteresse est faite de quantité de batons fort pressez les vns contre les autres, laquelle vient joindre d'vn côté sur le bord de la grand'riviere, & l'autre sur le bord de la riviere des *Iroquois*, & leurs canots arrangez les vns contre les autres sur le bord, pour pouvoir promptemēt fuir, si d'aventure ils sont surprins des *Iroquois* : car leur forteresse est couverte d'écorce de chénes, & ne leur sert que pour avoir le temps de s'embarquer. Nous fumes dans la riviere des *Iroquois* quelques cinq ou six lieuës, & ne peumes passer plus
 341
 130 outre avec nôtre barque, à-cause du grand cours d'eau qui descend, & aussi que l'on ne peut aller par terre & tirer la barque pour la quantité d'arbres qui sont sur le bord. Voyans ne pouvoir avancer davantage, nous primmes nôtre esquif, pour voir si le courant étoit plus addoucy, mais allant à quelques deux lieuës, il étoit encores plus fort, & ne peumes avancer plus avant. Ne pouvans faire autre chose, nous-nous en retournâmes en nôtre barque. Toute cette riviere est large de quelques trois à quatre cens pas, fort saine. Nous y vimmes cinq îles, distantes les vnes des autres d'vn quart ou demie lieuë, ou d'vne lieuë au plus : vne desquelles contient vne lieuë, qui est la plus proche ; & les autres sont fort petites. Toutes ces terres sont couvertes d'arbres, & terres basses, comme celles que j'avois veu auparavant, mais il y a plus de sapins & cyprez qu'aux autres lieux. La terre ne laisse d'y estre bonne bien qu'elle soit quelque peu sablonneuse. Cette riviere va comme au Suroüest. Les Sauvages disent, qu'à quelques quinze lieuës d'où nous avons esté, il y a vn saut qui viēt de fort haut, où ilz portent leurs Canots pour le passer environ vn quart de lieuë, & entrent dedans vn lac, où à l'entrée il y a trois îles ; &

étans dedans, ils en rencontrent encores quelques-vnes. Il peut contenir quelques quarante ou cinquante lieuës de long, & de large quelques vingt-cinq lieuës, dans lequel descendent quantité de rivières jusques au nombre
 342 de dix, lesquelles portent canots assés avant. Puis venant à la fin dudit lac, il y a vn autre saut, & rentrent dedans vn autre lac, qui est de la grandeur dudit premier, au bout duquel sont cabannez les *Iroquois*. Ilz disent aussi qu'il y a vne rivière qui va rendre à la côte de la Floride, d'où il y peut avoir dudit dernier lac quelques cēt [ou cent quarante] lieuës. Tout le pais des *Iroquois* est quelque peu montagneux, neantmoins tres-bon, temperé, sans beaucoup d'hiver, que fort peu.

Arrivée au Saut : Sa description, & ce qui s'y void de remarquable : Avec le rapport des Sauvages touchant la fin ou plustot l'origine de la grande riviere.

CHAP. XX

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A V partir de la riviere des *Iroquois*, nous fumes mouiller l'ancre à trois lieues de là, à la bendu du Nort. Tout ce pais est vne terre basse, remplie de toutes les sortes d'arbres que j'ay dit ci-dessus. Le premier jour de Juillet nous côtoyâmes la bendu du Nort, où le bois y est fort clair plus qu'en aucun lieu que nous eussions encores veu auparavant, & toute bonne terre pour cultiver. Je me mis dans vn canot à la bendu du Su, où ie vis quantité d'îles, lesquelles sont fort fertiles en fruits, comme Vignes, Noix, Noizettes, & vne maniere de fruit qui semble à des Chataignes, 343 Cerises, Chênes, Tremble, Pible, Houblon, Frene, Erable, Hetre, Cyprez, fort peu de Pins & Sapins : il y a aussi d'autres arbres que ie ne conois point, lesquels sont fort agreables. Il s'y trouve quantité de Fraizes, Framboises, Grozelles rouges, vertes & bleuës, avec force petits fruits qui y croissent parmi grande quantité d'herbages. Il y a aussi plusieurs bêtes sauvages, comme Orignacs, Cerfs, Biches, Daims, Ours, Porc-epics, Lapins, Renards, Castors, Loutres, Rats musquets, & quelques autres sortes d'animaux que ie ne conois point, lesquels sont bons à manger, & dequoy vivent les Sauvages. Nous passâmes contre vne ile qui est fort agreable, & contiët quelques quatre lieuës de long, & environ demie de large. Je vis à la bendu du Su deux hautes montagnes, qui paroisoient comme à quelques vingt lieues dans les terres.

132 Les Sauvages me dirent que c'étoit le premier saut de ladite riviere des *Iroquois*. Le Mercredi ensuivant nous partîmes de ce lieu, & fîmes quelques cinq ou six lieues, nous vîmes quantité d'îles. La terre y est fort basse, & sont couvertes de bois, ainsi que celles de la riviere des *Iroquois*. Le jour ensuivant nous fîmes quelques lieuës, & passâmes aussi par quâtité d'autres îles qui sont tres-bônes & plaisantes, pour la quantité des prairies qu'il y a, tant du côté de terre ferme que des autres îles : & tous les bois y sont fort petits, au regard de ceux que nous avions passé. En fin nous arrivâmes cedit jour à l'entrée du saut, avec vent en poupe, & rencontrâmes vne ile qui est préque au milieu 344 de ladite entrée, laquelle contient vn quart de lieuë de long, & passâmes à la bendu du Su de ladite ile, où il n'y avoit que trois à quatre ou cinq pieds d'eau, & aucunes-fois vne brasse ou deux, & puis tout à vn coup nous n'en trouvions que trois ou quatre pieds. Il y a force rochers, & petites îles, où il n'y a point de bois, & sont à fleur d'eau. Du commencement de la susdite ile, qui est au milieu de ladite entrée, l'eau commence à venir de grande force : bien que nous eussions le vêt fort bon, si ne peumes nous en toute nôtre puissance beaucoup avancer ; toutefois nous passâmes ladite ile qui est à l'entrée dudit saut. Voyans que nous ne pouvions avancer, nous vîmes mouiller l'ancre

à la bende du Nort, contre vne petite ile qui est fertile en la plus-part des fruits que l'ay dit ci-dessus : Nous appareillames aussi tôt nôtre esquif, que l'on avoit fait faire exprès pour passer ledit saut : dans lequel nous entrames ledit sieur du Pont & moy, avec quelques autres Sauvages que nous avions menez pour nous montrer le chemin. Partans de nôtre barque, nous ne fumes pas à trois cens pas qu'il nous fallut descendre, & quelques Matelots se mettre à l'eau pour passer nôtre esquif. Le canot des Sauvages passoit aisémēt. Nous rencōtrames vne infinité de petits rochers qui étoient à fleur d'eau, où nous touchions souvente fois, & des iles en grand nôbre, grandes & petites, voire si grand, qu'on ne les peut à peine conter, lesquelles passées il y a vne maniere de lac, où sôt toutes ces iles, lequel peut contenir quelques cinq lieuës de long, & 345 & préque autant de large, où il y a quantité de petites iles qui sont rochers. Il y a proche dudit saut vne montagne qui decouvre assez loin dans lesdites terres, & vne petite riviere qui vient de ladite montagne tomber dans le lac. L'on voit du côté du Su quelques trois ou quatre montagnes qui paroissent comme à quelques quinze ou seize lieuës dans les terres. Il y a aussi deux rivières, l'une qui va au premier lac de la riviere des *Iroquois*, par où quelquefois les *Algonmequins* leur vont faire la guerre, & l'autre qui est proche du saut qui va quelque peu dans les terres. Venans à approcher dudit saut avec nôtre petit esquif & le canot, je vous assure que jamais je ne vis vn torrent d'eau déborder avec vne telle impetuosité comme il fait, bien qu'il ne soit pas beaucoup haut, n'étant en d'aucuns lieux que d'une brasse ou de deux, & au plus de trois : il descend comme de degré en degré, & en chaque lieu où il y a quelque peu de hauteur il s'y fait un ébouillement étrange de la force & roideur que va l'eau en traversant ledit saut, qui peut contenir vne lieuë : il y a force rochers de large, & environ le milieu il y a des iles qui sont fort étroites & fort longues, où il y a saut tant du côté desdites iles qui sont au Su, comme du côté du Nort, où il fait si dangereux, qu'il est hors de la puissance d'hommes d'y passer vn bateau, pour petit qu'il soit. Nous fumes 134 par terre dans les bois pour en voir la fin, où il y a vne lieuë, & où l'on ne voit plus de rochers ni de sauts, mais l'eau y va si vite qu'il est impossible de 346 plus ; & ce courant contient quelques trois ou quatre lieuës. Outre ce saut premier, il y en a dix autres, la plupart difficiles à passer : de façon que ce seroit de grandes peines & travaux pour pouvoir voir, & faire ce que l'on pourroit se promettre par bateau, si ce n'étoit à grands fraiz & dépens, & encores en danger de travailler en vain : mais avec les canots des Sauvages l'on peut aller librement & promptement en toutes les terres, tant aux petites rivières comme aux grandes : Si bien qu'en se gouvernant par le moyen desdits Sauvages & de leurs canots, l'on pourra voir tout ce qui se peut, bon & mauvais, dans vn an ou deux. Tout ce peu de païs du côté dudit saut que nous traversames par terre, est bois fort clair, où l'on peut aller aisément avec armes sans beaucoup de peine : l'air y est plus doux & temperé, & de meilleure terre qu'en lieu que j'eusse veu, où il y a quantité de bois & fruits, comme en tous les autres lieux ci-dessus, & est par les quarante-cinq degrés & quelques minutes. Voyans que nous ne pouvions faire davantage, nous en retournames en nôtre barque, où nous interrogeames les Sauvages que nous avions, de la fin de la riviere, que ie leur fis figurer de la main, & de quelle partie procedoit sa source. Ilz nous dirent que passé le premier saut que nous avions veu, ilz faisoient quelques dix ou quinze lieuës avec leurs canots dedans la riviere, où il y a vne

riviere qui va en la demeure des *Algoumequins*, qui sont à quelques soixante lieues
 éloignez de la grande riviere ; & puis ilz venoient à passer cinq sauts, lesquels
 peuvent contenir du premier au dernier huit lieues, desquels il y en a deux 347
 135 où ilz portent leurs canots pour les passer, chaque saut peut tenir quelque
 demi quart de lieue, ou vn quart au plus. Et puis ilz viennent dedans vn lac
 qui peut tenir quelques quinze ou seize lieues de long. De-là ilz rentrent
 dedans vne riviere, qui peut contenir vne lieuë de large, & font quelques deux
 lieues dedans, & puis r'entrent dedans vn autre lac de quelques quatre ou cinq
 lieues de long ; venant au bout duquel ilz passent cinq autres sauts, distans
 du premier au dernier quelques vingt-cinq ou trente lieues, dont il y en a
 trois où ilz portent leurs canots pour les passer, & les autres deux ilz ne les
 font que trainer dedans l'eau, d'autant que le cours n'y est si fort ne mauvais
 comme aux autres. De tous ces sauts aucun n'est si difficile à passer comme
 celui que nous avons veu. Et puis ilz viennent dedans vn lac qui peut tenir
 quelque quatre-vingts lieues de long, où il y a quâtité d'iles, & qu'au bout
 d'icelui l'eau y est salubre, & l'hiver doux. A la fin dudit lac ilz passent vn
 saut, qui est quelque peu élevé, où il y a peu d'eau, laquelle descend : là ilz
 portent leurs canots par terre environ vn quart de lieuë pour passer ce saut.
 De là entrent dans vn autre lac qui peut tenir quelques soixante lieuës de long,
 & que l'eau en est fort salubre. Etâs à la fin ilz viënent à vn détroit qui cõtient
 deux lieuës de large, & va assez avât dâs les terres : Qu'ilz n'avoïët point
 passé plus outre, & n'avoïët veu la fin d'vn lac qui est à quelque quize ou seize
 lieuës d'où ils ont été, ni que ceux qui leur avoient dit eussent veu hõme qui 348
 l'eust veu, d'autant qu'il est si grand, qu'ilz ne se hazarderõt pas de se mettre
 au large, de peur que quelque tourmente, ou coup de vent, ne les surprint :
 Disent qu'en été le Soleil se couche au Nort dudit lac, & en l'hiver il se couche
 comme au milieu : que l'eau y est tres-mauvaise, comme celle de cette mer.
 136 Ie leur demanday, si depuis cedit lac dernier qu'ils avoient veu, l'eau descendoit
 toujours dans la riviere venant à *Gachepé* : ilz me dirent que non, que depuis
 le troisième lac, elle descendoit seulement venant audit *Gachepé*, mais que
 depuis le dernier saut, qui est quelque peu haut, comme j'ay dit, que l'eau
 étoit préque pacifique, & que ledit lac pouvoit prendre cours par autres rivières,
 lesquelles vont dedans les terres, soit au Su ou au Nort, dont il y en a quantité
 qui y refluent, & dont ilz ne voyent point la fin.

Retour du Saut à Tadoussac, avec la confrontation du rapport de plusieurs Sauvages touchant la longueur & commencement de la grande riviere de Canada : Du nombre des Sauts & Lacs qu'elle traverse.

CHAP. XXI

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349 **N**OUS partimes dudit lac le Vendredi quatrième jour de Juillet, & revimmes cedit iour à la riviere des *Iroquois*. Le Dimanche ensuivant nous en partimes, & vimmes mouiller l'ancre au lac. Le Lundi ensuivant nous fumes mouiller l'ancre aux trois rivières. Cedit jour nous fimes quelques quatre lieuës pardela lesdites trois rivières. Le Mardi ensuivant nous vimmes à *Kebec*, & le lendemain nous fumes au bout de l'île d'Orléans, où les Sauvages vindrent à nous, qui étoient cabannez à la grand' terre du Nort. Nous interrogeames deux ou trois *Algoumequins*, pour sçavoir s'ilz se conformeroient avec ceux que nous avions interrogez touchant la fin & le commencement de ladite riviere de *Canada*. Ilz dirent, comme ilz l'ont figuré, que passé le saut que nous avions veu, environ deux ou trois lieues, il y a vne riviere en leur demeure, qui est à la bende du Nort, continuant le chemin dans ladite grande riviere, ilz passent vn saut, où ilz portent leurs canots, & viennent à passer cinq autres sauts, lesquels peuvent contenir, du premier au dernier, quelques neuf ou dix lieues, & que lesdits sauts ne sont point difficiles à passer, & ne font que trainer leurs canots en la pluspart desdits sauts, horsmis à deux où ilz les portent. De-là viennent à entrer dedans vne riviere, qui est comme vne maniere de lac, laquelle peut contenir quelque six ou sept lieuës, & puis passent cinq autres sauts, où ilz trainent leurs canots comme ausdits premiers, horsmis à deux, où ilz les portent comme aux premiers, & que du premier au dernier il y a quelques vingt ou 350 vingt-cinq lieuës : puis viennent dedans vn lac qui contient quelques cent 138 cinquante lieuës de long ; & quelques quatre ou cinq lieues à l'entrée dudit lac, il y a vne riviere qui va aux *Algoumequins* vers le Nort : Et vne autre qui va aux *Iroquois*, par où lesdits *Algoumequins* & *Iroquois* se font la guerre. Et vn peu plus haut, à la bende du Su dudit lac, il y a vne autre riviere qui va aux *Iroquois* : puis venât à la fin dudit lac, ilz rencontrent vn autre saut, où ils portent leurs canots : de là ils entrent dedans vn autre tres-grand lac, qui peut contenir autant comme le premier. Ilz n'ont été que fort peu dans ce dernier ; & ont ouï dire qu'à la fin dudit lac il y a vne mer, dont ilz n'ont veu la fin, ne ouï dire qu'aucun l'ait veüe. Mais que là où ils ont été, l'eau n'est point mauvaise, d'autant qu'ilz n'ont point avancé plus haut, & que le cours de l'eau vient du côté du So il couchant venant à l'Orient, & ne sçavent si passé ledit lac qu'ils ont veu, il y a autre cours d'eau qui aille du côté de l'Occident ; que le Soleil se couche à main droite dudit lac, qui est selon mon iugement au Noroüest, peu plus ou moins, & qu'au premier lac

l'eau ne gele point, ce qui fait iuger que le temps y est temperé, & que toutes les terres des *Algoumequins* est terre basse, remplie de fort peu de bois, & du côté des *Iroquois* est terre montagneuse, neantmoins elles sont tresbonnes & fertiles, & meilleures qu'en aucun endroit qu'ils ayent veu. Lesdits *Iroquois* se tiennent à quelques cinquante ou soixante lieuës dudit grand lac. Voilà au certain ce qu'ilz m'ont dit avoir veu, qui ne differe que bien peu au rapport des premiers.

Cedit jour nous fumes proches de l'île au Coudre, comme environ trois lieuës. Le Jeudi dixième dudit mois, nous vimmes à quelque lieuë & demie ³⁵¹ de l'île au Lièvre, du côté du Nort, où il vint d'autres Sauvages en nôtre barque, entre lesquels il y avoit vn jeune homme *Algoumequin* qui avoit fort voyagé dedans ledit grand lac. Nous l'interrogeames fort particulièrement comme nous avions fait les autres Sauvages. Il nous dit, que passé ledit saut que nous aviôs veu, à quelques deux ou trois lieuës, il y a vne riviere qui va ausdits *Algoumequins*, où ilz sont cabannez, & qu'allant en ladite grande riviere il y a cinq sauts, qui peuvent contenir du premier au dernier quelques huit ou neuf lieuës, dont il y en a trois où ilz portent leurs canots, & deux autres où ilz les traînent : que chacun desdits sauts peut tenir vn quart de lieuë de long, puis viennent dedans vn lac qui peut contenir quelque quinze lieuës. Puis ilz passent cinq autres sauts, qui peuvent contenir du premier au dernier quelques vingt à vingt-cinq lieuës, où il n'y a que deux desdits sauts qu'ilz passent avec leurs canots, aux autres trois ilz ne les font que trainer. De-là ils entrent dedans vn grandissime lac, qui peut contenir quelques trois cens lieuës de long. Avançant quelques cent lieuës dedans ledit lac, ilz rencontrent vne île qui est fort grande, où au delà de ladite île, l'eau est salubre ; mais que passant quelques cent lieuës plus avant, l'eau est encore plus mauvaise : Arrivant à la fin dudit lac, l'eau est du tout salée : Qu'il y a vn saut qui peut contenir vne lieuë de large, d'où il descêd vn grandissime courant d'eau dans ledit lac. Que passé ce saut, on ne voit plus de terre, ni d'vn côté ni d'autre, ³⁵² sinon vne mer si grande qu'ilz n'en ont point veu la fin, ni oui dire qu'aucun l'ait veuë : Que le Soleil se couche à main droite dudit lac, & qu'à son entrée il y a vne riviere qui va aux *Algoumequins*, & l'autre aux *Iroquois*, par où ilz se font la guerre. Que la terre des *Iroquois* est quelque peu montagneuse, neantmoins fort fertile, où il y a quantité de blé d'Inde, & autres fruits qu'ilz n'ont point en leur terre. Que la terre des *Algoumequins* est basse & fertile. Le leur demanday s'ilz n'avoient point connoissance de quelques mines. Ilz nous dirent, qu'il y a vne nation qu'on appelle les bons *Iroquois*, qui viennent ¹⁴⁰ pour troquer des marchandises que les vaisseaux François donnent aux *Algoumequins*, lesquelz disent qu'il y a à la partie du Nort vne mine de franc cuivre, dont ilz nous en ont montré quelques brasselets qu'ils avoient eu desdits bons *Iroquois* : Que si l'on y vouloit aller, ils y meneroient ceux qui seroient deputez pour cet effet. Voila tout ce que j'ay peu apprendre des vns & des autres, ne se differans que bien peu, sinon que les seconds qui furent interrogez dirêt n'avoir point beu de l'eau salée, aussi ilz n'ont pas été si loin dans ledit lac comme les autres : & different quelque peu de chemin, les vns le faisans plus court, & les autres plus long : De façon que, selon leur rapport, du saut où nous avons été, il y a jusques à la mer salée, qui peut être celle du Su, quelques quatre cens lieuës. Le Vendredi onzième dudit mois, nous fumes de retour à *Tadoussac*, où étoit nôtre vaisseau, le 16. iour apres la departie.

Description de la grande riviere de Canada, & autres qui s'y deschargent : Des peuples qui habitent le long d'icelle : Des fruits de la terre : Des bêtes & oyseaux : & particulièrement d'une bête à deux piez : Des poissons abondans en ladite grande riviere.

CHAP. XXII

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APRES avoir parcouru la grande riviere de *Canada* jusques au premier & grand saut, & r'amené noz voyageurs vn chacun en son lieu, sçavoir le Capitaine Iacques Quartier au port Sainte Croix, & Champlein à *Tadoussac*, il est besoin, vtile & necessaire de sçavoir le comportement de noz François, ce qui leur arriva, & leurs diverses fortunes durant vn hiver & vn prin-temps ensuivant qu'ilz passerent audit port Sainte-Croix. Et quant audit Champlein, nous-nous contenterons de le r'amener de *Tadoussac* en France (par-ce qu'il n'a point hiverné en ladite riviere de *Canada*) apres que nous aurons combattu le *Gougou*, & dissipé les Chimeres des Armouchiquois.

354 Mais avant que ce faire, nous reciterons ce que ledit Capitaine Quartier rapporte en general des merveilles du grand fleuve de *Canada* : ensemble de la riviere de *Saguenay*, & de celle des Iroquois, afin de cōfronter le discours qu'il en fait avec ce qu'en a écrit ledit Champlein, duquel nous avons rapporté les paroles ci-dessus.

Ledit fleuve donc (ce dit-il) commence (passée l'île de l'Assumption) le travers des hautes montagnes de *Hongnedo* & des sept îles : & y a de distance en travers trente-cinq ou quarante lieuës, & y a au parmi plus de deux cens brasses de parfond. Le plus parfond, & le plus seur à naviger est du côté devers le Su, & devers le Nort, sçavoir esdites sept îles y a d'vn côté & d'autre, environ sept lieuës loin desdites îles, des grosses rivières qui descendent des monts du *Saguenay*, lesquelles font plusieurs bancs à la mer fort dangereux. 142 A l'entrée desdites rivières avons veu grand nombre de Baillames & Chevaux de mer.

Le travers desdites îles y a vne petite riviere qui va trois ou quatre lieuës en la terre pardessus les marais, en laquelle y a vn merveilleux nombre de tous oyseaux de riviere. Depuis le commencement dudit fleuve jusques à *Hochelaga* y a trois cens lieuës & plus : & ¹ le commencement d'icelui à la riviere qui vient du *Saguenay*, laquelle sort d'entre hautes montagnes, & entre dedans ledit fleuve auparavant qu'arriver à la province de *Canada*, de la bende devers le Nort. Et est icelle riviere fort profonde, étroite & dangereuse à naviger.

355 Apres ladite riviere est la province de *Canada*, où il y a plusieurs peuples par villages non clos. Il y a aussi és environs dudit *Canada* dedans ledit fleuve plusieurs îles tant grandes que petites. Et entre autres y en a vne qui contient plus de dix lieuës de lōg, laquelle est pleine de beaux & grans arbres, & force vignes. Il y a passage des deux côtez d'icelle. Le meilleur & le plus seur est

¹ The 1545 edition of Cartier has, & est.

du côté devers le Su. Et au bout d'icelle ile vers l'Ouest y a vn affourq d'eau bel & delectable pour mettre navires : auquel il y a vn détroit dudit fleuve fort courant & profond, mais il n'a de large qu'environ vn tiers de lieue : le travers duquel y a vne terre double de bonne hauteur toute labourée, aussi bonne terre qu'il soit possible de voir. Et là est la ville & demeurence du seigneur *Donnacona* & de nos hommes qu'avions prins le premier voyage : laquelle demeurence se nomme *Stadaconé*. Et auparavant qu'arriver audit 143 lieu y a quatre peuples & demeurences, sçavoir *Ajoaté*, *Starnatam*, *Tailla*, qui est sur vne montagne, & *Satadin*.¹ Puis ledit lieu de *Stadaconé*, souz laquelle haute terre vers le Nort est la riviere & hable de Sainte-Croix : auquel lieu avons été depuis le quinzième jour de Septembre jusques au sixième jour de May mil cinq cēs trente-six : auquel lieu les navires demurerent à sec, comme cy-devāt est dit. Passé ledit lieu est la demeurence du peuple de *Tequenouday*, & de *Hochelay* : le quel *Tequenouday* est sur vne montagne, & l'autre en vn plain pais.

Toute la terre des deux côtez dudit fleuve jusques à *Hochelaga*, & outre, est aussi belle & vnie que jamais homme regarda. Il y a aucunes montagnes 356 assez loin dudit fleuve qu'on voit par sus lesdites terres, desquelles il descend plusieurs rivières qui entrent dans ledit fleuve. Toute cette-dite terre est couverte & pleine de bois de plusieurs sortes, & force vignes, excepté à l'entour des peuples, laquelle ilz ont desertée pour faire leur demeurence & labeur. Il y a grand nombre de grands cerfs, daims, ours & autres bêtes. Nous y avons veu les pas d'une bête qui n'a que deux piez, laquelle nous avons suivie longuement pardessus le sable & vaze, laquelle à les piez en cette façon, grans d'une paume & plus. Il y a force Louères, Bièvres, Martres, Renars, Chats sauvages, Lièvres, Connins, Escurieus, Rats, lesquels sont gros à merveilles, & autres sauvagines. Ilz s'accoutrent des peaux d'icelles bêtes, parce qu'ilz n'ont nuls autres accoutremens. Il y a grand nombre d'oiseaux : sçavoir Gruës, Outardes, Cygnes, Oyes sauvages blanches & grises, Cannes, Cannars, Merles, Mauvis, Tourtres, Ramiers, Chardonnerets, Tarins, Serins, Linottes, Rossignols, Passes solitaires, & autres oyseaux comme en France.

Aussi, comme par ci-devant est fait mention és chapitres precedens, cedit 144 fleuve est le plus abondant de toutes sortes de poissons qu'il soit memoire d'homme d'avoir jamais veu, ni ouï. Car depuis le commencement jusques à la fin y trouverez selon les saisons la pluspart des sortes & especes de poisson de la mer & eau douce. Vous trouverez jusques audit *Canada* force Baillames, 357 Marsoins, Chevaux de mer, *Adbothuys*, qui est vne sorte de poisson duquel nous n'avions jamais veu, ni ouï parler. Ilz sont blācs cōme nege, & grans cōme marsoins, & ont le corps & la tête comme lièvres, lesquels se tiennent entre la mer & l'eau douce, qui commence entre la riviere du *Saguenay* & *Canada*. Item y trouverés en Juin, Juillet, & Aoust force Maquereaux, Mulets, Bars, Sartres, grosses Anguilles, & autres poissons. Ayant leur saison passée, y trouverez l'Eplan aussi bon qu'en la riviere de Seine. Puis au renouveau y a force Lamproyes & Saumons. Passé ledit *Canada* y a force Brochets, Truites, Carpes, Brames, & autres poissons d'eau douce, & de toutes ces sortes de poissons fait ledit peuple de chacun selō leur saison grosse pecherie pour leur substance & victuaille.

¹ The edition of 1617-18 has, *Stadin* : those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

De la riviere de Saguenay : Des peuples qui habitent vers son origine : Autre riviere venant dudit Saguenay au-dessus du saut de la grande riviere : De la riviere des Iroquois venant de vers la Floride, pais sans neges ni glaces : Singularitez d'icelui pais : Soupçon sur les Sauvages de Canada : Guet nocturne : Reddition d'une fille échappée : Reconciliation des Sauvages avec les François.

CHAP. XXIII

145

358 **D** EPUIS estre arrivez de ¹ *Hochelaga* avec le gallion & les barques, avons conversé, allé & venu avec les peuples les plus prochains de noz navires en douceur & amitié, fors que par fois avons eu aucuns differens avec aucuns mauvais garçons, dont les autres étoient fort marris & courroucez. Et avons entendu par le Seigneur *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya* & autres, que la riviere devant-dite, & nommée la riviere du *Saguenay*, va jusques audit *Saguenay*, qui est loin du commencement de plus d'une lune de chemin vers l'Ouest-Norouest : & que passé huit ou neuf journées, elle n'est plus parfonde que par bateaux : mais le droit & bon chemin & plus seur est par ledit fleuve jusques au-dessus de *Hochelaga*, à vne riviere qui descend dudit *Saguenay*, & entre audit fleuve (ce qu'avons veu), & que de là sont vne lune à y aller. Et nous ont fait entendre qu'audit lieu les gens sont habillez de drap, comme nous, & y a force villes & peuples, & bonnes gens, & qu'ils ont quantité d'or & cuivre rouge. Et nous ont dit que le tour de la terre d'empuis ladite premiere riviere jusques audit *Hochelaga* & *Saguenay* est vne ile, laquelle est circuite & environnée de rivières & dudit fleuve : & que passé ledit *Saguenay* va ladite riviere entrant en deux ou trois grans lacs d'eau fort larges : puis, que l'on trouve vne mer douce, de laquelle n'est mention avoir veu le bout, ainsi qu'ils ont ouï par ceux du *Saguenay* : 146 car ilz nous ont dit n'y avoir été. Outre nous ont donné à entendre qu'au lieu où avions laissé nôtre gallion quand fumes à *Hochelaga* y a vne riviere qui va vers le Surouest, où semblablement sont vne lune à aller avec leurs barques depuis Sainte-Croix jusques à vne terre où il n'y a jamais glaces ni neges, mais qu'en 359 cettedite terre y a guerre continuelle des vns contre les autres, & qu'en icelle y a Orenge, Amandes, Noix, Prunes, & autres sortes de fruits & en grande abondance, [et font de l'huile qu'ilz tirent des arbres tres-bonne à la guerison des playes]. Et nous ont dit les hommes & habitans d'icelle terre être vêtus & accoutrez de peaux comme eux. Apres leur avoir demandé s'il y a de l'or & du cuivre, nous ont dit que non. L'estime à leur dire, ledit lieu être vers la Terre-neuve où fut le Capitaine Iean Verrazan, à ce qu'ilz montrent par leurs signes & merches.

Et d'empuis de jour en autre venoit ledit peuple à noz navires, & apportoit force Anguilles & autres poissons pour avoir de nôtre marchandise, dequoy leur étoient baillez couteaux, alenes, patenôtres, & autres mêmes choses, dont se contentoient fort. Mais nous apperceumes que les deux méchans qu'avions apporté leur disoient & donnoient à entendre que ce que nous leur

¹ From the edition of 1609 : those of 1611-12 and 1617-18 have, à.

baillions ne valoit rien, & qu'ils auroient aussi-tôt des hachots comme des couteaux pour ce qu'ilz nous bailloient, nonobstant que le Capitaine leur eût fait beaucoup de presens, & si ne cessoient à toutes heures de demander audit Capitaine, lequel fut averti par vn Seigneur de la ville de *Hagouchouda* qu'il se donnât garde de *Donnacona*, & desdits deux méchans, & qu'ils étoient *Agojuda*, qui est à dire traitres, & aussi en fut averti par aucuns dudit *Canada*, & aussi que nous apperceumes de leur malice, par ce qu'ilz vouloient retirer
 147 les trois enfans que ledit *Donnacona* avoit donné audit Capitaine. Et de fait firent fuir la plus grande des filles, du navire. Apres laquelle ainsi fuie, 360 fit le Capitaine prendre garde aux autres : & par l'avertissement desdits *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya* s'abstindrent & deporterent de venir avec nous quatre ou cinq jours, sinon aucuns qui venoient en grande peur & crainte.

Mais voyans la malice d'eux, doutans qu'ilz ne songeassent aucune trahison, & venir avec vn amas de gens sur nous, le Capitaine fit renforcer le Fort tout à l'entour de gros fossez, larges & parfons, avec porte à pont-levis & renfort de pax de bois au contraire des premiers. Et fut ordonné pour le guet de la nuit pour le tēps à venir cinquante hommes à quatre quarts, & à chacun changement desdits quarts les trompettes sonantes. Ce qui fut fait selon ladite ordonnance. Et lesdits *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, & *Domagaya* estans avertis dudit renfort, & de la bonne garde & guet que l'on faisoit, furēt courroucez d'être en la malgrace du Capitaine, & envoyerent par plusieurs fois de leurs gens : feignans qu'ils fussent d'ailleurs, pour voir si on leur feroit déplaisir, desquels on ne tint conte, & n'en fut fait ny montré aucun semblant. Et y vindrent lesdits *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya* & autres plusieurs fois parler audit Capitaine, vne riviere entre-deux, lui demandans s'il étoit marri, & pourquoi il n'alloit les voir. Et le Capitaine leur répōdit qu'ilz n'étoiēt que traitres, & méchans, ainsi qu'on lui avoit rapporté : & aussi qu'il l'avoit apperceu en plusieurs sortes, comme de n'avoir tins promesse d'aller à *Hochelaga*, & d'avoir retiré la fille qu'on lui avoit donnée, & autres mauvais tours qu'il 361 lui nomma. Mais pour tout ce, que s'ilz vouloient être gens de bien, & oublier leur mal-volonté, il leur pardonnoit, & qu'ilz vissent seulement à bord faire bonne chere comme pardevant. Desquelles paroles remercierent ledit
 148 Capitaine, & lui promirent qu'ilz lui rendroient la fille qui s'en étoit fuie, dans trois jours. Et le quatrième jour de Novembre, *Domagaya* accompagné de six autres hommes, vindrent à noz navires pour dire au Capitaine que le Seigneur *Donnacona* étoit allé par le pais chercher ladite fille, & que le lendemain elle lui seroit par lui menée. Et outre dit que *Taiguragni* étoit fort malade, & qu'il prioit le Capitaine lui envoyer vn peu de sel & de pain. Ce que fit ledit Capitaine, lequel lui manda que c'étoit Iesus qui étoit marri contre lui pour les mauvais tours qu'il avoit cuidé jouer.

Et le lendemain ledit *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya*, & plusieurs autres vindrent & amenerent ladite fille, la representent audit Capitaine, lequel n'en tint conte, & dit qu'il n'en vouloit point, & qu'ilz la remenassent. A quoy répondirent faisans leur excuse, qu'ilz ne lui avoient pas conseillé s'en aller, ains qu'elle s'en étoit allée parce que les pages l'avoient battuë, ainsi qu'elle leur avoit dit : & prierent derechef ledit Capitaine de la reprendre, & eux-mêmes la menerent jusques aux navires. Apres lesquelles choses le Capitaine commanda apporter pain & vin, & les fétoya. Puis prindrent congé les vns des 362 autres. Et depuis sont allé & venu à noz navires, & nous à leur demeure, en aussi grand' amour que pardevant.

*Mortalité entre les Sauvages : Maladie étrange & inconnue entre les François :
Devotions & vœux : Ouverture d'un corps mort : Dissimulation envers les
Sauvages sur lesdites maladies & mortalité : Guérison merveilleuse d'icelle
maladie.*

CHAP. XXIV

149

AV mois de Decembre fumes avertis que la mortalité s'étoit mise audit peuple de *Stadaconé*, tellement que ja en étoient morts par leur confession plus de cinquante. Au moyen dequoy leur fimes defenses de non venir à nôtre Fort, ni entour nous. Mais nonobstant les avoir chassé, commença la mortalité entour nous d'une merveilleuse sorte, & la plus inconnue. Car les vns perdoient la soutenuë, & leur devenoient les jambes grosses & enflées, & les nerfs retirez, & noircis comme charbons, & aucunes toutes semées de gouttes de sang, comme pourpre. Puis montoit ladite maladie aux hanches, cuisses, épaules, aux bras & au col. Et à tous venoit la bouche si infecte & pourrie par les gencives, que toute la chair en tomboit jusques à la racine des dents, lesquelles tomboient préque toutes.

363 Et tellement s'éprint ladite maladie en noz trois navires, qu'à la mi-Fevrier de cent dix hommes que nous étions il n'y en avoit pas dix sains, tellement que l'un ne pouvoit secourir l'autre. Qui étoit chose piteuse à voir, considéré le lieu où nous étions. Car les gens du pais venoient tous les jours devant nôtre Fort qui peu de gens voyoient debout, & ja y en avoit huit de morts, & plus de cinquante où on n'esperoit plus de vie. Nôtre Capitaine voyant la pitié & maladie ainsi emeuë, fait mettre le monde en prieres & oraisons, & fit porter vne image & remembrance de la Vierge Marie contre vn arbre distant de nôtre Fort d'un trait d'arc le travers les neges & glaces, & ordonna que le Dimanche ensuivant l'on diroit audit lieu la Messe, & que tous ceux qui pourroient cheminer tant sains que malades iroient à la procession châtans les sept Pseaumes de David, avec la Litanie en priât ladite Vierge qu'il lui pleût prier son cher enfant qu'il eût pitié de nous. Et la Messe dite & chantée devant

ladite image, se fit le Capitaine pelerin à nôtre Dame, qui se fait de prier à 150
Roquemadou (ou pour mieux dire, à Roqu' amadou, c'est à dire des amans. C'est un bourg en Querci, où vont force pelerins), promettant y aller si Dieu lui donnoit grace de retourner en France. Celui jour trespassa Philippe Rougemont, natif 151
d'Amboise, de l'âge d'environ vingt ans.

Et pource que ladite maladie étoit inconnue, fit ledit Capitaine ouvrir le corps pour voir si aurions aucune connoissance d'icelle, pour préserver si possible étoit le parsus. Et fut trouvé qu'il avoit le cœur tout blanc & flétri, environné

364 de plus d'un pot d'eau rousse comme datte. Le foye beau, mais avoit le poulmon tout noirci & mortifié, & s'étoit retiré tout son sang au dessus de son cœur. Car quand il fut ouvert, sortit au dessus du cœur vne grande abondance de

sang noir & infect. Pareillement avoit la rate vers l'échine vn peu entamée environ deux doigts, comme si elle eût été frottée sus vne pierre rude. Apres cela veu, lui fut ouvert & incisé vne cuisse, laquelle étoit fort noire par dehors, mais par dedans la chair fut trouvée assez belle. Ce fait, fut inhumé au moins mal que l'on peût. Dieu par sa sainte grace pardoint à son ame, & à tous trépassés, *Amen*.

Et depuis, de jour en autre s'est tellement continuée ladite maladie, que telle heure a été que par tout lesdits trois navires n'y avoit pas trois hommes sains. De sorte qu'en l'vn d'iceux¹ navires n'y avoit homme qui eût peu descendre souz le tillac pour tirer à boire tant pour lui que pour les autres. Et pour l'heure y en avoit ja plusieurs de morts, lesquels il nous convint mettre par foiblesse souz les neges. Car il ne nous étoit possible de pouvoir pour lors ouvrir la terre qui étoit gelée, tant étions foibles, & avions peu de puissance. Et si étions en vne crainte merveilleuse des gens du païs qu'ilz ne s'aperceussent de nôtre pitié & foiblesse. Et pour couvrir ladite maladie, lors qu'ilz venoient près de nôtre Fort, notre Capitaine, que Dieu a tousiours preservé debout, sortoit au devant d'eux avec deux ou trois hommes, tant sains que malades, lesquels il faisoit sortir apres lui. Et lors qu'il les voyoit hors du parc, faisoit 365 semblant les vouloir battre, & criant, & leur jettant batons après eux, les envoyant à bord, montrant par signes esdits Sauvages qu'il faisoit besongner ses gens dedans les navires : les vns à gallifester, les autres à faire du pain & autres 152 besongnes, & qu'il n'étoit pas bon qu'ilz vinssent chommer dehors : ce qu'ilz croyoient. Et faisoit ledit Capitaine battre & mener bruit esdits malades dedans les navires avec batons & cailloux feignans gallifester : Et pour lors étions si épris de ladite maladie qu'avions quasi perdu l'esperance de jamais retourner en France, si Dieu par sa bonté infinie & misericorde ne nous eût regardé en pitié, & donné conoissance d'vn remede contre toutes maladies le plus excellent qui fut jamais veu ni trouvé sur la terre, ainsi que nous dirons maintenant. Mais premierement faut entendre que depuis la mi-Novembre iusques au dix-huitième jour d'Avril avôs été continuellement enfermez dedans les glaces, lesquelles avoient plus de deux brasses d'épaisseur : & dessus la terre y avoit la hauteur de quatre piez de nege & plus de deux brasses d'épaisseur : tellement qu'elle étoit plus haute que les bords de noz navires, lesquelles ont duré jusques audit temps : en sorte que noz bruvages étoient tout gelez dedans les futailles, & par dedans lesdits navires tant bas que haut étoit la glace contre les bois à quatre doigts d'épaisseur : & étoit tout ledit fleuve par autant que l'eau douce en contient jusques au dessus de *Hochelaga*, gelé. Auquel temps nous deceda jusques au nombre de vingt-cinq personnes des principaux & 366 bons compagnons qu'eussions, lesquels moururent de la maladie susdite : & pour l'heure y en avoit plus de quarante en qui on n'esperoit plus de vie, & le parsus tous malades, que nul n'en étoit exempté, excepté trois ou quatre. Mais Dieu par sa sainte grace nous regarda en pitié, & nous envoya vn remede de nôtre guérison & santé de la sorte & maniere que nous allons dire.

Vn jour nôtre Capitaine voyant la maladie si emeue & ses gens si fort épris d'icelle, étant sorti hors du Fort, soy promenant sur la glace, apperceut venir vne bende de gens de *Stadaconé*, en laquelle étoit *Domagaya*,² lequel le Capitaine avoit veu depuis dix ou douze jours fort malade de la propre maladie qu'avoient

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *desditz*.

² The edition of 1617-18 has here, *Domogaya*.

ses gens : Car il avoit vne de ses jambes aussi grosse qu'un enfant de deux 153
 ans, & tous les nerfs d'icelle retirez, les dents perdues & gatées, & les gencives
 pourries & infectes. Le Capitaine voyant ledit *Domagaya*¹ sain & gueri, fut
 fort joyeux, esperant par lui sçavoir comme il s'étoit gueri, afin de donner
 ayde & secours à ses gens. Et lors qu'ilz furent arrivez près le Fort, le Capi-
 taine lui demanda comme il s'étoit gueri de sa maladie : lequel *Domagaya*
 répôdit qu'avec le jus des fueilles d'un arbre & le marq il s'étoit gueri, & que
 c'étoit le singulier remede pour cette maladie. Lors le Capitaine demanda
 s'il y en avoit point là entour, & qu'il lui en montrât, pour guerir son serviteur
 367 qui avoit prins ladite maladie en la maison du seigneur *Donnacona* ; ne lui
 voulut declarer le nombre des compagnons qui étoient malades. Lors ledit
Domagaya envoya deux femmes avec nôtre Capitaine pour en querir, lesquelles
 en apporterent neuf ou dix rameaux, & nous montrerent qu'il falloit piler l'écorce
 & les fueilles dudit bois, & mettre le tout bouillir en eau, puis boire de ladite
 eauë de deux jours l'un, & mettre le marq sur les jambes enflées & malades,
 & que de toutes maladies ledit arbre guerissoit. Et s'appelle ledit arbre en
 leur langage *Annedda*.

Tôt-après le Capitaine fit faire du breuvage pour faire boire és malades, 154
 desquels n'y avoit nul d'eux qui voulût icelui essayer, sinon vn ou deux qui
 se mirent en aventure d'icelui essayer. Tôt après qu'ils en eurent beu ils
 eurent l'avantage, qui se trouva être vn vray & evidēt miracle. Car de toutes
 maladies dequoy ils étoient entachés, apres en avoir beu deux ou trois fois,
 recouvrerēt santé & guerison ; tellemēt que tel des compagnons qui avoit
 la verole puis cinq ou six ans auparavāt la maladie, a été par icelle medecine
 curé nettement. Apres ce avoir veu y a eu telle presse qu'on se vouloit tuer
 sur ladite medecine à qui premier en auroit : de sorte qu'un arbre aussi gros
 & aussi grand que je vis jamais arbre, a été employé en moins de huit jours ;
 lequel a fait telle operation, que si tous les medecins de Louvain & Môtpellier
 y eussēt été avec toutes les drogues d'Alexādie, ilz n'ē eussēt pas tāt fait en
 vn an, que ledit arbre en a fait en huit jours. Car il nous a tellement profité
 que tous ceux qui en ont voulu vser ont recouvert santé & guerison, la grace
 à Dieu.

¹ The edition of 1617-18 has here, *Domogaya*.

*Souçon sur la longue absence du Capitaine des Sauvages : Retour d'icelui avec 368
 multitude de gens : Debilité des François : Navire delassé pour n'avoir
 la force de le remener : Recit des richesses du Saguenay, & autres choses
 merveilleuses.*

DVRANT le temps que la maladie & mortalité regnoit en noz navires, se partirent *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni* & plusieurs autres feignans aller prendre des cerfs & autres bêtes, lesquels ils nomment en leur langage *Ajonnesta* & *Asquenoudo*, par ce que les neges étoient grandes, & que les glaces étoient ja rompuës dedans le cours du fleuve : tellement qu'ilz pourroient naviger par icelui. Et nous fut par *Domagaya* & autres dit, qu'ilz ne seroient que quinze jours : ce que croyions : mais ilz furent deux mois sans retourner. Au moyen dequoy eumes suspicion qu'ilz ne se fussent allé amasser grand nombre de gens pour nous faire déplaisir, par ce qu'ilz nous voyoient si affoiblis. Nonobstant qu'avions mis si bon ordre en nôtre fait, que si toute la puissance de leur terre y eût été, ilz n'eussent sçeu faire autre chose que nous regarder. Et pendant le temps qu'ils étoient dehors venoient tous les jours force gens à noz navires, comme ils avoient de coutume, nous apportâs de la chair fraîche de cerfs, daims, & poissons fraiz de toutes sortes 369 qu'ils nous vendoient assez cher, ou mieux l'aimoient remporter, parce qu'ils avoient nécessité de vivres pour lors, à cause de l'hiver qui avoit été long, & qu'ilz avoient mangé leurs vivres & étouremens.

Et le vingt-vnième jour du mois d'Avril *Domagaya* vint à bord de noz navires, accompagné de plusieurs gens, lesquels étoient beaux & puissans, & n'avions accoutumé de les voir, qui nous dirent que le seigneur *Donnacona* seroit le lendemain venu, & qu'il apporteroit force chair de cerf, & autre venaison. Et le lendemain arriva ledit *Donnacona*, lequel amena en sa compagnie grand nombre de gens audit *Stadaconé*. Ne sçavions à quelle occasion, ni pourquoi. Mais comme on dit en vn proverbe, *qui de tout se garde & d'aucuns échappe*. Ce que nous étoit de nécessité : car nous étions si affoiblis, 156 tant de maladies, que de noz gens morts, qu'il nous falut laisser vn de noz navires audit lieu de Sainte-Croix.

Le Capitaine étant averti de leur venuë, & qu'ils avoiënt amené tant de peuple, & aussi que *Domagaya* le vint dire audit Capitaine, sans vouloir passer la riviere qui étoit entre nous & ledit *Stadaconé*, ains fit difficulté de passer. Ce que n'avoit accoutumé de faire, au moyen dequoy eumes suspensio de trahison. Voyât ce ledit Capitaine envoia son serviteur nommé Charles Guyot, lequel étoit plus que nul autre aimé du peuple de tout le païs, pour voir qui étoit audit lieu, & ce qu'ilz faisoient, ledit serviteur feignant être allé voir ledit 370

seigneur *Donnacona*, par-ce qu'il avoit demeuré long temps avec lui, lequel lui porta aucun present. Et lors que ledit *Donnacona* fut averti de sa venuë, fit le malade & se coucha, disant audit serviteur qu'il étoit fort malade. Apres alla ledit serviteur en la maison de *Taiguragni* pour le voir, où par tout il trouva les maisons si pleines de gens qu'on ne se pouvoit tourner, lesquels on n'avoit accoutumé de voir : & ne voulut permettre ledit *Taiguragni* que ledit serviteur allât és autres maisons, ains le convoya vers les navires environ la moitié du chemin : & lui dit que si le Capitaine lui vouloit faire plaisir de prendre vn seigneur du pais nommé *Agona*, lequel lui avoit fait déplaisir, & l'emmener en France, il feroit tout ce que voudroit ledit Capitaine, & qu'il retourât le lendemain dire la réponse.

Quand le Capitaine fut averti du grand nombre de gens qui étoient audit *Stadaconé*, ne sçachant à quelle fin, se delibera leur jouer vne finesse, & prendre leur Seigneur avec *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya* & des principaux : & aussi qu'il étoit bien deliberé de mener ledit Seigneur *Donnacona* en Frâce, pour conter & dire au Roy ce qu'il avoit veu és pais Occidëtaux des merveilles du monde. Car il nous a certifié avoir été à la terre du *Saguenay*, où y a infini Or, Rubis, & autres richesses : & y sont les hommes blancs comme en France, & accoutrez de draps de laine. Plus dit avoir veu autre pais où les gens ne mangent point, & n'ont point de fondement, & ne digerent point, ains font seulement eau
 371 sur la verge. Plus dit avoir été en autre pais de *Picqueniaus*, & autres pais où les gens n'ont qu'une jambe, & autres merveilles longues à raconter. Ledit Seigneur est homme ancien, & ne cessa jamais d'aller par pais depuis sa conoissance, tant par fleuves, rivières, que par terre.

Après que ledit serviteur eut fait son message, & dit à son maître ce que ledit *Taiguragni* lui mandoit, renvoya le Capitaine sondit serviteur, le lendemain, dire audit *Taiguragni* qu'il le vint voir, & lui dire ce qu'il voudroit, & qu'il lui feroit bonne chere, & partie de son vouloir. Ledit *Taiguragni* lui mada qu'il viëdroit le lendemain, & qu'il meneroit *Donnacona*, & ledit homme qui lui avoit fait déplaisir. Ce que ne fit ; ains fut deux jours sans venir, pendant lequel temps ne vint personne és navires dudit *Stadaconé*, comme avoient de coutume, mais nous fuioient cōme si les eussions voulu tuer. Lors apperceumes leur mauvaitié. Et pource qu'ilz furent avertis que ceux de *Stadin* alloient & venoient entour nous, & que leur avions abandonné le fond du navire que laissions, pour avoir les vieux cloux, vindrent tous le tiers jour dudit *Stadaconé* de l'autre bord de la riviere, & passerent la plus grand'partie
 158 d'eux en petits bateaux sans difficulté. Mais ledit *Donnacona* n'y voulut passer ; & furent *Taiguragni* & *Domagaya* plus d'une heure à parlementer ensemble avant que vouloir passer : mais en fin passerent & vindrent parler audit Capitaine. Et pria ledit *Taiguragni* le Capitaine vouloir prendre & emmener ledit
 372 homme en France. Ce que refusa ledit Capitaine, disant que le Roy son maître lui avoit defendu de non amener homme ni femme en France, mais bien deux ou trois petits garçons, pour apprendre le langage. Mais que volōtiers l'emmeneroit en Terre-neuve, & qu'il le mettroit en vne ile. Ces paroles disoit le Capitaine pour les assurer, & à celle fin d'amener ledit *Donnacona*, lequel étoit demeuré de-là l'eau. Desquelles paroles fut fort joyeux ledit *Taiguragni*, esperant ne retourner jamais en France, & promit audit Capitaine de retourner le lendemain, qui étoit le jour de Sainte-Croix, & amener ledit seigneur *Donnacona*, & tout le peuple audit *Stadaconé*.

Croix plantée par les François : Capture des principaux Sauvages, pour les amener en France, & faire recit au Roy des merveilles du Saguenay : Lamentations des Sauvages : Presens reciproques du Capitaine Quartier, & d'iceux Sauvages.

CHAP. XXVI

LE troisième jour de May, jour & fête sainte Croix, pour la solemnité & fête, le Capitaine fit planter vne belle Croix de la hauteur d'environ trente-cinq piez de l'ogueur, souz le croizillon de laquelle y avoit vn écusson en bosse des armes de France : & sur iceluy étoit écrit en lettre Attique ¹ : FRANCISCVS PRIMVS DEI GRATIA FRANCORVM REX REGNAT. Et 373 celui jour environ midi vindrent plusieurs gens de *Stadaconé*, tant hommes, femmes qu'enfans, qui nous dirent que leur Seigneur *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya* & autres qui étoient en sa compagnie, venoient ; dequoy fumes ioyeux, esperans nous en saisir, lesquels vindrent environ deux heures apres midi. Et lors qu'ilz furent arrivez devant noz navires, nôtre Capitaine alla saluer le seigneur *Donnacona*, lequel pareillement lui fit grand'chere, mais toutefois avoit l'œil au bois & vne crainte merveilleuse. Tôt-apres arriva *Taiguragni*, lequel dit audit seigneur *Donnacona* qu'il n'entrât point dedans le Fort. Et lors fut par l'un de leurs gens apporté du feu hors dudit Fort, & allumé pour ledit seigneur. Nôtre Capitaine le pria de venir boire & manger dedans les navires, comme avoit de coutume, & semblablement ledit *Taiguragni*, lequel dit que tantôt ils iroient. Ce qu'ilz firent, & entrèrent dedans ledit Fort. Mais auparavant avoit été nôtre Capitaine averti par *Domagaya* que ledit *Taiguragni* avoit mal parlé, & qu'il avoit dit au seigneur *Donnacona* qu'il n'entrât point dedans les navires. Et nôtre Capitaine voyant ce, sortit hors du parc, où il estoit, & vit que les femmes s'en fuioient par l'avertissement dudit 160 *Taiguragni*, & qu'il ne demouroit que les hommes, lesquels étoient en grand nombre. Et commanda le Capitaine à ses gens prendre ledit seigneur *Donnacona*, *Taiguragni*, *Domagaya* & deux autres des principaux qu'il montra : puis qu'on fit retirer les autres. Tôt-apres ledit Seigneur entra dedans avec ledit 374 Capitaine. Mais tout soudain ledit *Taiguragni* vint pour le faire sortir. Nôtre Capitaine voyant qu'il n'y avoit autre ordre se print à crier qu'on les print. Auquel cri sortirent les gens dudit Capitaine, lesquels prindrent ledit seigneur, & ceux qu'on avoit deliberé prendre. Lesdits Canadiens voyans ladite prise, commencerent à fuir & courir comme brebis devant le loup, les vns le travers la riviere, les autres parmi les bois, cherchant chacun son avantage. Ladite prise ainsi faite des dessusdits, & que les autres se furent tous retirez, furent mis en seure garde ledit seigneur, et ses compagnons.

¹ Je crois qu'il veut dire Antique,

La nuit venuë, vindrent devant noz navires (la riviere entre-deux) grand nombre de peuple dudit *Donnacona*, huchans & hurlans toute la nuit comme lous, crians sans cesse *Agobanna*, *Agobanna*, pensans parler à lui. Ce que ne permit ledit Capitaine pour l'heure, ni le matin jusques environ midi. Parquoy nous faisoient signe que les avions tuë & pendu. Et environ l'heure de midi retournerent derechef, &¹ aussi grand nombre qu'avions veu de nôtre voyage pour vn coup, eux tenans cachez dedans le bois, fors aucuns d'eux qui crioient & appelloient à haute voix ledit *Donnacona*. Et lors commanda le Capitaine faire monter ledit *Donnacona* haut pour parler à eux. Et lui dit ledit Capitaine qu'il fit bonne chere, & qu'apres avoir parlé au Roy de France
 375 son maître, & conté ce qu'il avoit veu au *Saguenay* & autres lieux, il reviendrait dans dix ou douze lunes, & que le Roy lui feroit vn grand present. Dequoy fut fort joyeux ledit *Donnacona*, lequel le dit és autres en parlant à eux, lesquels en firent trois merveilleux cris en signe de joye. Et à l'heure firent lesdits peuples & *Donnacona* entre eux plusieurs predications & ceremonies, lesquelles il n'est possible d'écrire par faute de l'entendre. Nôtre Capitaine
 161 dit audit *Donnacona* qu'ilz vinssent seurement de l'autre bord pour mieux parler ensemble, & qu'il les assureoit. Ce que leur dit ledit *Donnacona*. Et sur ce vindrent vne barque des principaux à bord desdits navires, lesquels de rechef commencerent à faire plusieurs prechemens en donnant loüange à nôtre Capitaine, & lui firent present de vingt-quatre colliers d'*Esurni*, qui est la plus grande richesse qu'ils ayent en ce monde. Car ils l'estiment mieux qu'or ni argent.

Après qu'ils eurent assez parlementé, & devisé les vns avec les autres, & qu'il n'y avoit remede audit seigneur d'échapper, & qu'il falloit qu'il vint en France, il leur commanda qu'on lui apportât vivres pour manger par la mer, & qu'on les lui apportât le lendemain. Nôtre Capitaine fit present audit *Donnacona* de deux pailles d'airain, & de huit hachots, & autres menuës besongnes, comme couteaux & patenôtres : dequoy fut fort joyeux, à son semblant, & les envoya à ses femmes & enfans. Pereillement donna ledit Capitaine à ceux qui étoient venus parler audit *Donnacona* aucuns petits presens,
 376 desquelz remercierent fort ledit Capitaine. A tant se retirerent, & s'en allerent à leurs logis.

Le lendemain cinquième jour dudit mois, au plus matin, ledit peuple retourna en grand nôbre pour parler à leur seigneur, & envoyerent vne barque qu'ils appellent *Casurni*, en laquelle étoient quatre femmes, sans y avoir aucuns hommes, pour le doute qu'ils avoient qu'on ne les retint, lesquelles apportèrent force vivres : sçavoir gros mil, qui est le blé duquel ils vivent, chair, poisson, & autres provisions à leur mode : esquelles apres être arrivées és navires fit le Capitaine bon recueil. Et pria *Donnacona* le Capitaine qu'il leur dit que dedans douze lune^s il retourneroit, & qu'il ameneroit ledit *Donnacona* à *Canada* : & ce disoit pour les cōtenter. Ce que fit ledit Capitaine : dont lesdites femmes firent vn grand semblât de joye, &¹ montrâs par signes & paroles audit Capitaine que mais qu'il retourât & amenât ledit *Donnacona*, & autres, ilz lui feroient plusieurs presens. Et lors chacune d'elles donna audit
 162 Capitaine vn collier d'*Esurni*, puis s'en allerent de l'autre bord de la riviere, où étoit tout le peuple dudit *Stadaconé* : puis se retirerent, & prindrent congé dudit seigneur *Donnacona*.

¹ The 1545 Cartier has, *en*.

*Retour du Capitaine Jacques Quartier en France : Rencontre de certains Sauvages 377
qui avoient des couteaux de cuivre : Presens reciproques entre lesdits
Sauvages & ledit Capitaine : Description des lieux où la route s'est ad-
dressée.*

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CHAP. XXVII

LE Samedi sixième jour de May nous appareillames du havre Sainte-Croix, & vimmes poser au bas de l'île d'Orleans, environ douze lieuës dudit Sainte-Croix. Et le Dimanche vimmes à l'île és Coudres, où avons été iusques au Lundi sezième jour dudit mois laissans amortir les eaux, lesquelles étoient trop courantes & dangereuses pour avaller ledit fleuve. Pendant lequel temps vindrent plusieurs barques des peuples sujets de *Donnacona*, lesquels venoient de la riviere du *Saguenay*. Et lors que par *Domagaya* furent avertis de la prise d'eux, & la façon & maniere comme on menoit ledit *Donnacona* en France, furent bien étonnez. Mais ne laisserent à venir le long des navires parler audit *Donnacona*, qui leur dit que dans douze lunes il retourneroit, & qu'il avoit bon traitement avec le Capitaine & compagnons. Dequoy tous à vne voix remercierent ledit Capitaine, & donnerent audit *Donnacona* trois pacquets de peaux de Bièvres, & loups marins, avec vn grād couteau de cuivre rouge, qui vient dudit *Saguenay*, & autres choses. Ilz ³⁷⁸ donnerent aussi au Capitaine vn collier d'*Esurni*. Pour lesquels presens leur fit le Capitaine donner dix ou douze hachotz, desquels furent fort contens & joyeux, remerciens ledit Capitaine : puis s'en retournerent.

Le passage est plus seur & meilleur entre le Nort & ladite ile, que vers le Su, pour le grand nombre de basses, bancs & rochers qui y sont, & aussi qu'il a petit fond.

¹⁶⁴ Le lendemain sezième de May nous appareillames de ladite *Ile és Coudres*, & vimmes poser à vne ile qui est à environ quinze lieuës d'icelle *Ile és Coudres*, laquelle est grande d'environ cinq lieuës de lōg : & là posames celui jour pour passer la nuit, esperās le lendemain passer les dāgers du *Saguenay*, lesquels sont fort grans. Le soir fumes à ladite ile, où trouvames grand nombre de lièvres, desquels nous eumes quantité. Et pource la nommames *Pile és Lièvres*. Et la nuit le vent vint contraire, & en tourmente, tellement qu'il nous fallut relacher à l'île és Coudres d'où étions partis, par-ce qu'il n'y a autre passage entre lesdites iles, & y fumes jusques au . . . ¹ jour dudit mois, que le vent vint bon, & tant fimes par nos journées que nous passames jusques à *Hongnedo*, entre l'île de l'Assumption & ledit *Hongnedo* : lequel passage n'avoit par-devant été découvert : & fimes courir jusques le travers du *Cap de Prato*, qui est le commencement de la *Baye de Chaleur*. Et parce que le vent étoit convenable & bon à plaisir, fimes porter le iour & la nuit. Et le lendemain vimmes

¹ The 1545 Cartier has, 21.

379 querir au corps *l'ile de Brion*, ce que voulions faire pour la barge¹ de nôtre chemin, gisantes les deux terres Suest & Noroëst vn quart de l'Est & de l'Oëst : & y a entre eux cinquante lieuës. Ladite ile est en quarâte sept degrez & demi de latitude.

Le Ieudy vingt-cinquième iour dudit mois, jour & fête de l'Ascension nôtre Seigneur, nous trouvames à vne terre & sillon de basses araines, qui demeurent au Suroëst de ladite *ile de Brion* environ huit lieuës, par sus lesquelles y a de grosses terres pleines d'arbres, & y a vne mer enclose, dont n'avions veu aucune entrée ni ouverture par où entre icelle mer.

Et le Vendredi vingt-sixième, parce que le vent chargeoit à la côte,¹⁶⁵ retournames à ladite *ile de Brion*, où fumes jusques au premier iour de Iuin, & vimmes querir vne terre haute qui demeure au Suest de ladite ile, qui nous apparoissoit être vne ile, & là reengeames environ vingt-deux lieuës & demie, faisans le quel chemin eumes conoissance de trois autres iles qui demeuroiët vers les araines : & pareillemët lesdites araines être ile ; & ladite terre, qui est terre haute & vnie, être terre certaine se rabattant au Noroest. Apres lesquelles choses conuës retournames au cap de ladite terre, qui se fait à deux ou trois caps hauts à merveilles, & gräd proföd d'eau, & la marée si courante qu'il n'est possible de plus. Nous nommames celui cap *Le cap de Lorraine*, qui est en quarante-six degrez & demi : au Su duquel cap y a vne basse terre, & semblât d'entrée de rivière : mais il n'y a hable qui vaille, parsus lesquelles
380 vers le Su demeure vn cap que nous nommames *Le cap saint Paul*, qui est au quarante-sept degrez vn quart.

Le Dimanche troisième iour dudit mois, iour & fête de la Pêtecôte, eumes¹⁶⁶ conoissance de la côte d'Est-Suest de Terre-neuve, étant à environ vingt-deux lieuës dudit cap. Et pour ce que le vent étoit contraire, fumes à vn hable que nous nommames *Le hable du saint Esprit*, iusques au Mardi qu'appareillames dudit hable & reconumes ladite côte iusques aux *iles de saint Pierre*. Lequel chemin faisans, tournames le long de ladite côte plusieurs iles & basses fort dangereuses étans en la route d'Est-Suest, & Oest-Noroest, à deux, trois & quatre lieuës à la mer. Nous fumes ausdites *Iles saint Pierre*, & trouvames plusieurs navires tant de France que de Bretagne.

Depuis le iour saint Barnabé, vnzième de Iuin, iusques au sezième dudit mois qu'appareillames desdites *Iles saint Pierre*, & vimmes au *Cap de Razé*, & entrames dedans vn hable nommé *Rongnoui*, où primmes eau & bois pour traverser la mer, & là laissames vne de noz barques : & appareillames dudit hable le Lundi dix-neufième iour dudit mois : & avec bon temps avons navigé par la mer : tellement que le sezième iour de Juillet sommes arrivés au hable¹⁶⁷ de Saint Malo, la grace au Createur : le priant, faisant fin à nôtre navigatiö, nous donner sa grace, & Paradis à la fin. Amen.

¹ The 1545 Cartier has, *l'abbregé*.

Rencontre des Montagnais (Savages de Tadoussac) & Iroquois : Privilege de celui qui est blessé à la guerre : Ceremonies des Sauvages devant qu'aller à la guerre : Contes fabuleux de la monstruosité des Armouchiquois : & de la Mine reluisante au Soleil : & du Gougou : Arrivée au Havre de Grace.

CHAP. XXVIII

AYANS r'amené le Capitaine Jacques Quartier en France, il nous faut retourner querir Samuel Champlain, lequel nous avons laissé à *Tadoussac*, à fin qu'il nous dise quelques nouvelles de ce qu'il aura veu & oui parmi les Sauvages depuis que nous l'avons quitté. Et afin qu'il ait vn plus beau champ pour rejouir ses auditeurs, ie voy le sieur Prevart de Saint Malo qui l'attend à l'île Percée en intention de lui en bailler d'vne : & s'il ne se contente de cela, lui bailler encore avec la fable des Armouchiquois la plaisante histoire du *Gougou* qui fait peur aux petits enfans, afin que par apres l'Historiographe Cayet soit aussi de la partie en prenant cette monnoye pour bon aloy. Voici donc ce que ledit Champlain en rapporte en la conclusion de son voyage.

Etans arrivés à Tadoussac nous trouvames les Sauvages que nous avions rencontrés en la riviere des Iroquois, qui avoient fait rencontre au premier lac de trois canots Iroquois, lesquels ilz battirent & apporterent les têtes des Iroquois à Tadoussac, & n'y eut qu'un Montagnais blessé au bras d'un coup de flèche, lequel songeant quelque chose, il falloit que tous les dix autres le missent en execution pour le rendre content, croyant aussi que sa playe s'en doit mieux porter. Si cedit Sauvage meurt, ses parens vengeront sa mort, soit sur leur nation, ou sur d'autres, ou bien il faut que les Capitaines facent des presens aux parens du defunct, afin qu'ilz soient contens, ou autrement (comme j'ay dit) ils vseroient de vengeance : qui est vne grande méchanceté entre-eux. Premier que lesdits Montagnais partissent pour aller à la guerre, ilz s'assemblerent tous avec leurs plus riches habits de fourrures, castors & autres peaux, parez de patenôtres & cordons de diverses couleurs, & s'assemblerent dedans vne grande place publique, où il y avoit au devant d'eux vn *Sagamo* qui s'appelloit *Begourat* qui les menoit à la guerre, & étoient les vns derriere les autres, avec leurs arcs & fleches, massués, & rondelles, dequoy ils se parent pour se battre : & alloient sautans les vns apres les autres, en faisans plusieurs gestes de leurs corps, ilz faisoient maints tours de limaçon : apres ilz commencerent à danser à la façon accoutumée, comme i'ay dit ci-dessus, puis ilz firent leur Tabagie, & après l'avoir fait, les femmes se despoillerent toutes nuës, parées de leurs plus beaux *Matachiaz*, & se mirent dedans leurs canots ainsi nuës en dansant, & puis elles se vindrent mettre à l'eau en se battans à coups de leurs avirons, se jettans quantité d'eau les vnes sur les autres : toutefois elles ne se faisoient point de mal, car elles se paroiënt des coups qu'elles s'entreroient. Apres avoir fait toutes ces ceremonies elles se retirerent en leurs cabannes, & les Sauvages s'en allerent à la guerre contre

les Iroquois. Le sezième iour d'Aoust nous partimes de *Tadoussac*, & le dix-huitième dudit mois arrivames à l'île Percée, où nous trouvasmes le sieur Prevert de Saint Malo, qui venoit de la mine, où il avoit été avec beaucoup de peine, pour la crainte que les Sauvages avoient de faire rencontre de leurs ennemis, qui sont les Armouchiquois, lesquels sont hômes sauvages du tout monstrueux, pour la forme qu'ils ont : car leur tête est petite, & le corps court, les bras menus comme d'un eschelet, & les cuisses semblablement : les jambes grosses & longues, qui sont toutes d'une venue, & quand ilz sont assis sur leurs talôs, les genoux leur passent plus d'un demi pied par dessus la tête, qui est chose étrange, & semblent estre hors de nature : Ilz sont neantmoins fort dispos, & determinez : & sont aux meilleures terres de toute la côte de la Cadie : Aussi les Souriquois les craignêt fort. Mais avec l'assurance que ledit sieur de Prevert leur donna, il les mena iusques à ladite mine, où les Sauvages le guiderent. C'est une fort haute montagne, avançant quelque peu sur la mer, qui est fort reluisante au Soleil, où il y a quantité de verd de gris qui procede de ladite mine de cuivre. Au pié de ladite montagne, il dit que de
 384 basse mer y avoit en quantité de morceaux de cuivre, comme il nous a été 170 montré, lequel tombe du haut de la montagne. Cedit lieu où est la mine git par les quarante-cinq degrez & quelques minutes.

Il y a encore une chose étrange digne de reciter, que plusieurs Sauvages m'ont asseuré être vraie ; C'est que proche de la baye de Chaleur, tirant au Su, est une île, où fait résidence un monstre épouvantable, que les Sauvages appellent *Gougou*, & m'ont dit qu'il avoit la forme d'une femme, mais fort effroyable, & d'une telle grandeur, qu'ilz me disoient que le bout des mats de notre vaisseau ne lui fût pas venu iusques à la ceinture, tant ilz le peignent grand : & que souvent il a dévoré & devore beaucoup de Sauvages, lesquels il met dedans une grande poche quand il les peut attrapper & puis les mange : & disoient ceux qui avoient évité le peril de cette mal-heureuse bête, que sa poche étoit si grande, qu'il y eût peu mettre notre vaisseau. Ce monstre fait des bruits horribles dedans cette île, que les Sauvages appellent *Gougou* : & quand ilz en parlent, ce n'est qu'avec une peur si étrange qu'il ne se peut dire de plus, & m'ont asseuré plusieurs l'avoir vu : Même ledit Prevert de Saint-Malo, en allant à la découverte des mines, m'a dit avoir passé si proche de la demeure de cette effroyable bête, que lui & tous ceux de son vaisseau entendoient des sifflemens étranges du bruit qu'elle faisoit : & que les Sauvages qu'il avoit avec lui, lui dirent que c'étoit la même bête, & avoient une telle
 385 peur, qu'ilz se cachoient de toutes parts, craignans qu'elle fût venue à eux pour les emporter : & qui me fait croire ce qu'ilz disent, c'est que tous les Sauvages en general la craignent, & en parlent si étrangement, qui si je mettois tout ce qu'ilz en disent, l'on le tiendrait pour fables : mais je tiens que ce soit la residence de quelque diable qui les tourmente de la façon. Voilà ce que j'ay appris de ce *Gougou*.

Le vingt-quatrième jour d'Aoust, nous partimes de *Gachepé*. Le deuxième jour de Septembre, nous faisons état d'être aussi avant que le Cap de *Razé*. 171
 Le cinquième jour dudit mois nous entrames sur le Banc où se fait la pècherie du poisson. Le sezième dudit mois nous étions à la sonde, qui peut être à quelques cinquante lieux d'Ouessant. Le vingtième dudit mois, nous arrivames par la grace de Dieu avec contentement d'un chacun, & toujours le vent favorable, au port du Havre de Grace.

Discours sur le Chapitre precedent : Credulité legere : Armouchiquois quels : Sauvages toujours en crainte : Causes des terreurs Paniques, faulses visions, & imaginations : Gougou proprement que c'est : Auteur d'icelui : Mine de cuivre : Hanno Carthaginois : Censures sur certains auteurs qui ont écrit de la Nouvelle-France. Conseil pour l'instruction des Sauvages.

CHAP. XXIX

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OR pour revenir aux Armouchiquois, & à la mal-bête du *Gougou*, il est arrivé en cet endroit à Champlein ce qu'écrivit Pline de Cornelius Nepos,¹ lequel il dit avoir creu tres-avidement (c'est à dire comme 386 s'y portant de soy-même) les prodigieux mensonges des Grecs, quand il a parlé de la ville de Larah (ou *Lissa*), laquelle (souz la foy & parole d'autrui) il a écrit être forte, & beaucoup plus grande que la grande Carthage, & autres choses de même étoffe. Ainsi ledit Champlein s'étant fié au recit du sieur Prevert de Saint-Malo, qui se donnoit carriere, a écrit ce que nous venons de rapporter touchant les Armouchiquois & le *Gougou*, comme semblablement ce qui est de la lueur de la mine de cuivre. Toutes lesquelles choses iceluy Champlein a depuis reconu être fabuleuses. Car quant aux Armouchiquois, ilz sont aussi beaux hommes (souz ce mot ie comprends aussi les femmes) que nous, bien composés & dispos, comme nous verrons ci-apres. Et pour le regard du *Gougou*, ie laisse à penser à chacun quelle apparence il y a, encores que quelques Sauvages en parlent, & en ayent de l'apprehension, mais c'est à la façon qu'entre nous plusieurs esprits foibles craignent le Moine bourru de Paris. Et d'ailleurs ces peuples qui vivent en perpetuelle guerre, & ne sont iamais en assurance (portans avec eux cette malediction pour-ce qu'ilz sont delaissez de Dieu), ont souvent des songes & vaines persuasions que l'ennemi est à leur porte, & ce qui les rend ainsi pleins d'apprehensions, est par ce qu'ilz n'ont point de villes fermées ; au moyen dequoy ilz se trouvent quelquefois & le plus souvent surpris & defaits : ce qu'étât, ne se faut 387 émerveiller s'ils ont aucunes fois des terreurs Paniques & des imaginations semblables à celles des hypochondriaques, leur étant avis qu'ilz voyent & oyent des choses qui ne sont point : comme i'ay memoire d'avoir veu certains hommes bien resolu, & qui le cas avenant fussent allez courageusement à vne breche, neantmoins par vne ie ne sçay quelle maladie d'esprit, bien beuvans & bien mangeans, étoient tourmentez de l'apprehension continuelle qu'ils avoient qu'un mauvais demon les suivoit incessamment, les frappoit & se reposoit sur eux. Ainsi en voyons-nous qui s'imaginent être des loups-garous. Ainsi plusieurs grans & petits ont peur des esprits (quand ilz sont seuls) au mouvement d'une souris. Ainsi les malades ayans l'imagination troublée disent quelquefois qu'ils voyêt tantôt vne vierge Marie, tantôt vn diable, & autres

[¹ Pline, liv. v. chap. I.

fantasies qui leur viennent au devant : ceci causé par le defaut de nourriture, ce qui fait que le cerveau se remplit de vapeurs mélancholiques qui apportent ces imaginations. Et ne sçay si ie doy point mettre en ce rang plusieurs anciens qui par les longs jeûnes (que saint Basile n'approuve point) avoient des visions qu'ils nous ont données pour chose certaine, & y en a des livres pleins. Mais telle chose peut aussi arriver à ceux qui sont sains de corps, comme nous avons dit. Et les causes en sort partie exterieures, partie interieures. Les exterieures sont les facheries & ennuis ; les interieures sont l'usage des viandes melancholiques & corrompues, d'où s'élevent des vapeurs malignes & perniciosuses au cerveau, qui pervertissent les sens, troublent la memoire, & égarant l'entendement. Item ces causes interieures proviennent d'un sang melancholic & brulé, contenu dans un cerveau trop chaud, ou dispersé par toutes les veines, & toute l'habitude du corps, ou qui abonde dans les hypocondres, dans la rate, & mesenterie : d'où sont suscitées des fumées & noires exhalaisons, qui rendent le cerveau obscur, tenebreux, offusqué, & le noircissent & couvrent ni plus ni moins que les tenebres font la face du ciel : d'où s'ensuit immédiatement que ces noires fumées ne peuvent apporter aux hommes qui en sont ¹⁷⁴ couverts que frayeurs & crainte. Or selon la diversité de ces exhalaisons provenant d'une diversité & variété de sang, duquel sont produites ces fumées & suyes, il y a diverses sortes d'apprehensions & melancholies qui attaquent diversément, & depravent sur tout les fonctions de la faculté imaginatrice. Car comme la variété du sang diversifie l'entendement, ainsi l'action de l'ame changée, change les humeurs du corps.

De cette mutation & depravation d'humeurs, même aux temperaments melancholiques, surviennent des bigarres & étranges imaginations causées par ces fumées ou suyes noires engeance de cette humeur melancholique.

Telle est la nature & l'humeur de quelques Sauvages, de qui toute la vie souillée de meurtres qu'ilz commettent les uns sur les autres, & particulièrement sur leurs ennemis, ils ont des apprehensions grandes, & s'imaginent un ³⁸⁹ *Gougou*, qui est le bourreau de leurs consciences : ainsi que Cain après l'assassinat de son frere Abel avoit l'ire de Dieu qui le talonnoit, & n'avoit en nulle part assurance, pensant toujours avoir ce *Gougou* devant les yeux : de sorte qu'il fut le premier qui domta le cheval pour prendre la fuite, & qui se renferma de murailles dans la ville qu'il bâtit : Et encores ainsi qu'Orestés, lequel on dit avoir été agité des furies pour le parricide par lui commis en la personne ¹⁷⁵ de sa mere. Et n'est pas incroyable que le diable possédant ces peuples ne leur donne beaucoup d'illusions. Mais proprement, & à dire la verité, ce qui a fortifié l'opinion du *Gougou* a été le rapport dudit Prevert, lequel contoit un jour au sieur de Poutrincourt une fable de même aloy, disant qu'il avoit veu un Sauvage jouer à la croce contre un diable, & qu'il voyoit bien la croce du diable jouer, mais qu'à Monsieur le diable, il ne le voyoit point. Le sieur de Poutrincourt, qui prenoit plaisir à l'entendre, faisoit semblant de le croire pour lui en faire dire d'autres.

Et quant à la mine de cuivre reluisante au Soleil, il s'en faut beaucoup qu'elle soit comme l'Emeraude de *Makhé*, de laquelle nous avons parlé au discours du second voyage fait au Bresil. Car on n'y voit que de la roche, au bas de laquelle se trouve des morceaux de franc cuivre, tels que nous avons rapporté en France : & parmi ladite roche y a quelquefois du cuivre, mais il n'est pas si luisant qu'il eblouisse les yeux.

Or si ledit Champlain a été credule, vn sçavant personnage que j'honore ³⁹⁰ beaucoup pour sa grande literature, est encore en plus grand'faute, ayant mis en sa Chronologie septenaire de l'histoire de la paix, imprimée l'an mille six ¹⁷⁶ cens cinq, tout le discours dudit Champlain, sans nommer son auteur, & ayant baillé les fables des Armouchiquois & du *Gougou* pour bonne monnoye. Le croy que si le conte du diable jouant à la croce eût aussi été imprimé, il l'eût creu, & mis par escrit, comme le reste.

Pline ¹ recite que Hanno, Capitaine Carthaginois, ayant eu la commission pour découvrir toute l'Afrique, & le circuit d'icelle, avoit laissé des amples commentaires de ses voyages ; mais ils étoient trop amples, car ilz contenoient plus que la verité : & étoient vraiment cōmentaires, par-cē qu'ils étoient accōpagnés de mēteries. Plusieurs Grecs & Latins l'ayās suivi, & s'asseurās sur iceux, en ont fait à-croire à beaucoup de gens par après, ce dit l'auteur. Il faut croire, mais non pas toutes choses. Et faut considerer premierement si cela est vray-semblable, ou non. Du moins quand on a cotté son auteur on est hors de reproche.

Il y en a qui sont touchez de cette maladie (& peut être moi-même en cet endroit qui n'ay eu le loisir de relire ce que j'écris) que le Poète Juvenal appelle *insanabile scribendi cacoethes*, lesquels écrivent beaucoup sans rien digerer ; dequoy l'accuserois ici aucunement le sieur de Belle-foret, n'étoit la reverence que ie porte à sa memoire. Car ayant eu des avis du Capitaine Jacques ³⁹¹ Quartier, & paraventure [ayant] extrait par lambeaux ceux que l'ay rapporté ci dessus, il n'a pas quelquefois bien pris les choses, étant precipité d'écrire : comme quand au premier desdits voyages il dit que les iles de la Terre-neuve sont separées par petits fleuves : Que la riviere des Barques est par les cinquante degrez de latitude : Quand il appelle *Labrador* le païs de la Baye de Chaleur, ¹⁷⁷ laquelle il a premierement mise en la terre de Norumbega, & là où il dit qu'il fait plus chaud qu'en Hespagne, & toutefois on sçait que *Labrador* est par les soixante degrez. Item quand en la relation du second voyage dudit Quartier, il dit par conjecture que les Canadiens sacrifient des hommes, parce qu'icelui Quartier allant voir vn Capitaine Sauvage (que Belle-foret appelle Roy), il vit des têtes de ses ennemis étenduës sur du bois comme des peaux de parchemin. Item que les Canadiens (qui ont quantité de vignes, & au païs desquels est assise l'ile d'Orleans, autrement dite de Bacchus) sont à l'egal du païs de Dannemark & Norvege : Que le petun duquel ils vsent ordinaiemēt tient du poivre & gingembre, & n'est point petun : Qu'ilz mangent leurs viandes cruës. Et là dessus ie diray, qu'ores qu'ilz le fissent (ce qui peut arriver quelque-fois), ce n'est chose éloignée de nous : car l'ay veu maintesfois noz matelots prendre vne moruë seche, & mordre dedās de bon appetit. Itē quād il met en vne ile le village *Stadaconé*, où il dit qu'est la maison Royale (notez que ce n'étoient que cabannes couvertes d'écorce) du seigneur Canadien : ³⁹² Item quand il met la terre de *Bacalos* (c'est à dire de Moruës) vis-à-vis de sainte Croix, où hiverna Jacques Quartier : & *Labrador* au Nort de la grande riviere, lequel païs auparavant il avoit assis au Su d'icelle : Item quand il dit que la riviere de *Saguenay* fait des iles où il y a quantité de vignes : ce que son auteur n'a point dit. Item que les Sauvages de la riviere de *Saguenay* s'approcherent familièrement des François, & leur montrerent le chemin à *Hochelaga* : Item que les Canadiens estimoient les François fils du Soleil :

¹ Pline, l. v. ch. 1.

Item est plaisant quand au village de *Hochelaga* il figure cinquante Palais, outre la maison Royale, avec trois étages. Item que les Chrétiens appellerent la ville de *Hochelaga* Mont-Royal : Item que le village *Hochelay* est à la pointe & embouchure de la riviere de *Saguenay* : & par les degrez de cinquante-cinq à soixante : Item quand il dit que les Sauvages adorent vn Dieu qu'ils appellent *Cudouagni* : car de verité ilz ne font aucune adoration : Item quand 178 il represente que dix hommes apportèrent par honneur le Roy de *Hochelaga* dans vne peau devant le Capitaine François, sans dire qu'il étoit paralytique. Item qu'il se faisoit entendre par truchement, & Jacques Quartier dit le contraire : c'est à dire qu'à faute de truchement il ne pouvoit entendre ceux de *Hochelaga*. Item que le Roy de *Hochelaga* pria ledit Capitaine de lui bailler secours contre ses ennemis, &c.

Or quand ie considere ces precipitations être arrivées à vn personnage 393 tel que ledit Belle-foret, homme de grand jugement, je ne m'étonne pas s'il y en a quelquefois és anciens auteurs, & s'il s'y trouve des choses desquelles on n'a encore eu nulle experience. Il me semble qu'on se doit contenter de faillir apres les auteurs originaires, lesquels on est contraint de suivre, sans extravager à des choses qui ne sont point, & sortir hors les limites de ce qu'iceux auteurs ont écrit : principalement quand cela est sans dessein, & ne revient à aucune vtilité.

Quelqu'un pourroit accuser le Capitaine Quartier d'avoir fait des contes à plaisir, quand il dit que tous les navires de France pourroient se charger d'oyseaux en l'île qu'il a nommée *Des oyseaux* : & de verité je croy que cela est vn peu hyperbolique. Mais il est certain qu'en cette île il y en a tant que c'est chose incroyable. Nous en avôs veu de semblables en nôtre voyage, où il ne falloit qu'assommer, recueillir, & charger nôtre vaisseau. Item quand il a raconté avoir poursuivi vne bête à deux piez, & qu'ès pais du *Saguenay* il y a des hommes accoutrez de draps de laine comme nous, d'autres qui ne mangent point, & n'ont point de fondement ; d'autres qui n'ont qu'une jambe : Item qu'il y a pardela vn pais de Pygmées, & vne mer douce. Quant à la bête à deux piez, je ne sçay que j'en doy croire, car il y a des merveilles plus étranges en la Nature que cela : puis ces terres là ne sont si bien découvertes qu'on puisse sçavoir tout ce qui y est. Mais pour le reste il a son auteur qui lui 394 en a fait le recit, homme vieillart, lequel avoit couru de grandes contrées toute sa vie. Et cet auteur il l'amena par force au Roy pour lui faire recit de ces choses par sa propre bouche, afin qu'on y adjoutât telle foy qu'on voudroit. Quant à la mer douce, c'est le grand lac qui est au bout de la grande riviere de *Canada*, duquel nul des Sauvages de deça n'a veu l'extremité Occidentale, & avons veu par le rapport fait audit Champlain qu'il a trente journées de long, qui font trois cens lieuës à dix lieuës par jour. Cela peut bien être appelé mer par ces peuples, prenant la mer pour vne grande étendue d'eau. Pour le regard des Pygmées, je sçay par le rapport de plusieurs, que les Sauvages de ladite grande riviere disent qu'ès montagnes des Iroquois il y a des petits hommes fort vaillans, que les Sauvages plus Orientaux redoutent & ne leur osent faire la guerre. Quant aux hommes armez jusques au bout des doigts, les mêmes m'ont recité avoir veu des armures semblables à celles que décrit ledit Quartier, lesquelles resistent aux coups de fleches. Tout ce que ie doute en l'histoire des vcyages d'icelui Quartier, est quand il parle de la Baye de Chaleur, & dit qu'il y fait plus chaud qu'en Hespagne. A quoy je répons que

comme vne seule hirondelle ne fait pas le Printemps : aussi que pour avoir fait chaud vne en fois cette Baye, ce n'est pas coutume. Je doute aussi de ce que dit le même Quartier qu'il y a des assemblées, & comme des colleges, où les filles sont prostituées, jusques à ce qu'elles soient mariées : & que les femmes veuves ne se remarient point : ce que nous avons reservé à dire en son ³⁹⁵ lieu. Mais pour retourner audit Champlain, ie voudrois qu'avec le *Gougou* il n'eust point mis par écrit que les Sauvages de la Nouvelle-France, pressez quelquefois de faim, se mangent l'un l'autre : ni tant de discours de nôtre sainte Foy, lesquels ne se peuvent exprimer en langue de Sauvages, ni par truchement, ni autrement. Car ilz n'ont point de mots qui puissent représenter les mysteres de nôtre Religion : & seroit impossible de traduire seulement ¹⁸⁰ l'Oraison Dominicale en leur langue, sinon par periphrases. Car entre eux ilz ne sçavent que c'est de sanctification, de regne celeste, de pain super-substantiel (que nous disons quotidien) ni d'induire en tentation. Les mots de gloire, vertu, raison, beatitude, Trinité, Saint Esprit, Anges, Archanges, Resurrection, Paradis, Enfer, Eglise, Baptême, Foy, Esperance, Charité, & autres infinis ne sont point en vsgé chés eux. De sorte qu'il n'y sera pas besoin de grans Docteurs pour le commencement. Car par nécessité il faudra qu'ils apprennent la langue des peuples qu'ils voudront reduire à la Foy Chrétienne : & à prier en nôtre langue vulgaire, sans leur penser imposer le dur fardeau des langues inconnues. Ce qu'étant de coutume & de droit positif, & non d'aucune loy divine, ce sera de la prudence des Pasteurs de les enseigner vtilement & non par fantasies ; & chercher le chemin plus court pour parvenir à leur conversion. Dieu vueille en donner les moyens à ceux qui en ont la volonté.

396 *Entreprise du Sieur de Roberval pour l'habitation de la terre de Canada, aux despens du Roy : Commission du Capitaine Jacques Quartier : Fin de ladite entreprise.*

CHAP. XXX

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APRES la decouverte de la grand' riviere de Canada faite par le Capitaine Quartier en la maniere que nous avons recité ci-dessus, le Roy en l'an mille cinq cens quarante fit son Lieutenant general és terres neuves de *Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay*, & autres circonvoisines, messire Iean François de la Roque, dit le Sieur de Roberval, Gentil-homme du pais de Vimeu en Picardie, auquel il fit delivrer sa Commission le quinziesme de Ianvier audit an, à l'effect d'aller habiter lesdites terres, y batir des Forts, & conduire des familles. Et pour ce faire sa Majesté fit delivrer quarante cinq mille livres par les mains de Maitre Iean du Val, Thresorier de son Epargne. Jacques Quartier fut nommé par sadite Majesté Capitaine general & maitre Pilote sur tous les vaisseaux de mer qui seroient employés à cette entreprise, qui furent cinq en nombre du pois de quatre cens tonneaux de charge, ainsi que ie trouve par le compte rendu desdits deniers par ledit Quartier, qui m'a esté communiqué par le sieur Samuel Georges, bourgeois de la Rochelle.

397 Or n'ayant peu jusques ici recouvrer ladite Commission de Roberval, ie me contenteray de donner aux lecteurs celle qui peu après fut donnée audit Quartier, dont voici la teneur.

Commission pour le Capitaine Jacques Quartier sur le voyage & habitation des terres neuves de Canada, Hochelaga, &c.

FRANÇOIS, par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, A tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, Salut. Comme pour le desir d'entendre & avoir conoissance de plusieurs païs qu'on dit inhabités, & autres être possédez par gens Sauvages vivans sans conoissance de Dieu & sans 183 vsage¹ de raison, eussions dés pieça, à grands frais & mises envoyé découvrir esditz païs par plusieurs bons pilotes ; & autres noz sujetz de bon entendement, sçavoir, & experience, qui d'iceux païs nous auroient amené divers hommes que nous avons par long tēps tenus en nôtre Royaume, les faisans instruire en l'amour & crainte de Dieu & de sa sainte Loy & doctrine Chrétienne, en intention de les faire remener esdits païs en compagnie de bon nombre de noz sujets de bonne volonté, afin de plus facilement induire les autres peuples

¹ Mot abusif.

d'iceux pais à croire en nôtre sainte Foy : & entre autres y eussions envoyé nôtre cher & bien amé Jacques Quartier, lequel auroit découvert grand pais des terres de *Canada & Hochelaga*, faisant vn bout de l'Asie du côté de l'Occident : lesquels pais il a trouvé (ainsi qu'il nous a rapporté) garnis de plusieurs bônes commodités, & les peuples d'iceux bien fournis de corps & 398 de membres, & bien disposez d'esprit & entendement, desquels il nous a semblablement amené aucun nombre, que nous avons par long temps fait voir & instruire en nôtre dite sainte Foy avec nosdits sujets. En consideration dequoy, & de leur bonne inclination nous avons avisé & delibéré de renvoyer 184 ledit Quartier esdits pais de *Canada & Hochelaga*, & jusques en la terre de *Saguenay* (s'il peut y aborder), avec bon nombre de navires & de toutes qualités, arts & industrie, pour plus avant entrer esdits pais, converser avec les [dits] peuples d'iceux, & avec eux habiter (si besoin est), afin de mieux parvenir à nôtre dite intention, & à faire chose agreable à Dieu nôtre createur & redempteur, & que soit à l'augmentation de son saint & sacré Nom, & de nôtre mere sainte Eglise Catholique, de laquelle nous sommes dits & nommez le premier fils : Parquoy soit besoin pour meilleur ordre & expedition de ladite entreprise deputer & établir vn Capitaine general & maistre Pilote desdits navires, qui ait regard à la conduite d'iceux, & sur les gens, officiers, & soldats y ordonnés & établis : SÇAVOIR FAISONS que nous à plein confians de la personne dudit Jacques Quartier, & de ses sens, suffisance, loyauté, preud'homme hardiesse, grande diligence, & bonne experience ; icelui, pour les causes & autres à ce nous mouvans, Avons fait, constitué & ordonné, faisons, constituons, ordonnons & établissons par ces presentes, Capitaine general & maitre Pilote 399 de tous les navires & autres vaisseaux de mer par nous ordonnés être menez pour ladite entreprise & expedition, pour ledit état & charge de Capitaine general & maitre Pilote d'iceux navires & vaisseaux avoir, tenir, & exercer par ledit Jacques Quartier aux honneurs, prerogatives, prééminences, franchises, libertez, gages & bien-faitz, telz que par nous lui seront pour ce ordonnez, tant qu'il nous plaira. Et lui avons donné & donnons puissance & autorité de mettre, établir & instituer ausdits navires tels Lieutenans, patrons, pilotes & autres ministres necessaires pour le fait & conduite d'iceux, & en tel nombre 185 qu'il verra & conoitra être besoin & necessaire pour le bien de ladite expedition. Si donnons en mandement par cesdites presentes à nôtre Admiral ou Vic-Admiral, que prins & receu dudit Jacques Quartier le serment pour ce deub & accoutumé, icelui mettent & instituent, ou facent mettre & instituer de par nous en possession & saisine dudit Etat de Capitaine general & maitre Pilote : & d'icelui, ensemble des honneurs, prerogatives & prééminences, franchises, libertez, gages & bien-faits telz que par nous lui seront pour ce ordonnez, le facent, souffrent & laissent jouir & vser pleinement & paisiblement, & à lui obeir & entendre de tous ceux, & ainsi qu'il appartiendra és choses touchant & concernant ledit Etat & charge. Et outre lui face, souffre & permette prendre le petit Gallion appelé l'Emerillon, que de present il a de nous, lequel est ja vieil & caduc, pour servir à l'adoub de ceux des navires qui en auront 400 besoin, & lequel nous voulôs être prins & appliqué par ledit Quartier pour l'effect dessusdit, sans qu'il soit tenu en rēdre aucun autre cōpte ne reliqua : Et duquel compte & reliqua nous l'avôs déchargé & déchargeons par icelles presentes : par lesquelles nous mandons aussi à noz Prevostz de Paris, Baillifs de Rouën, de Caen, d'Orleans, de Blois & de Tours, Senechaux du Maine,

d'Anjou, & Guienne, & à tous nos autres Baillifs, Senechaux, Prevosts, Alloués, & autres noz Iusticiers, & Officiers, tant de nôtre Royaume que de nôtre pais de Bretagne vni à icelui, pardevers lesquels sont aucuns prisonniers, accusés, ou prevenuz d'aucuns crimes quelz qu'ilz soient, fors de crimes de lese Majesté divine & humaine envers nous, & de faux monnoyeurs ; qu'ils ayent incontinent à delivrer, rêdre & bailler és mains dudit Quartier, ou ses commis & deputez portans ces presentes, ou le *duplicata* d'icelles, pour nôtre service en ladite 186 entreprise & expedition, ceux desdits prisonniers qu'il conoitra estre propres, suffisans, & capables, pour servir en icelle expedition, jusqu'au nombre de cinquante personnes & selon le choix que ledit Quartier en fera, iceux premiere-ment jugés & condamnez selon leurs demerites, & la gravité de leurs meffaits, si jugés & condamnés ne sont : & satisfaction aussi prealablement ordonnée aux parties civiles & interessées, si faite n'avoit été : pour laquelle toutefois nous ne voulons la delivrance de leurs personnes esdites mains dudit Quartier 401 (s'il les trouve de service) être retardée ne retenuë : Mais se prendra ladite satisfaction sur leurs biens seulement. Et laquelle delivrance desditz prisonniers, accusés ou prevenuz, nous voulons être faite esdites mains dudit Quartier pour l'effect dessusdit par nosditz Iusticiers & Officiers respectivement, & par chacun d'eux en leur regard, pouvoir & jurisdiction, nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques faites, ou à faire, relevées, ou à relever, & sans que par le moyen d'icelles, icelle delivrance en la maniere dessusdite soit aucunement differée. Et afin que plus grand nombre n'en soit tiré, outre lesditz cinquante, Nous voulons que la delivrance que chacun de nosditz Officiers en fera audit Quartier soit écrite & certifiée en la marge de ces presentes, & que neantmoins registre en soit par eux fait & envoyé incontinent par devers nôtre amé & feal Chancellier pour conoitre le nombre & la qualité de ceux qui auront été baillés & delivrés. Car tel est nôtre plaisir. En témoin de ce nous avons fait mettre nôtre seel à cesdites presentes. Donné à Saint-Pris le dix-septième jour d'Octobre, l'an de grace mille cinq cens quarante, 187 & de nôtre regne le vingt-sixième. Ainsi signé sur le repli, Par le Roy, vous Monseigneur le Chancellier, & autres presens. De la Chesnaye. Et scellées sur le repli à simple queue de cire jaune.

Les affaires expediées ainsi que dessus, lesditz De Roberval & Quartier firent voiles aux Terres-neuves, & se fortifierent au Cap Breton, où il reste 402 encores des vestiges de leur edifice. Mais s'appuyans trop sur le benefice du Roy, sans chercher le moyen de vivre du pais même : & le Roy occupé à de grandes affaires qui pressoient la France pour lors, il n'y eut moyen d'envoyer nouveau rafraichissement de vivres à ceux qui devoient avoir rendu le pais capable de les nourrir, ayans eu vn si bel avancement de sa Majesté, & par-aventure que ledit De Roberval fut mandé pour servir le Roy pardeça : car ie trouve par le compte dudit Quartier qu'il employa huit mois à l'aller querir après y avoir demeuré dix-sept mois.¹ Et ose bien penser que l'habitation du 183 Cap Breton ne fut moins funeste qu'avoit été six ans auparavant celle de Sainte-Croix en la grande riviere de Canada, où avoit hiverné ledit Quartier. Car ce pais étant assis sur les premieres terres, & sur le Golfe de *Canada*, qui est glacé tous les ans iusques sur la fin de May, il n'y a point de doute qu'il ne soit merveilleusement âpre & rude, & sous vn ciel tout plein d'inclemence. 189 De maniere que cette entreprise ne reüssit point, faute de s'être logé en vn climat temperé. Ce qui se pouvoit aisément faire, étant la province de telle tenduë qu'il y avoit à choisir vers le Midi autant que vers le Nort.

Plainte sur nôtre inconstance & lacheté : Nouvelle entreprise & Commission pour 403
Canada : Envie des Marchans Maloins : Revocation de ladicte Commission.

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CHAP. XXXI

S I le dessein d'habiter la terre de Canada n'a ci devant réussi, il n'en faut ja blamer la terre, mais accuser nôtre inconstance & lacheté. Car voici qu'après la mort du Roy François premier on entreprend des voyages au Bresil & à la Floride, lesquels n'ont pas eu meilleur succès, quoy que lesdites provinces soyêt sans hiver, & jouissent d'une verdure perpetuelle. Il est vray que l'ennemi public des hommes a forcé les nôtres de quitter le pais par-delà, mais cela ne nous excuse point, & ne peut nous garantir de faute. Tandis qu'on a eu esperance en ces entreprises plus meridionales, & outre l'Æquateur, on a oublié les découvertes de Jacques Cartier : de sorte que plusieurs années se sont écoulées, ausquelles noz François ont été endormis, & n'ont rien fait de memorable par mer ; Non qu'il ne se trouve des hômes avêtureux qui pourroïent faire quelque chose de bô : mais ilz ne sôt ni soulagez, ni soutenez de ceux sans lesquelz toute entreprise est vaine. Ainsi en l'an mille cinq cês quatre vingts huit le sieur de la Jaunaye Chatô & Jacques Noel, neveux & heritiers dudit Quartier, s'étans efforcez de cōtinuer à leurs dépês 404 les erremens de leurdit oncle, souffrirêt des pertes notables par le brulement qui leur fut fait de trois ou quatre pataches par les hommes de deçà. De sorte qu'ilz furent cōtraints d'avoir recours au Roy, auquel ilz presenterent requête aux fins d'obtenir Commission pareille à celle dudit Quartier [leur oncle] rapportée ci-dessus, en consideration de ses services, & qu'au voyage de l'an mille cinq cens quarante, il avoit employé la somme de seze cens trente-huit livres pardessus l'argent qu'il avoit receu, dont il n'avoit été remboursé : 191 Requerans en outre pour ayder à former vne habitation François, vn privilege pour douze ans de traffiquer seuls avec les peuples sauvages desdites terres, & principalement au regard des pelleteries qu'ils amassent tous les ans : & de-fèses être faites à tous les sujets du Roy de s'entremettre dudit traffic, ni les troubler en la jouissance dudit privilege & de quelques mines qu'ils avoient découvertes, pendât ledit temps. Ce qui leur fut accordé par lettres patentes & commission qu'ils en eurent du quatorzième de Janvier, mille cinq cens octante huit. Mais apres s'être bien donné de la peine à obtenir cela, ils en eurent peu, ou plutot rien de contentement. Car incontinent voici l'envie des marchans de Saint-Malo qui prend les armes pour ruiner tout ce qu'ils avoient fait, & empecher l'avancement & du Christianisme & du nom François en ces terres-là : comme ils ont sceu fort bien pratiquer depuis en même sujet à l'endroit du sieur de Monts. Si-tôt donc qu'ils eurent la nouvelle de ladite 405 Commission portant le privilege susdit, incontinent ilz presenterent leur requête

au Conseil privé du Roy pour la faire revoquer. Sur quoy ils eurent Arrest
 • à leur desir du cinquième de May ensuivant.

On dit qu'il ne faut point empêcher la liberté naturellement acquise à toute personne de traffiquer avec les peuples de delà. Mais ie demanderoÿ volontiers qui est plus à preferer ou la Religion Chrétienne, & l'amplification du nom François, ou le profit particulier d'un marchand qui ne fait rien pour le service de Dieu, ni du Roy ? Et ce-pendant cette belle dame Liberté a seule empêché iusques ici que ces pauvres peuples errans n'ayent été faicts Chrétiens, & que les François n'ayent parmi eux planté des colonies, qui eussent receu plusieurs des nôtres, lesquels depuis ont enseigné nos arts & métiers aux Allemans, Flamens, Anglois & autres nations. Et cette même Liberté a fait que par l'envie des marchans les Castors se vendent aujourd'hui dix livres piece,¹ lesquels au temps de ladite Commission ne se vendoient qu'environ cinquante sols. Certes la cōsideration de la Foy & Religion Chrétienne merite bien que l'on octroye quelque chose à ceux qui employent leurs vies & fortunes pour l'accroissement d'icelle, & en vn mot, pour le public. Et n'y a rien plus iuste que celui qui habite vne terre jouisse du fruit d'icelle.

¹ The edition of 1611-2 has *huit livres & demie*: this chapter is not in the edition of 1609.

*Voyage du Marquis de la Roche aux Terres neuves : Ile de Sable : Son retour 406
en France d'une incroyable façon : Ses gens cinq ans en ladite ile : Leur
retour : Commission dudit Marquis.*

CHAP. XXXII

D'AVTANT que jusques ici nous n'avons parlé que d'entreprises vaines, lesquelles n'ont été secondées comme il falloit, i'en ajouteray encor ici vne pour le parachevement de ce livre, qui est du sieur Marquis de la Roche, Gentilhomme Breton tout rempli de bonne volonté, mais auquel on n'a tenu les promesses qu'on lui avoit faites pour l'exécution de son dessein.

En l'an mille cinq cens nonante huit, le Roy ayant audit Marquis confirmé le don de Lieutenance generale és terres dont nous parlons, à luy fait par le Roy Henry III. & octroyé sa Commission, il s'embarqua avec environ soixante hommes, & n'ayant encore reconu le pais, il fit descente en l'ile de Sable, qui est a vingt-cinq ou trente lieuës de Campseau : ile étroite, mais longue d'environ vingt lieuës, gisante par les quarante quatre degrez : assez sterile, mais où y a quantité de vaches & pourceaux, ainsi que nous avons touché ailleurs.¹ Ayant là dechargé ses gens & bagage, il fut question de chercher quelque bon port en la terre ferme : & à cette fin il s'y en alla dans vne petite 407 barque : mais au retour il fut surpris d'un vent si fort & violent, que contraint d'aller au gré d'icelui, il se trouva en dix ou douze jours en France. Et pour montrer la petitesse de sa barque, & qu'il falloit ceder à la fureur du vêt, i'ay plusieurs fois ouï dire au Sieur de Poutrincourt, que du bord d'icelle il lavoit ses mains dans la mer. Etant en France, le voila prisonnier du Duc de Mercœur ! & celui à qui les dieux les plus inhumains Æole & Neptune 195 avoient pardonné, ne trouve point d'humanité en terre. Cependant ses gens demeurent cinq ans degradés en ladite ile, se mutinent, & coupent la gorge l'un à l'autre, tant que le nombre se raccourcit de jour en jour. Pendant lesdits cinq ans ils ont là vécu de pecherie, & des chairs des animaux que nous avons dit, dôt ils en avoient apprivoisez quelques vns qui leur fournissoïent de laitage, & autres petites commoditez. Ledit Marquis étât delivré fit recit au Roy à Roüë de ce qui lui étoit survenu. Le Roy commâda à Chef-d'hotel, Pilote, d'aller recueillir ces pauvres hômes quand il iroit aux Terres-neuves. Ce qu'il fit, & en trouva douze de reste, ausquels il ne dit point le commandement qu'il avoit du Roy, afin d'attrapper bon nôbre de cuirs & peaux de Loups-marins, dôt ils avoiët fait reserve durât lesdites cinq années. Somme, revenus en Frâce, ilz se presentent à sa Majesté vétus desdites peaux de Loups-marins. Le Roy leur fit bailler quelque argêt, & se retirerët. Mais il y eut procés entre eux & ledit Pilote, pour les cuirs & pelleteries qu'il avoit 408 extorquées d'eux ; dont par apres ilz composerent amiablement. Et d'autant que ledit Marquis faute de moyens ne continua ses voyages, & peu apres deceda, ie veux ici ajouter seulement l'extrait de sadite Commission, ainsi que s'ensuit.

¹ Ci-dessus liv. i. chap. 3.

Edit du Roy contenant le pouvoir & Commission donnée par sa Majesté au Marquis de Cottenmeal & de la Roche, pour la conquête des terres de Canada, Labrador, Ile de Sable, Norembergue, & païs adjacens. 196

HENRI par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre, A tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, Salut. Le feu Roy François premier, sur les avis qui lui auroient été donnez, qu'aux iles & païs de Canada, ile de Sable, Terres-neuves & autres adjacentes, païs tres fertiles & abondans en toutes sortes de commoditez, il y avoit plusieurs sortes de peuple bië formez de corps & de membres, & bien disposez d'esprit & d'entendement, qui vivent sans aucune conoissance de Dieu : auroit (pour en avoir plus ample conoissance) iceux païs fait découvrir par aucuns bons pilotes & gens à ce conoissans. Ce qu'ayant reconu veritable, il auroit (poussé d'un zeile & affection de l'exaltation du nom Chrétien) dès le quinzieme Janvier mille cinq cens quarante, donné pouvoir à lean François de la Roque, sieur 409 de Roberval, pour la conquête desdits païs. Ce que n'ayant été executé dès lors, pour les grandes affaires qui seroient survenuës à cette Couronne : Nous avons resolu pour perfection d'un si bel œuvre & de si sainte & louable entreprise, au lieu dudit feu sieur de Rober-val : de donner la charge de cette conquête à quelque vaillant & expérimenté personage, dont la fidelité & affection à nôtre service nous soit conuë, avec les mêmes pouvoirs, autoritez, prerogatives & preeminences qui étoient accordées audit feu sieur de Rober-val par lesdites lettres patêtes dudit feu Roy François premier.

SCA VOIR FAISONS, que pour la bonne & entiere confiance que nous avons de la persone de nôtre amé & feal Troillus du Mesgoüets, Chevalier de nôtre Ordre, Cōseiller en nôtre Conseil d'Etat, & Capitaine de cinquante 197 hommes d'armes de nos ordonnances, le sieur de la Roche, Marquis de Cottenmeal, Baron de Las, Vicomte de Carenten & Saint Lo en Normandie, Vicomte de Trevallot, sieur de la Roche, Gommard & Quermoalec, de Gornac, Bonté-guigno, & Liscuit, & de ses louables vertus, qualitez & merites ; aussi de l'entiere affection qu'il a au bien de nôtre service & avancement de nos affaires. Iceluy pour ces causes & autres à ce nous mouvans, Nous avons conformément à la volonté du feu Roy dernier decédé nôtre tres-honoré sieur & frere, qui ja avoit fait election de sa persone pour l'execution de ladite entreprise, icelui fait, faisons, creons, ordonnons, établissons par ces presentes signées de nôtre 410 main, nôtre Lieutenant general ésdits païs de *Canada, Hochelaga*, Terres-neuves, *Labrador*, riviere de la grand' Baye,¹ de Norembergue² & terres adiacentes desdites provinces & rivières, lesquelles étans de grande longueur & étendue de païs, sans icelles être habitées par sujets de nul Prince Chrétien, & pour cette sainte œuvre & agrandissement de la foy Catholique, établissons pour conducteur, chef, Gouverneur & Capitaine de ladite entreprise : Ensemble de tous les navires, vaisseaux de mer, & pareillement de toutes personnes, tant gens de guerre, mer, que autres par nous ordonnez & qui seront par lui choisis pour ladite entreprise & execution : avec pouvoir & mandement special d'élire, choisir les Capitaines, Maitres de navires & Pilotes : commander, ordonner & disposer souz nôtre autorité : prendre, emmener & faire partir des ports

¹ C'est la riviere de Canada.

² The 1609 and 1611-12 editions have, *Norumbergue*.

& havres de nôtre Royaume les nefes, vaisseaux mis en appareil, équipez & munis de gens, vivres & artileries & autres choses nécessaires pour ladite entre-
 prise, avec pouvoir en vertu de noz commissions de faire la levée de gens de
 guerre qui seront nécessaires pour ladite entreprise, & iceux faire conduire
 par ses Capitaines au lieu de son embarquement, & aller, venir, passer & re-
 passer ésdits ports étrangers, descendre & entrer en iceux & mettre en nôtre
 main tant par voyes d'amitié ou amiable composition si faire se peut, que par
 force d'armes, main forte, & toutes autres voyes d'hostilité, assaillir villes,
 chateaux, forts & habitations, iceux mettre en nôtre obeissance, en constituer
 & edifier d'autres; faire loix, statuts & ordonnances politiques, iceux faire
 garder, observer & entretenir, faire punir les delinquans, leur pardonner &
 remettre selon qu'il verra bon être, pourveu toutefois que ce ne soient pais
 nos amis, alliez & cōfederez. Et à fin d'augmēter & accroître le bon vouloir,
 courage & affection de ceux qui servirōt à l'exécution & expeditiō de ladite
 entreprise, & mêmes de ceux qui demeureront ésdites terres, nous lui avons
 donné pouvoir d'icelles terres qu'il nous pourroit avoir acquises audit voyage,
 faire bail pour en iouir par ceux à qui elles seront affectées & leurs successeurs
 en tous droits de propriété. A sçavoir, aux Gentils-hommes & ceux qu'il
 iugera gens de merite, en Fiefs, Seigneuries, Chastelenies, Comtez, Vicomtez,
 Baronnies & autres dignitez relevans de nous, telles qu'il iugera cōvenir à
 leurs services : à la charge qu'ilz serviront à la tuition & defense desdits pais.
 Et aux autres de moindre cōdition, à telles charges & redevances annuelles qu'il
 avisera, dont nous consentons qu'ils en demeurerēt quittes pour les six premières
 années ou tel autre tēps que nôtre dit Lieutenant avisera bon être & conoitra
 leur être nécessaire : excepté toutefois du devoir & service pour la guerre.
 Aussi qu'au retour de nôtre dit Lieutenant il puisse departir à ceux qui aurōt
 fait le voyage avec lui les gaignages & profits mobiliars provenus de ladite
 entreprise, & avantager du tiers ceux qui aurōt fait ledit voyage : retenir vn
 autre tiers pour lui pour ses fraiz & dépens, & l'autre tiers pour être employé
 aux œuvres communes, fortifications du pais & fraiz de guerre. Et afin que
 nôtre dit Lieutenant soit mieux assisté & accompagné en ladite entreprise,
 nous lui avons donné pouvoir de se faire assister en ladite armée de tous Gentils-
 hōmes, Marchans, & autres noz sujets qui voudront aller ou envoyer audit
 voyage, payer gens & équipages & munir nefes à leurs despens. Ce que nous
 leur defendons tres-expressément faire, ni traffiquer sans le sceu & consente-
 ment de nôtre dit Lieutenant, sur peine à ceux qui seront trouvez, de perdition
 de tous leurs vaisseaux & marchandises. Prions aussi & requērōs tous Potentats,
 Princes noz alliés & confederez, leurs Lieutenans & sujets, en cas que nôtre dit
 Lieutenant ait quelque besoin ou necessité, lui donner aide, secours & confort,
 favoriser son entreprise. Enjoignons & commandons à tous nos sujets en cas
 de rencontre par mer ou par terre, de lui être en ce secourables & se joindre
 avec lui : revouans dès à present tous pouvoirs qui pourroient avoir été donnez,
 tant par nos predecesseurs Roys, que nous, à quelques personnes & pour
 quelque cause & occasion que ce soit, au prejudice dudit Marquis nôtre dit
 Lieutenant general. Et d'autant que pour l'effet dudit voyage il sera besoin
 passer plusieurs contracts & lettres, nous les avons dès à present validé & ap-
 prouvé, validons & aprouvons, ensemble les seings & seaux de nôtre dit Lieutenant
 & d'autres par lui commis pour ce regard. Et d'autant qu'il pourroit survenir

à nôtre dit Lieutenant quelque inconvenient de maladie, ou arriver faute d'icelui, aussi qu'à son retour il sera besoin laisser vn ou plusieurs Lieutenans : Voulons & entendons qu'il en puisse nommer & constituer par testament & autrement comme bon lui semblera, avec pareil pouvoir ou partie d'icelui ²⁰⁰ que lui avons donné. Et afin que nôtre dit Lieutenant puisse plus facilement mettre ensemble le nombre de gens qui lui est nécessaire pour ledit voyage & entreprise, tant de l'un que de l'autre sexe : Nous lui avons donné pouvoir de prendre, élire & choisir, & lever telles personnes en nôtre dit Royaume, pais, terres & Seigneuries qu'il conoitra être propres, vtils & nécessaires pour ladite entreprise, qui conviendront avec lui aller, lesquels il fera conduire & acheminer des lieux où ilz seront par lui levez jusques au lieu de l'embarquemēt. Et pource que nous ne pouvons avoir particuliere connoissance desdits pais & gens étrangers pour plus avant specifier le pouvoir qu'entendons donner à nôtre dit Lieutenant general, voulons & nous plaît qu'il ait le même pouvoir, puissance & autorité qu'il étoit accordé par ledit feu Roy François audit sieur de Roberval, encores qu'il n'y soit si particulièrement spécifié : & qu'il puisse en cette charge, faire, disposer & ordonner de toutes choses opinées & inopinées concernant ladite entreprise, comme il jugera à propos pour nôtre service & les ⁴¹⁴ affaires & necessitez le requerir, & tout ainsi & comme nous-mêmes ferions & faire pourrions si presens en personne y étions, jaçoit que le cas requit mandement plus special : validans dès-à-present comme pour lors tout ce que par nôtre dit Lieutenant sera fait, dit, constitué, ordonné & établi, contracté, chevi & composé, tant par armes, amitié, confederation & autrement en quelque sorte & maniere que ce soit ou puisse être pour raison de ladite entreprise, tant par mer que par terre : & avons le tout approuvé, agréé & ratifié, aggreons, approuvons & ratifions par ces presentes & l'avouons & tenons, & voulons être tenu bon & valable, comme s'il avoit été par nous fait.

SI DONNONS en mandement à nôtre amé & feal le Sieur Comte de Chiverny, Chancelier de France, & à noz amez & feaux Conseillers, les gens ²⁰¹ tenans noz Cours de Parlement, grand Conseil, Baillifs, Senechaux, Prevots, Juges & leurs Lieutenans & tous autres noz Iusticiers, & Officiers chacun endroit soy, comme il appartiendra, que nôtre dit Lieutenant, duquel nous avons ce jourd'hui prins & receu le serment en tel cas accoutumé, ilz facent & laissent, souffrent jouir & vser pleinement & paisiblement, à icelui obeir & entendre, & à tous ceux qu'il appartiendra és choses touchans & concernans nôtre dite Lieutenēce.

MANDONS en outre à tous noz Lieutenans generaux, Gouverneurs de noz Provinces, Admiraux, Vic'Admiraux, Maitres des ports, havres & passages, ⁴¹⁵ lui bailler chacun en l'étenduē de son pouvoir, aide, confort, passage, secours & assistance, & à ses gens avouez de lui, dont il aura besoin. Et d'autant que de ces presentes l'on pourra avoir affaire en plusieurs & divers lieux : Nous voulons qu'au *Vidimus* d'icelles deuēment collationé par vn de nos amez & feaux Conseillers, Notaires ou Secretaires, ou fait par-devant Notaires Royaux, foy soit adjoutée comme au present original : Car tel est nôtre plaisir. En témoin dequoy nous avons fait mettre nôtre seel esdites presentes. Donné à Paris le douzième jour de Janvier l'an de grace mille cinq cens quatre-vingts dix-huit. Et de nôtre regne le neuvième.

Signé,

HENRI.

[MANDEMENT À LA COUR DE PARLEMENT DE ROUËN]

HENRY par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre : A nos amez
 202 & feaux Conseillers, les gens tenans nôtre Cour de Parlement de Rouën, Salut.
 Ayans depuis peu de jours, à l'imitation du feu Roy François premier nôtre
 predecesseur, pour l'augmentation de nôtre sainte Foy Chrétienne, & pour
 plusieurs autres considerations à ce nous mouvans, resolu de mettre à execution
 l'entreprinse commencée dès le temps du feu Roy François, pour la conquête
 des Iles de Sable, de Norembegue, Terres-neuves de *Canada*, & autres pais
 adjacens : & donné la charge d'icelle conquête, à nôtre amé & feal Troillus
 de Mesgoüet, Chevalier de nôtre ordre, Conseiller en nôtre Conseil d'Estat,
 & Capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes de nos ordonnances, Sieur & Marquis
 de la Roche, que nous avons fait & constitué nôtre Lieutenant general en
 ladite entreprinse. Et voulans donner moyen à nôtre dit Lieutenant de nous
 y servir (côme il en a la volonté) Et fournir entieremēt les armées que nous
 y enverrons pour cet effet, de gēs duits à la guerre, & en tous autres arts &
 métiers. Mêmes d'aucun populaire tant de l'vn que de l'autre sexe, pour
 peupler & faire sa demeure audit pais. Et d'autant que pour la longue dis-
 tance desdits pais, & la crainte des naufrages & fortunes maritimes, aussi que
 pour le regret que plusieurs ont de laisser leurs biens, parens & amis, ilz craignent
 de faire ledit voyage, où l'ayans fait volôtairement feroient difficulté de
 demeurer ausdits pais, apres le retour de nôtre dit Lieutenant, au moyen
 dequoy à faute d'avoir nombre suffisant de gens de service, & autres volon-
 taires pour peupler lesdits pais, l'entreprinse dudit voyage ne pourroit estre
 accomplie si tost que nous le desirons : Aquoy voulans pourvoir, nous avons
 avisé de faire bailler & delivrer à nôtre dit Lieutenant ses cômīs & deputez,
 jusques à tel nombre qu'il avisera de criminels & mal-fauteurs, tant de l'vn que
 de l'autre sexe, soient detenus és prisons & Conciergeries de noz Parlemens,
 grand Conseil, & de toutes autres nos juridictions telz que bon semblera à
 lui, à sesdits commis & deputez, & qu'ils iugeront propres, vtils & necessaires
 203 pour mener esdits pais, desquels les procez auront esté faits & parfaits, & les
 jugemens de mort contre eux donnez ausquels ils voudront acquiescer : & en
 cas d'appel, apres que les sentences auront esté confirmées par noz Cours
 souveraines, excepté toutefois les criminels emprisonnez, ausquelz n'avons
 accoutumé donner grace, ains iceux delivrer à noz nouvelles entrées, En-
 semble lui avons affecté & destiné lesdits mal-fauteurs qui, ainsi que dit
 est, auront esté bannis à perpetuité, ou condamnez aux galleres perpetuelles.
 A la charge toutefois, que tous lesdits Criminels seront tenus fournir aux frais
 & dépenses de leurs vivres & autres choses à eux necessaires, les deux premieres
 années, & du noblage des nefz, qui les porteront esdits pais transmarins, mêmes
 pour les faire mener en seureté jusques aux ports & lieux desquels nos armées
 partiront, dont ilz pourront traiter avec nôtre dit Lieutenant ou ses commis,
 leur faisant à cette occasion main levée, & delivrance de leurs biens prins &
 saisis, pour raison des crimes & cas par eux commis, reservé toutefois les interets
 des parties civiles, & amendes qui nous seront adjudgées, sans neantmoins
 differer la delivrance de leurs persones, entre les mains de nôtre dit Lieutenant,
 ses commis ou deputez : à condition aussi, que où lesdits prisonniers s'en
 retourneront dudit voyage, sans permission expresse de nous, ilz seront exe-

cutez de la peine en laquelle ils auront esté condamnez, sans esperance de grace : reservant toutefois la leur faire selon les services qu'ilz nous rendront audit voyage, par le rapport qui nous en sera fait par nôtredit Lieutenant, lesquels Criminels voulons estre coneus & receus par noz Commissaires ordonnez ou à ordonner, pour recevoir le serment de ceux qui iroent audit voyage. Et à fin que nôtredit Lieutenant, sesdits commis & deputez, puissent faire choix ²⁰⁴ & élection des prisonniers, de quelque état qualité ou condition qu'ilz soient : Voulons, & nous plait que les Greffiers de chacune élection & iurisdiction, Geolliers desdites Conciergeries & autres qu'il appartiendra, les registres desdits prisonniers & causes de leur emprisonnement, leur soient representez sans aucun refus, delay, ou retardement.

SI VOVS MANDONS, ordonnons & enjoignons, que lesdits prisonniers, de quelque état, qualité ou condition qu'ilz soient, ainsi que dessus est dit, cōdamnez, vous faites à nôtredit Lieutenant, sesdits commis & deputez delivrer, & le contenu ci dessus faire observer, garder & entretenir de point en point, cessans, & faisans cesser tous troubles & empêchemens au contraire, imposans sur ce silence perpetuelle à noz Procureurs generaux, leurs substituts, & tous autres. Le tout nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques, pour lesquelles & sans preiudice dicelles, ne voulons estre differé, & quelconques ordonnāces, mandemens, deffenses & lettres à ce contraires, ausquelles pour ce regard, nous avons dérogé & dérogeons. Et pour ce que de ces presentes, nôtredit Lieutenant, sesdits commis & deputez, pourroient avoir affaire en plusieurs & divers lieux. Nous voulons qu'au *Vidimus* d'icelles deuēment collationnées, foy soit adjoutée comme à l'original : Car tel est nôtre plaisir. Donnē à Paris le douzième jour de Janvier, l'an de grace mil cinq cens quatre-vingts dix-huit. Et de nôtre regne le neuvième.

Signé, HENRY.

EXTRAICT DES REGISTRES DE LA COUR DE PARLEMENT

VEV par la Cour, les Chambres assemblées, les lettres patentes données à Paris, le douzième Janvier, & autres lettres & declarations du Roy du même jour, par lesquelles ledit Seigneur ayant à l'imitation du feu Roy François ²⁰⁵ premier, pour l'augmentation de la sainte Foy Chrétienne. Et pour plusieurs autres considerations, resolu de mettre à execution l'entreprise encommencée dès le temps dudit feu Roy François, pour les conquêtes des îles de Sable, Noremberge, Terres-neuves de Canada, & autres païs adjacens, & donné la charge d'icelle conquête à Messire Troillus de Mesgoüet Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, Conseiller en son Conseil d'Etat, Capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes de ses ordonnances, Sieur & Marquis de la Roche, lequel ledit seigneur a fait & constitué son Lieutenant general en ladite entreprise. Et voulant pourvoir au moyen de faire ladite entreprise, & peupler lesdits païs, auroit entre autres choses ledit Seigneur Roy avisé de faire bailler & delivrer à sondit Lieutenant ses commis & deputez, jusques à tel nombre qu'il avisera, de criminels & mal-fauteurs, tant de l'un que de l'autre sexe, detenus és prisons & Conciergeries des Parlemens, grād Conseil, de toutes autres iurisdiccions tels que bon semblera à lui & à sesdits commis & deputez, & qu'ils iugeront propres & necessaires pour mener esdits païs, desquels les procezs auront ja esté faits & parfaits, & les iugemens de mort contre eux donnez, ausquels ils

voudront acquiescer, & en cas d'appel, apres que les sentences auront esté confirmées par les Cours souveraines, exceptez toutefois les criminels emprisonnez, ausquels ledit Seigneur Roy n'a accoutumé donner grace, ains iceux delivrer sur nouvelles entrees, ensemble lui a affecté & destiné lesdits mal-fauteurs, qui ainsi que dit est, auront esté bannis à perpetuité, ou cōdamnez aux galleres perpetuelles. A la charge & condition que ou lesdits prisonniers s'en retourneroient dudit voyage sans permission expresse dudit Seigneur Roy, ilz serōt executez de la peine en laquelle ils auroient esté condamnez, sans
 206 qu'ilz lui rendront audit voyage, & autres charges & conditions, & ainsi qu'il est plus amplement contenu ausdites lettres : Conclusion du Procureur general du Roy, tout consideré.

LADITE COVR, les Chambres assemblees a ordonné & ordonne que lesdites lettres patentes seront enregistrees aux registres d'icelle, pour estre executées, & en iouir par ledit Mesgoüet, Marquis de la Roche, selon leur forme & teneur. Et pour avoir lieu jusques à la fin de l'année mil cinq cens quatre-vingts dix-neuf seulement pour le regard de la delivrance des prisonniers criminels & mal-fauteurs, qui pendant ledit temps seront detenus aux prisons de la Conciergerie de ladite Cour, & autres prisons de ce ressort, lesquels seront delivrez audit Marquis de la Roche ou ses commis, pour les enlever ou faire enlever des prisons, & iceux faire embarquer, huit jours apres qu'ilz seront sortis des prisons, fors & excepté les prisonniers qui seront detenus pour cas & crime de leze Majesté au premier chef, fausse monnoye, & les cōdamnez aux galleres. Parce toutefois que si lesdits condamnez aux galleres à perpetuité, ne sont enlevéz par les Commissaires desdites galleres dans les trois mois ensuivant de leur condamnation, ilz seront pareillemēt delivrez audit Marquis de la Roche, ou ses commis, & sauf pour les autres crimes à pourvoir par ladite Cour sur les cas particuliers, & ne pourront les Juges inferieurs faire aucune delivrance desdits prisonniers pour crimes capitaux, qu'au prealable ilz n'ayent envoyé en ladite Cour leurs procez, charges & informations pour en estre par icelle deliberé & ordōné ce que de raison. Et à la charge que la delivrance desdits prisonniers, ne se fera audit Marquis de la Roche, ses commis & deputez, qu'en
 207 la presence & à ce appelez les officiers du Roy sur les lieux, & faisant au prealable, apparoir par sedsits cōmis, du pouvoir qu'ils auront dudit de Mesgoüet, Marquis de la Roche. Et laissant tant aux greffes qu'aux gardes & Geolliers desdites prisons, respectivement, certifications des prisonniers qu'ils y auront prins. A la charge aussi de bailler certificat, & attestation ausdits Juges ordinaires des lieux où lesdits prisonniers seront embarquez, ou autres Commissaires à ce deputez, les noms & surnoms desdits prisonniers, desquels lesdits Juges seront tenus faire roolle, & icelui mettre aux greffes de leurs sieges & iurisdiccions, pour y avoir recours quand besoin sera, & à cette fin seront les *vidimus* desdites lettres, ensemble le present Arrest, envoyez aux Bailliffs de ce ressort, ou leurs Lieutenans, pour tenir la main à l'exécution d'iceux, & donner assistance, confort & aide audit Marquis de la Roche, ses commis & preposez, en ce que leur sera besoin & necessaire, pour l'accomplissement desdites lettres & volonté du Roy, lequel sera supplié vouloir faire fonds de deniers pour faire mener & conduire audit voyage, & demeurer audit pais quelque nombre de pauvres valides, tant hommes que femmes. Fait à Rouën en ladite Cour de Parlement le deuxiême jour de Mars, mille cinq cens quatre-vingtz dix-huit].

QUATRIÈME LIVRE DE

L'HISTOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE,

CONTENANT LES VOYAGES DES SIEURS DE MONTS
& DE POUTRINCOURT

*Intention de l'Autheur : Avis au Roy sur l'habitation de la Nouvelle-France :
Commission au Sieur de Monts : Defenses pour le trafic des pelleteries.*

CHAP. I

I'AY à reciter en ce livre la plus courageuse de toutes les entreprises que noz François ont faites pour l'habitation des Terres-neuves d'outre l'Ocean, & la moins aydée & secourüe. Le sieur de Monts, dit en son nom PIERRE DV GVA, Gentilhôme Xaintongeois, en est le premier motif, lequel [ayant le cœur porté à choses hautes, &] voyant la France en repos par ²¹⁰ la paix heureusement traitée à Vervin, lieu de ma naissance, proposa au Roy ⁴¹⁷ vn expedient pour faire vne habitation solide ésdites terres d'outre mer sans rien tirer des coffres de sa Majesté, qui étoit le même (à peu près) que nous avons veu ci-dessus avoir été octroyé à Estienne Chaton, sieur de la launaye, & Jacques Noel, Capitaine de la marine, neveux & heritiers de feu Iacques Quartier, sans que toutefois ledit sieur de Monts eût eu avis telle chose avoir été auparavant par eux impetrée.¹ Ce conseil trouvé bon & vtile, lettres incontinent furent expédiées audit sieur pour la Lieutenance generale du Roy és terres comprises souz le nom de la Nouvelle-France, iusques à certains degrez : & consequemment autres lettres portans defenses à tous sujets de sa Majesté autres qu'icelui sieur de Monts & ses associez, de traffiquer de pelleterie, & autres choses, avec les peuples habitans lesdites terres, sur grandes peines : en la maniere qui s'ensuit.

¹ Ci-dessus, liv. iii. chap. 31.

211 *Commission du Roy au sieur de Monts, pour l'habitation és terres de la Cadie, Canada, & autres endroits en la Nouvelle-France.*

Ensemble les defenses à tous autres de traffiquer avec les Sauvages desdites terres.

HENRY, par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre, A notre cher & bien amé le sieur de Monts, Gentilhomme ordinaire de notre Chambre, Salut. Comme notre plus grand soin & travail 418 soit & ait toujours été, depuis notre avenement à cette Couronne, de la maintenir & conserver en son ancienne dignité, grandeur, & splendeur, d'étendre & amplifier autant que legitiement se peut faire, les bornes & limites d'icelle : Nous étans dés long temps a, informez de la situation & condition des païs & territoire de la Cadie, Meuz sur toutes choses d'un zeile singulier & d'une devoute & ferme resolution que nous avons prinse, avec l'aide & assistance de Dieu, autheur, distributeur & protecteur de tous Royaumes & Etats; de faire convertir, amener & instruire les peuples qui habitent en cette contrée, de present gens barbares, athées, sans foy ne religion, au Christianisme, & en la creance & profession de notre foy & religion : & les retirer 212 de l'ignorance & infidelité où ilz sont. Ayans aussi dés long temps reconu sur le rapport des Capitaines de navires, pilotes, marchans & autres qui de longue main ont hanté, fréquenté, & traffiqué avec ce qui se trouve de peuples ésdits lieux, combien peut être fructueuse, commode & vtile à nous, à nos Etats & sujets, la demeure, possession & habitation d'iceux pour le grand & apparent profit qui se retirera par la grande frequentation & habitude que l'on aura avec les peuples qui s'y trouvent, & le traffic & commerce qui se pourra par ce moyen surement traiter & negocier. Novs, pour ces causes à plein confians de votre grande prudence, & en la conoissance & experience que vous avez de la qualité, condition & situation dudit païs de la Cadie : pour 419 les diverses navigations, voyages, & frequentations que vous avez faits en ces terres, & autres proches & circonvoisines : nous asseurans que cette notre resolution & intention, vous étans commise, vous la sçaurés attentivement, diligemment & non moins courageusement, & valeureusement executer & conduire à la perfection que nous desirons, Vous avons expressement commis & établi, & par ces presentes signées de notre main, Vous commençons, ordonnons, faisons, constituons & établissons notre Lieutenant general, pour représenter notre personne aux païs, territoires, côtes & confins de la Cadie : A commencer dés le quarantième degré, jusques au quarante-sixième. Et en icelle étendue ou partie d'icelle, tant & si avant que faire se pourra, établir, étendre & faire conoitre notre nom, puissance & autorité. Et à icelle assujettir, submettre & faire obeir tous les peuples de ladite terre, & les circonvoisins : Et par le moyen d'icelles & toutes autres voyes licites, les appeler, faire instruire, provoquer & émouvoir à la conoissance de Dieu, & à la lumiere de la Foy & religion Chrétienne, la y établir : & en l'exercice & profession d'icelle maintenir, 213 garder & conserver lesdits peuples, & tous autres habitez esdits lieux, & en paix, repos & tranquillité y commander tant par mer que par terre : Ordonner, decider, & faire executer tout ce que vous jugerez se devoir & pouvoir faire,

420 pour maintenir, garder & conserver lesdits lieux souz nôtre puissance & autorité, par les formes, voyes & moyens prescrits par nos ordonnances. Et pour y avoir égard avec vous, commettre, établir & constituer tous Officiers, tant és affaires de la guerre que de lustice & police pour la premiere fois, & de là en avant nous les nommer & presenter, pour en estre par nous disposé & donner les lettres, tiltres & provisions tels qu'ilz seront necessaires. Et selon les occurences des affaires, vous mêmes avec l'avis de gens prudens & capables, prescrire souz nôtre bon plaisir, des loix, statuts & ordonnances autant qu'il se pourra conformes aux nôtres, notamment és choses & matieres ausquelles n'est pourveu par icelles : traiter & contracter à même effet paix, alliance & confederation, bonne amitié, correspondance & communication avec lesdits peuples & leurs Princes, ou autres ayans pouvoir & commandement sur eux : Entretenir, garder & soigneusement observer les traittés & alliances dont vous convièdrés avec eux : pourveu qu'ils y satisfacent de leur part. Et à ce defaut, leur faire guerre ouverte pour les contraindre & amener à telle raison que vous jugerez necessaire pour l'honneur, obeissance & service de Dieu, & l'établissement, manutention & conservation de nôtredite autorité parmi eux : du moins pour hanter & frequenter par vous, & tous noz sujets avec eux en toute assurance, liberté, frequentation & communication, y negocier & trafiquer amiablement & paisiblement. Leur donner & octroyer graces & 421 privileges, charges & honneurs. Lequel entier pouvoir susdit, voulons aussi & ordonnons que vous ayez sur tous nosdits sujets & autres qui se transporteront & voudront s'habituer, trafiquer, negotier & resider esdits lieux ; tenir, 214 prendre, reserver, & vous approprier ce que vous voudrez & verrez vous être plus commode & propre à vôtre charge, qualité & vsage desdites terres, en departir telles parts & portions, leur donner & attribuer tels tiltres, hōneurs, droits, pouvoirs & facultez que vous verrez besoin être, selon les qualitez, conditions & merites des personnes du pais ou autres. Sur tout peupler, cultiver & faire habiter lesdites terres le plus promptement, soigneusement & dextrement que le temps, les lieux, & commoditez le pourront permettre : en faire ou faire faire à cette fin la decouverte & reconnoissance en l'étendue des côtes maritimes & autres contrées de la terre ferme, que vous ordonnerez & prescrirez en l'espace susdite du quarantième degré iusques au quarante-sixième, ou autrement tant & si avant qu'il se pourra le long desdites côtes, & en la terre ferme. Faire soigneusement rechercher & reconnoitre toutes sortes de mines d'or & d'argent, cuivre & autres metaux & mineraux, les faire fouiller, tirer, purger & affiner, pour être convertis en vsage, disposer suivant que nous avons prescrit par les Edits & reglemens que nous avons faits en ce Royaume du profit & emolument d'icelles, par vous ou ceux que vous aurés 422 établis à cet effet, NOUS RESERVANS seulement le dixième denier de ce qui proviendra de celles d'or, d'argent, & cuivre, vous affectans ce que nous pourrions prendre ausdits autres metaux & mineraux, pour vous aider & soulager aux grandes dépenses que la charge susdite vous pourra apporter. Voulans cependant, que pour vôtre seureté & commodité, & de tous ceux de noz sujets qui s'en iront, habituèrent & trafiqueront esdites terres : comme generalement de tous autres qui s'y accommoderont souz nôtre puissance & autorité, Vous puissiez 215 faire batir & construire vn ou plusieurs forts, places, villes & toutes autres maisons, demeures & habitations, ports, havres, retraites, & logemens que vous conoitrez propres, vtils & necessaires à l'execution de ladite entreprise. Etablir

garnisons & gens de guerre à la garde d'iceux. Vous ayder & prevaloir aux effets susdits des vagabôs, personnes oyseuses & sans avœu, tât és villes qu'aux châps, & des condamnez à banissemens perpetuels, ou à trois ans au moins hors nôtre Royaume, pourveu que ce soit par avis & consentement & de l'autorité de nos Officiers. Outre ce que dessus, & qui vous est d'ailleurs prescrit, mandé & ordonné par les commissions & pouvoirs que vous a donnez nôtre tres-cher cousin le sieur d'Ampville, Admiral de France, pour ce qui concerne le fair & la charge de l'Admirauté, en l'exploit, expedition & execution des choses susdites, faire generalement pour la conquête, peuplement, habitation & conservation de ladite terre de la Cadie, & des côtes, territoires circonvoisins 423 & de leurs appartenances & dependances souz nôtre nom & autorité, ce que nous-mêmes ferions & faire pourrions si presens en persone y étions, jaçoit que le cas requit mandement plus special que nous ne le vous prescrivôs par cesdites presentes : Au contenu desquelles, Mandons, ordonnons, & tres-expressément enjoignons à tous nos iusticiers, officiers & sujets, de se conformer : Et à vous obeïr & entendre en toutes & chacunes les choses susdites, leurs circonstances & dependances. Vous donner aussi en l'execution d'icelles tout 216 vous requis, le tout à peine de rebellion & desobeissance. Et à fin que persone ne pretende cause d'ignorance de cette nôtre intention, & se vueille immiscer en tout ou partie de la charge, dignité & autorité que nous vous donnons par ces presentes : Nous avons de noz certaine science, pleine puissance & autorité Royale, revoqué, supprimé & déclaré nuls & de nul effet ci-apres & des à present, tous autres pouvoirs & Commissions, Lettres & expeditions donnez & delivrez à quelque persone que ce soit, pour découvrir, conquerir, peupler & habiter en l'étenduë susdite desdites terres situées depuis ledit quarantième degré, iusques au quarantesixième quelles qu'elles soient. Et outre ce, mandons & ordonnons à tous nosdits Officiers de quelque qualité & condition qu'ilz soient, que ces presentes, ou *Vidimus* deuëment collationné d'icelles par l'un de noz amez & feaux Conseillers, Notaires & Secretaires, ou 424 autre Notaire Royal, ilz facêt à votre requête, poursuite & diligence, ou de noz Procureurs, lire, publier & registrer és registres de leurs iurisdiccions, pouvoirs & détroits, cessans en tât qu'à eux appartiendra, tous troubles & empêchemens à ce contraires. Car tel est nôtre plaisir. Donné à Fontainebleau le huitième jour de Novembre ; l'an de grace mille six cens trois : Et de nôtre regne le quinzisième. Signé, HENRI, Et plus bas, Par le Roy, POTIER. Et seellé sur simple queue de cire iaune.

CHARLES de Mont-morancy seigneur de Dampville & de Meru, Comte d'Escondigni, Vicomte de Meleun, Baron de Chasteau-neuf, Gonnord, Mesles & Savoisi, Chevalier des ordres du Roy, Conseiller és Conseil d'Etat & privé de sa Majesté, Capitaine de cêt hommes d'armes de ses ordonnances, Admiral de France & de Bretagne : A tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, Salut. Le sieur de Monts nous a fait entendre ; que poussé du singulier desir & devotion qu'il a toujours euë au service du Roy, & recherchant toutes occasiôs d'ê pouvoir de nouveau rêdre quelque fidele preuve à sa Majesté : Il auroit iugé ne lui en pouvoir donner vn plus certain témoignage à present

qu'il a plu à Dieu pourvoir son Royaume d'une bonne & heureuse paix, que de s'appliquer à la navigation, cōme il a des-jà fait cy devant, à découvrir quelques côtes & terres lointaines dépourvues de peuples, ou habitées par gens encor Sauvages, Barbares, & dénués de toute religion, loix & civilité, pour s'y loger & fortifier, & tacher d'en amener les nations à quelque profession de la Foy Chrétienne, civilization de mœurs, reglement de leur vie, pratique & intelligence avec les François pour l'usage de leur commerce. Et en fin à leur reconnoissance & submission à l'autorité & domination de cette Couronne de France ; & specialement pour la découverte & habitation des côtes & contrées de la Cadie, tant pour la temperature des lieux, bonté des terres, commodité de la situation de ladite province, communication & amitié ja commencée avec aucuns des peuples qui se trouvent en icelle : Que sur l'avis & rapport nagueres fait par les Capitaines qui en sont derniers retournez, de nombre & quantité de bonnes mines qui y sont, lesquelles estant ouvertes 218 pourront apporter beaucoup de profit & commodité. Surquoy considerant combien ce vertueux & louable dessein dudit sieur de Monts est digne & recommandable, & combien l'heureuse issue qui en peut proceder souz la conduite d'un personage de telle valeur & merite, & poussé d'une si bonne affection, pourra un jour estre commode & utile au bien du service de sa Majesté, profit de ses sujets, & honneur de la France. Et outre ce ayant receu divers avis, qu'aucuns étrangers designent d'aller dresser des peuplemens & demeures vers lesdites contrées de la Cadie, si comme elles ont esté jusque icy, elles restent encore quelque temps desertes & abandonnées. Pour ces causes & estans bien & deüement informez du vouloir & intention de sa Majesté, qui sur la remonstrance par nous à elle de ce faite, a donné un tres-prompt & favorable consentement à l'effect de cette entreprise : & concédé audit sieur de Monts, la découverte & peuplement de toutes lesdites côtes & contrées maritimes de la Cadie, depuis le quarantième degré, jusques au quarantesixième, & de tout ce qu'il pourra avant dans les terres ; & ce comme nôtre Vic'-Admiral & Lieutenant general tant en mer qu'en terre en tous lesdits pais. Nous en vertu de nôtre pouvoir & autorité d'Admiral, tant suivans les Edits anciens & modernes de la marine, & sur le reglement ce jourd'huy sur ce pris au Conseil d'Etat de sadite Majesté, Avons commis, ordonné & député, commençons, ordonnons & deputons par ces presentes iceluy sieur de Monts, pour nôtre Vic'-Admiral & Lieutenant general en toutes les mers, côtes, îles, rades & contrées maritimes qui se trouveront vers ladite province & region de la Cadie, depuis les quarantième degrez, jusques au quarantesixième, & si avant dans les terres qu'il pourra découvrir & habiter : Avec pouvoir d'assembler 219 par lui, tant cette premiere année que les suivantes, tels Capitaines & Pilotes, mariniers & artisans, & tel nombre de vaisseaux pourvez, & telle quantité d'armes, agrets, vivres & munitions qu'il jugera necessaire, pour les mener & conduire par toutes lesdites côtes, mers, îles, rades, & contrées, ainsi qu'il trouvera estre plus expedient, pour l'accomplissement de ladite entreprise. Et selon les occasiōs, distribuer, departir ou laisser les vaisseaux es endroits que le besoin pourra requerir : Soit pour la reconnoissance des lieux, découverte de mines, garde des places & avenues, ou pour la traite avec les Sauvages, vers la baye saint Cler, riviere de Canada, ou autres pais : Construire des forts & fortresses, ainsi & en tels endroits qu'il verra estre plus commode : Comme aussi dresser des ports, havres & autres choses necessaires pour la seure retraite

des vaisseaux François contre tous desseins d'ennemis & incursions de pirates : Etablir és places susdites tels Capitaines & Lieutenans que besoin sera : Ensemble des Capitaines & gardes des côtes, îles, havres & avenues : & pareillement commettre des officiers pour la distribution de la iustice & entretien de la police, reglemens & ordonnances : Et en somme gerer & negotier, & se comporter par icelui sieur de Monts en la function de ladite charge de nôtre Vic'-Admiral & Lieutenant general, pour tout ce qu'il iugera estre de l'avancement desdites reveuës, conquêtes & peuplement : & pour le bien du service de sa Majesté & établissement de son autorité vers lesdites mers, provinces & regions : Avec même pouvoir, puissance & autorité que nous ferions si nous y estions en persone, & comme si le tout estoit ici & par expres & plus particulièrement spécifié & déclaré. De ce faire lui avons donné & donnons par ces presentes toute charge, pouvoir, commission & mandement special. Et pource l'avons substitué & subrogé en nôtre lieu & place, à la charge de
 220 faire aussi soigneusement observer par ceux qui seront souz sa charge & autorité en toute l'exécution de cette entreprise, les Edits & ordonnances de la marine. Et faire prendre noz congez particuliers par tous les Capitaines des vaisseaux qu'il vouldra mener avec luy tant au dessein de la decouverte de ladite côte & contrée de la Cadie, que de ceux qu'il vouldra envoyer pour la traite de la Pelleterie à lui permise par sa Majesté pour dix ans vers la Baye de saint Cler & riviere de Canada. Et nous faire faire bon & fidele rapport à toutes occasions, de tout ce qui aura esté fait & exploité au susdit dessein ; pour en rendre par nous prompte raison à sadite Majesté. Et y apporter par nous ce qui pourra estre requis ou d'ordre ou de remede. Si prions & requerons tous Princes & Potentats & seigneurs étrangers, leurs Lieutenans generaux, Admiraux, Gouverneurs de leurs provinces, chefs & conducteurs de leurs gens de guerre tant par mer que par terre, Capitaines de leurs villes & forts maritimes, ports, côtes, havres & détroits. Mandons & ordônons à nos autres Vic'-Admiraux, Lieutenans generaux & particuliers, & autres officiers de nôtre Admirauté, Capitaines des côtes & de la marine & autres estâs souz nôtre pouvoir & autorité chacun endroit soy, & si comme à lui appartiendra : d'ôner audit sieur de Monts pour le plein & entier effect, execution & accomplissement de ces presentes, tout support, secours, assistance, retraite, main-forte, faveur & aide si besoin en a, & en ce qu'ils en pourront par lui estre requis. En témoin de ce, Nous avons à cesdites presentes, signées de notre main, fait mettre le seel de nos armes. A Fontaine-bleau le dernier jour d'Octobre, l'an de grace mil six cens trois. Signé, CHARLES DE MONTMORANCY. Et sur le reply, Par Monseigneur l'Admiral, signé, de Gennes, & seellé du seel des armes dudit Seigneur.]

Defenses du Roy à tous ses sujets, autres que le sieur de Monts & ses associez, de 221
traffiquer de Pelleteries & autres choses avec les Sauvages de l'étenduë du
pouvoir par luy donné audit sieur de Monts & ses associez, sur grandes
peines.

HENRI, par la grace de Dieu Roy de Frâce & de Navarre. A noz
amez & feaux Conseillers, les officiers de nôtre Admirauté, de
Normandie, Bretagne, Picardie & Guienne, & à chacun d'eux en-
droit soy, & en l'étenduë de leurs ressorts & iurisdiccions, Salut.
Nous avons, pour beaucoup d'importantes occasions, ordonné, commis &
établi le sieur de Môts, Gentilhomme ordinaire de nôtre chambre, nôtre
Lieutenant general, pour peupler & habituer les terres, côtes, & pais de la Cadie,
& autres circonvoisins, en l'étenduë du quarâtième degré jusques au quarâte-
425 sisième ; & là établir nôtre autorité, & autrement s'y loger & asseurer : en
sorte que noz sujets dés-or-mais puissent être receuz, y hanter, resider &
traffiquer avec les Sauvages habitans desdits lieux : comme plus expressement
nous l'avons déclaré par noz lettres patentes expedieës & delivrées pour cet
effet audit sieur de Monts le huitième jour de Novembre dernier : [&] suivant
les conditions & articles, moyennant lesquels il s'est chargé de la conduite
& execution de cette entreprise. Pour faciliter laquelle, & à ceux qui s'y
sont joints avec lui, & leur donner quelque moyen & commodité d'en sup-
porter la depense : Nous avons eu agreable de leur permettre & asseurer ;
Qu'il ne seroit permis à aucuns autres noz sujets, qu'à ceux entreroient en
association avec lui, pour faire ladite depense, de traffiquer de pelleterie, &
autres marchandises, durant dix années, és terres, pais, ports, rivières & avenuës
de l'étenduë de sa charge. Ce que nous voulons avoir lieu. Nous pour ces
causes & autres considerations à ce nous mouvans, Vous mandons & ordonnons,
Que vous ayez chacun de vous en l'étenduë de voz pouvoirs, iurisdiccions & 222
détroits à faire de nôtre part, comme de nôtre pleine puissance & autorité
Royal, nous faisons tres-expresses inhibitions & defenses à tous marchans,
maitres & Capitaines de navires, matelots, & autres noz sujets de quelque état,
qualité & condition qu'ilz soient, autres neantmoins, & fors à ceux qui sont
entrez en association avec ledit sieur de Monts, pour ladite entreprise, selon
426 les articles & conventions d'icelles par nous arretez ainsi que dit est : D'equiper
aucuns vaisseaux, & en iceux aller ou envoyer faire traffic & troque de pelleterie,
& autres choses avec les Sauvages : Frequenter, negocier, & communiquer
durant ledit temps de dix ans, depuis le Cap de Raze, jusques au quarantième
degré, comprenant toute la côte de la Cadie, terre & Cap Breton, Bayes de
saint Cler, de Chaleur, Ile percée, Gachepé, Chichedec, Mesamichi, Lesquemin,
Tadoussac, & la riviere de Canada, tant d'un côté que d'autre, & toutes les
Bayes & rivières qui entrent au dedans desdites côtes : A peine de desobeis-
sance, & cōfiscation entiere de leurs vaisseaux, vivres, armes & marchandises,
au profit dudit sieur de Monts & de ses associez, & de trente mille livres
d'amende. Pour l'assurance & acquit de laquelle, & de la coërtion & punition
de leur desobeissance, Vous permettrez (comme nous avons aussi permis &
permettons) audit sieur de Monts & [ses] associez, de saisir, apprehender, & arrêter
tous les contrevenans à nôtre presente defense & ordonnance, & leurs vais-

seaux, marchandises, armes, & victuailles, pour les amener & remettre és mains de la Iustice, & être procedé tant contre les personnes, que contre les biens desditz desobeissans, ainsi qu'il appartiendra. Ce que nous voulons & vous mandons & ordonnons de faire incontinent publier & lire par tous les lieux & endroits publics de vosdits pouvoirs & iurisdctions, où vous iugerez besoin
 223 être : à ce qu'aucun de nosdits sujets n'en puisse pretendre cause d'ignorance : Ains que chacun obeïsse & se conforme sur ce à nôtre volonté. De ce faire 427 nous vous avons donné, & dônons pouvoir & cômmission & mandemêt special. Car tel est nôtre plaisir. Dôné à Paris, le dix-huitième Decèbre, l'an de grace mille six cès trois : Et de nôtre regne le quinzième. Ainsi signé, HENRI. Et plus bas, Par le Roy, POTIER. Et seellé du grâd seel de cire iaune.

Ces lettres ont été confirmées par autres secondes defences du vingt-deuxième Ianvier mille six cens cinq.

Et quant aux marchādises venās de la Nouvelle-France, voici la teneur des lettres patētes du Roy portātes exēption de subsides pour icelles.

Declaration du Roy.

HENRY, par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre, A nos amez & feaux Conseillers, les gens tenans nôtre Cour des Aydes à Rouën, Maitres de noz ports, Lieutenans, Iuges & Officiers de nôtre Admirauté, & de noz traites foraines établis en nôtre province de Normandie, & chacun de vous endroit soy, Salut. Nous avons ci-devant par noz lettres patentes du huitième jour de Novembre mille six cens trois, dont copie est ci-jointe, souz le contreseel de nôtre Chancellerie, ordonné & établi nostre cher & bien amé le sieur de Monts nôtre Lieutenant general representant nôtre persone és côtes, terres & confins de la Cadie, Canada, & autres endroits en la Nouvelle-France, pour habiter lesdites terres : Et par ce moyen amener à la conoissance de Dieu, les peuples y étans, & là établir nôtre autorité. Et pour subvenir aux fraiz qu'il conviendrait faire, par nos autres
 224 lettres patentes du dix-huitième Decembre ensuivant, nous aurions donné, permis & accordé audit sieur de Monts, & à ceux qui s'associeroiēt avec lui en cette entreprise, la traite des pelleteries & autres choses qui se troquent avec les Sauvages desdites terres à plein spécifiées par lesdites patentes ; ayans par le moyen de ce que dit est assez donné à entendre que lesdits païs étoiet par nous reconuz de nôtre obeïssance, & les tenir & avoüer comme dependances de nôtre Royaume & Couronne de France. Neantmoins nos Officiers des traites foraines, ignorans peut estre jusques à cette heure nôtre volonté, veulent au prejudice d'icelle contraindre ledit sieur de Monts & ses associez de payer les mêmes droits d'entrée des marchandises venans desdits païs, qui sont deuz par celles qui viennēt d'Hespagne, & autres contrées étrangères, ne se contentans que pour icelles l'on ait païé noz droits d'entrée deuz aux lieux où elles ont été déchargées, & aux autres endroits où elles ont depuis passé par nôtre Royaume, que doivent les marchandises y venans de nos autres provinces & terres de nôtre obeïssance étans du cru d'icelles. Et de fait vn nommé François le Buffe, l'un des gardes à cheval du bureau de noz traites foraines

à Caën, auroit arrêté souz ce pretexte dés le vnzisième jour de Novembre dernier, au lieu de Condé sur Narreau, vingt-deux balles de castors, appartenans audit sieur de Monts & ses associez, venans desdites terres de la Cadie & Canada, 429
pretendant pour le fermier general desdites traites foraines de Normandie, nôtre Procureur joint, la confiscation desdites marchandises. Ce qui est & seroit grandement preiudiciable audit sieur de Monts & ses associez, frustrez de l'esperance qu'ils avoient de faire promptement argent d'icelles marchandises, pour subvenir & employer à l'achapt des vivres, munitions & autres choses necessaires qu'il convient envoyer cette année avec nombre d'hommes pour l'exécution de ladite entreprise. L'effect de laquelle demeurant par ce 225
moyen traversé & interrompu au prejudice de nôtre service, Et voulâs y remedier & sur ce faire conoitre à chacun nôtre intention, à fin que l'on n'en puisse pretendre à l'avenir cause d'ignorance. POVR CES CAUSES, & pour la consideration & merite particulier de cet affaire, du bon succez duquel par la prudente conduite dudit sieur de Monts, nous esperons vn grand bien devoir reussir à la gloire de Dieu, salut des Barbares, honneur & grandeur de nos Etats & seigneuries, Nous avons déclaré & déclarôs par ces presentes, Que toutes marchandises qui à l'avenir viendront desdits pais de la Cadie, Canada, & autres endroits qui sont de l'étêdué du pouvoir par nous donné audit sieur de Monts, & specifiez par nosdites lettres, des huitième Novembre & dix-huitième Decembre mil six cens trois, lesquelles ledit sieur de Monts & sesdits associez feront amener desdits lieux en nôtre Royaume, suivant la permission qu'ils en ont, ou autres de leur gré, congé & exprés consentement, ne payeront 430
autres ne plus grâds subsides, que les droits d'entrée, & ceux qui se payent d'ordinaire pour les marchandises qui passent de l'une de nos provinces en l'autre, & qui sont du cru d'icelles. Et pour le regard des vingt-deux balles de castors saisis & arrêtez comme dit est, par ledit François le Buffe audit lieu de Condé sur Narreau. Pour les mêmes raisons & considerations susdites : Nous avons fait & faisons audit sieur de Monts & ses associez pleine & entiere main-levée d'icelles vingt-deux balles de castors. Voulons & nous plaît prompte & entiere restitution & delivrance leur en être faite, en payant toutefois pour icelles les droits d'entrée en nôtre province de Normandie, que doivent lesdites marchandises, selon qu'ilz se payent au bureau établey au lieu de la Barre, entre les mains de nôtre fermier general desdites traites foraines, ou son commis audit Bureau de Caën, sans autres fraiz ny dépens. Et en ce faisant, voulons & ordonnons, que chacun de vous endroit soy, vous faites, 226
souffrez & laissez iouir ledit sieur de Monts & sesdits associez, pleinement & paisiblement de l'entier & prompt effect de nôtre presente declaration, vouloir & intention. Si vous MANDONS publier, lire & registrer ces presentes, chacun en l'étendué de vos ressorts que besoin sera, à la diligence dudit sieur de Monts & de sesdits associez : Cessans & faisans cesser tous troubles & empechemens à ce contraires : Contraignans & faisans contraindre à ce faire, souffrir & y obeir tous ceux qu'il appartiendra, mêmes ledit le Buffe, ensemble nôtredit 431
fermier du bureau de Caën & ses commis, à la delivrance & restitution desdites vingt-deux balles de castors, & de mêmes à la décharge des pleiges & cautions, si aucuns sont baillez pour assurance desdits castors, & generalement tous autres, qui pource seront à contraindre par toutes voyes deuës & raisonnables, Nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques, pour lesquelles, & sans preiudice d'icelles, ne sera par vous differé. De ce faire vous avons donné &

donnons pouvoir, autorité, commission & mandement special. Et par ce que de ces presentes, l'on aura affaire en plusieurs lieux, nous voulons qu'au *Vidimus* d'icelles deuément collationé par l'un de noz amez & feaux Conseillers, Notaires & Secretaires, ou autre Notaire Royal, foy soit adjoutée comme au present original. Car tel est nôtre plaisir. Donné à Paris le huitième jour de Fevrier, l'an de grace mille six cens cinq, Et de notre regne le sezième. Ainsi signé, HENRI. Et plus bas, Par le Roy, POTIER. Et sellé en simple queue du grand sceau de cire jaune.

Lesdites lettres patentes du dix-huitième Novembre & dix-huitième Decembre mille six cens trois & autres du dix-neufième Ianvier mille six cens cinq, ont été verifiées en la Cour de Parlement de Paris le sezième Mars mille six cens cinq.

432 *Voyage du sieur de Monts en la Nouvelle-France : Des accidens survenus audit voyage : Causes des bancs de glaces en la Terre-Neuve : Impositions de noms à certains ports : Perplexité pour le retardement de l'autre navire.*

CHAP. II

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LE sieur de Monts ayant fait publier les Commissions & defenses susdites par la France, & particulièrement par les villes maritimes de ce Royaume, fit equipper deux navires, l'un souz la conduite du Capitaine Timothée du Havre de Grace, l'autre du Capitaine Morel de Honfleur. Dans le premier il se mit avec bon nombre de gens de qualité tât Gentils-hommes qu'autres. Et d'autant que le sieur de Poutrincourt étoit desirieux dès y avoit long temps, de voir ces terres de la Nouvelle-France, & y choisir quelque lieu propre pour s'y retirer, avec sa famille, femme & enfans, pour n'être des derniers qui courent & participeront à la gloire d'une si belle & genereuse entreprise : Il lui print envie aussi d'y aller. Et de fait il s'embarqua avec ledit sieur de Monts, & quant & lui fit porter quantité d'armes & munitions de guerre, & leverent les ancrs du Havre de Grace le septième jour de Mars l'an mille six cens quatre. Mais étans partis de bonne-heure 228 avant que l'hiver eût encor quitté sa robbe fourrée de neige, ilz ne manquerent de trouver des bancs de glaces, contre lesquels ilz penserent heurter & se perdre : mais Dieu, qui jusques à present a favorisé la navigation de ces voyages, les preserva.

On se pourroit étonner, & non sans cause, pourquoy en même parallele il y a plus de glaces en cette mer qu'en celle de France. A quoy ie répond que les glaces que l'on rencontre en cette-dite mer ne sont pas toutes originaires du climat, c'est à dire de la grand'baye de Canada, mais viennent des parties Septentrionales poussées sans empeschement parmi les plaines de cette grande mer, par les ondées, bourrasques & flots impetueux que les vents d'Est & du Nort élèvent en hiver & au printemps, & les chassent vers le Su, & l'Ouest : Mais la mer de France est couverte de l'Ecosse, Angleterre & Irlande : qui est cause que les glaces ne s'y peuvent décharger. Il y pourroit aussi avoir une autre raison prise du mouvement de la mer, lequel se porte davantage vers ces parties là, à cause de la course plus grande qu'il a à faire vers l'Amerique que vers les terres de deçà. Or le peril de ce voyage ne fut seulement à la rencontre desdits bancs de glaces, mais aussi aux tempêtes qu'ils eurent à souffrir, dont y en eût une qui rompit les galleries du navire. Et en ces affaires y eut un menuisier qui d'un coup de vague fut porté au chemin de perdition, hors le bord, mais il se retint à un cordage qui d'aventure pendoit hors icelui navire. 229

434 Ce voyage fut long à-cause des vens contraires : ce qui toutefois arrive peu souvent à ceux qui partent au mois susdit pour aller aux Terres-neuves,

lesquels sont ordinairement poussez de vent d'Est ou de Nort propres à la route d'icelles terres. Et ayans pris leur brisée au Su de l'île de Sable pour éviter les glaces susdites, ils penserent tomber de Carybde en Scylle, & s'aller échouer vers ladite île durant les brumes épaisses qui sont ordinaires en cette mer.

En fin le sixième de May ilz terrirent à vn certain port, qui est par les quarante-quatre degrez & vn quart de latitude, où ilz trouverent le Capitaine Rossignol du Havre de Grace, lequel troquoit en pelleterie avec les Sauvages, contre les defenses du Roy. Occasion qu'on lui confisqua son navire, & fut appellé ce port, *Le port du Rossignol* : ayant eu en ce desastre vn bien, qu'vn port bon & commode en ces côtes là est appellé de son nom.

De là côtoyans & découvrans les terres ils arriverent à vn autre port, qui est tres-beau, lequel ils appellerent *Le port du Mouton*, à l'occasion d'vn mouton qui s'estant noyé revint à bord, & fut mangé de bonne guerre. C'est ainsi que beaucoup de noms anciennement ont esté donnez brusquement, & sans grande deliberation. Ainsi le Capitole de Rome eut son nom, parce qu'en y fouissant on trouva vne tête de mort. Ainsi la ville de Milan a été appellée *Mediolanum*, c'est-à-dire demi-laine, par ce que les Gaullois jettans les fondemens d'icelle trouverent vne truye qui étoit à moitié couverte de laine : & 435 ainsi conséquemēt de plusieurs autres.

Etans au Port du Mouton ilz se cabannerent là à la mode des Sauvages, attendans des nouvelles de l'autre navire, dās lequel on avoit mis les vivres, & autres choses necessaires pour la nourriture & entretenemēt de ceux qui
 230 étoiet de la reserve pour hiverner, en nombre d'environ cent hommes. En ce Port ilz attēdirent vn mois en grande perplexité, de crainte qu'ils avoient que quelque inistre accident [ne] fût arrivé à l'autre navire, parti dès le dixième de Mars, où étoient le Capitaine du Pont de Honfleur, & ledit Capitaine Morel. Et ceci étoit d'autāt plus important, que de la venuē de ce navire dependoit tout le succez de l'affaire. Car même sur cette longue attente il fut mis en deliberation, sçavoir si l'on retourneroit en France, ou non. Le sieur de Poutrincourt fut d'avis qu'il valoit mieux là mourir. A quoy se cōforma ledit sieur de Monts. Cependant plusieurs alloient à la chasse, & plusieurs à la pecherie, pour faire valoir la cuisine. Prés ledit Port du Mouton il y a vn endroit si rempli de lapins, qu'on ne mangeoit préque autre chose. Tandis on envoya Champlain avec vne chaloupe plus avant chercher vn lieu propre pour la retraite, & tant demeura en cette expedition, que sur la deliberation du retour on le pensa abandonner : car il n'y avoit plus de vivres ; & se servoit-on de ceux qu'on avoit trouvé au navire de Rossignol, sans
 lesquels il eust fallu quitter le jeu, & rompre vne belle entreprise à sa naissance, 436
 ou mourir là de faim après avoir fait la chasse aux lapins, qui n'eussent toujours duré. Or ce qui causa ce retardement de la venuē desdits sieurs du Pont & Capitaine Morel, furent deux occasions, l'vne que manquans de bateau, ilz s'amuserent à en batir vn en la terre où ils arriverent premierement, qui fut le *Port aux Anglois* : l'autre qu'étans venu au *Port de Campseau*, ils y trouverent quatre navires de Basques, qui troquoient avec les Sauvages contre les defenses
 231 susdites, lesquels ilz depouillerent, & en amenerent les maitres audit sieur de Monts, qui les traita fort humainement.

Trois semaines passées, icelui sieur de Monts n'ayant aucunes nouvelles dudit navire qu'il attendoit, delibera d'envoyer le long de la côte les chercher,

& pour cet effect depecha quelques Sauvages, ausquels il bailla vn François pour les accompagner avec lettres. Lesdits Sauvages promirent de revenir à point-nommé dans huit jours : à quoy ils ne manquerent. Mais comme la société de l'homme avec la femme bien d'accors est vne chose puissante, ces Sauvages devant que partir eurent soin de leurs femmes & enfans, & demanderent qu'on leur baillât des vivres pour eux. Ce qui fut fait. Et s'étans mis à la voile, trouverent au bout de quelques jours ceux qu'ilz cherchoient en vn lieu dit *La baye des Iles*, lesquels n'étoient moins en peine dudit sieur de Monts, que lui d'eux, n'ayans en leur voyage trouvé les marques & enseignes
437 qui avoient été dites, c'est que le sieur de Monts passant à *Campseau* devoit laisser quelque Croix à vn arbre, ou missive y attachée. Ce qu'il ne fit point, ayant outre-passé ledit lieu de *Campseau* de beaucoup pour avoir pris sa route trop au Su, à-cause des bancs de glaces, comme nous avons dit. Ainsi apres avoir leu les lettres, lesdits Capitaines du Pont & Morel se dechargerent des vivres qu'ils avoient apportés pour la provision de ceux qui devoient hiverner, & s'en retournerent en arriere vers la grande riviere de *Canada* pour la traite des pelleteries.

Debarquement du Port au Mouton : Accident d'un homme perdu seize jours dans les bois : Baye Française : Port-Royal : Riviere de l'Equille : Mine de cuivre : Mal-heur des mines d'or : Diamans : Turquoises.

TOUTE la Nouvelle-France en fin assemblée en deux vaisseaux, on leve les ancrs du *Port au Mouton* pour employer le temps & découvrir les terres tant qu'on pourroit avant l'hiver. On va gagner le *Cap de Sable*, & de là on fait voile à la *Baye Sainte Marie*, où noz gens furent quinze jours à l'ancre, tandis qu'on reconnoissoit les terres & passages de mer & de rivières. Cette Baye est vn fort beau lieu pour habiter, d'autant qu'on est là tout porté à la mer sans varier. Il y a de la mine de fer & d'argent : mais elle n'est point abondante, selon l'épreuve qu'on en a fait 438 pardela & en France. Après avoir là sejourné douze ou treze jours, il arriva vn accident étrange tel que ie vay dire. Il avoit pris envie à vn ieune homme d'Eglise, Parisien de bonne famille, de faire le voyage avec le sieur de Monts, & ce (dit-on) contre le gré de ses parens, lesquels envoyerent exprés à Honfleur pour le divertir & r'amener à Paris. Mais le zele n'en étoit que louable. Car si en beaucoup de choses on suivoit l'avis des gens sedentaires, on perdrait maintes belles occasions de bien faire. Or les navires étans à l'ancre en ladite Baye sainte Marie, il se mit en la troupe de quelques vns qui s'alloient égayer par les bois. Avint que s'étant arreté pour boire à vn ruisseau il y oublia son épée, & poursuivoit son chemin avec les autres quand il s'en apperceut. Lors il retourna en arriere pour l'aller chercher : mais l'ayant trouvée, oublieux de la part d'où il étoit venu, sans regarder s'il falloit aller vers le Levant, ou le Ponant, ou autrement (car il n'y avoit point de sentier) il prent sa voye à 233 contre-pas, tournant le dos à ceux qu'il avoit laissé, & tant fait par ses allées & venus qu'il se trouve au rivage de la mer, là où ne voyant point de vaisseaux (car ils étoient en l'autre part d'une langue de terre qui s'avance à la mer, & s'appelle l'*Ile Longue*), il s'imagina qu'on l'avoit delaissé, & se mit à lamenter sa fortune sur vn roc. La nuit venuë, chacun étant retiré, on le trouve manquer : on le demande à ceux qui avoient été es bois, ilz disent en quelle façon il étoit parti d'avec eux, & que depuis ils n'en avoient eu nouvelles. Dé- 439 ja on accusoit vn certain de la religion pretenduë reformée de l'avoir tué, pource qu'ilz se picquoient quelquefois de propos pour le fait de ladite religio. Somme on fait sonner la trompette parmi la foret, on tire le canon plusieurs fois. Mais en vain. Car le fray de la mer plus fort que tout cela rechassoit en arriere le son des canons & trompetes. Deux, trois, & quatre jours se passerent. Il ne comparoit point. Ce pendant le temps pressoit de partir, de maniere qu'apres avoir attendu jusques à ce qu'on le tenoit pour mort,

on leva les ancrs pour aller plus loin, & voir le fond d'une baye qui a quelques quarante lieues de longueur, & quatorze, puis dix-huit de largeur, laquelle a été appelée la *Baye Française*.

En cette Baye est au quarante-cinquième degré, le passage pour entrer en un port, lequel nos gens furent desirieux de voir, & y firent quelque séjour, durant lequel ils eurent le plaisir de chasser un Ellan, lequel traversa à nage un grand lac de mer qui fait ce Port, sans se forcer. Cedit port est couvert de montagnes du côté du Nord, qui durent plus de quinze lieues Nordest & Suroest. Vers le Sud ce sont coteaux, lesquels (avec lesdites montagnes) versent mille ruisseaux, qui rendent le lieu agreable plus que nul autre du monde, & 234 y a de fort belles cheutes pour faire des moulins de toutes sortes. A l'Est est une riviere entre lesdits coteaux & montagnes, dans laquelle les navires 440 peuvēt faire voile jusques à quinze lieues ou plus : & durant cet espace ce ne sont que prairies d'une part & d'autre de ladite riviere, laquelle fut appelée *l'Equille*, parce que le premier poisson qu'on y print fut une Equille. Mais ledit Port pour sa beauté fut appelé LE PORT-ROYAL, non par le choix de Champlain, comme il se vante en la relation de ses voyages : mais par le sieur de Monts Lieutenant du Roy. Le sieur de Poutrincourt ayant trouvé ce lieu à son gré, il le demanda, avec les terres y continentes, audit sieur de Monts, auquel sa Majesté avoit par la commission inserée ci dessus baillé la distribution des terres de la Nouvelle-France depuis le quarantième degré iusques au quarante-sixième. Ce qui lui fut octroyé, & depuis en a pris lettres de confirmation de sadite Majesté, en intention de s'y retirer avec sa famille, pour y établir le nom Chrétien & François tant que son pouvoir s'étendra, & Dieu lui en doint le moyen. Ledit Port a huit lieues de circuit, sans comprendre la riviere de l'Equille, dite maintenant la riviere du Dauphin. Il y a deux îles dedans fort belles & agreables ; l'une à l'entrée de ladite riviere, que ie fay d'une lieue Française de circuit : l'autre à côté de l'embouchure d'une autre riviere large à peu près comme la riviere d'Oise, ou Marne, entrant dans ledit Port : ladite île préque de la grandeur de l'autre : & toutes deux 235 foretieres. C'est en ce Port & vis-à-vis de la premiere île, que nous avons demeuré deux ans après ce voyage. Nous en parlerons plus amplement en autre lieu.

441 Au partir du Port Royal, ilz firent voile à la mine de cuivre de laquelle nous avons parlé ci-dessus.¹ C'est un haut rocher entre deux bayes de mer où le cuivre est enchassé dans la pierre, fort beau & fort pur, tel que celui qu'on dit cuivre de rosette. Plusieurs orfèvres en ont veu en France, lesquels disent qu'au dessous du cuivre il y pourroit avoir de la mine d'or. Mais de s'amuser à la rechercher, ce n'est chose encore de saison. La premiere mine, c'est d'avoir du pain & du vin, & du bestial, comme nous disions au commencement de cette histoire. Notre felicité ne git point es mines, principalement d'or & d'argent, lesquelles ne servent au labourage de la terre, ni à l'usage des métiers. Au contraire l'abondance d'icelles n'est qu'une sarcine, un fardeau, qui tient l'homme en perpetuelle inquietude, & tant plus il en a, moins a-il de repos, & moins lui est sa vie assurée.

Avant les voyages du Perou, on pouvoit serrer beaucoup de richesses en peu de place, au lieu qu'aujourd'hui l'or & l'argent étans avillis par l'abondance, il faut des grandz coffres pour retirer ce qui se pouvoit mettre en une

¹ Liv. iii. chap. 28 et 29.

petite bouge. On pouvoit faire vn long trait de chemin avec vne bourse dans la manche ; aujourd'hui il faut vne valize, & vn cheval exprés. A ce propos Bodin en sa Republique¹ dit avoir verifié en la Chambre des comptes qu'au 236 temps de saint Louis le Chancelier de France n'avoit pour soy, ses chevaux & valets à cheval, & pour avoine & toute chose que sept sols parisis par jour. Ce que considéré nous pouvons à bon-droit maudire l'heure quand jamais 442 l'avarice a porté l'Hespagnol en l'Occident, pour les mal-heurs qui s'en sont ensuivis. Car quand ie me represente que par son avarice il a allumé & entretenu la guerre en toute la Chrétienté, & s'est étudié à ruiner ses voisins, & non point le Turc, ie ne puis penser qu'autre que le diable ait été autheur de ses voyages. Et ne faut m'alleguer ici le pretexte de la Religion. Car (comme nous avons dit ailleurs) ils ont tout tuez les originaux du pais avec des supplices les plus inhumains que le diable a peu leur suggerer : Et par leurs cruautés ont rendu le nom de Dieu vn nom de scandale à ces pauvres peuples, & l'ont blasphemé continuellement par chacun jour au milieu des Gentils, ainsi que le prophete le reproche au peuple d'Israël.² Temoin celui qui aima mieux estre damné que d'aller au Paradis des Hespagnols.³

Les Romains (de qui l'avarice a toujours été insatiable) ont bien guerroyé les nations de la terre pour avoir leurs richesses, mais les cruautés Hespagnoles ne se trouvent point dans leurs histoires. Ilz se sont contentez de dépouiller les peuples qu'ils ont veincus, sans leur ôter la vie. Vn ancien autheur Payen,⁴ faisant vn essay de sa veine Poëtique, ne trouve plus grand crime en eux, sinon que s'ilz découvroient quelque peuple qui eût de l'or, il estoit leur ennemi. Les vers de cet Autheur ont si bonne grace que ie ne me puis tenir de les coucher ici, quoy que ce ne soit mon intention d'alleguer gueres de Latin :

*Orbem jam totum Romanus victor habebat,
Quà mare, quà terra, quà sidus currit vtrumque,
Nec satiatu erat : gravidis freta pulsa carinis
Iam peragrabantur : si quis sinus abditus ultra,
Si qua foret tellus quæ fulvum mitteret aurum
Hostis erat : fatisque in tristia bella paratis.
Quærebantur opes.*

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Mais la doctrine du sage fils de Sirach, nous enseigne toute autre chose. Car reconnoissant que les richesses qu'on fouille jusques aux antres de Pluton sont ce que quelqu'un a dit, *irritamenta malorum*, il a prononcé celui-là *heureux* qui n'a point couru après l'or, & n'a mis son esperance en argent & thresors, adjoutant qu'il doit être estimé avoir fait choses merveilleuses, entre tous ceux de son peuple, & être l'exemple de gloire, lequel a été tenté par l'or, & est demeuré parfait.⁵ Et par vn sens contraire, celui-là malheureux qui fait autrement.

Or pour revenir à noz mines, parmi ces roches de cuivre se trouvent quelque fois des petits rochers couverts de Diamans y attachés. Je ne veux asseurer qu'ilz soient fins, mais cela est agreable à voir. Il y a aussi de certaines pierres bleuës transparentes, lesquelles ne valent moins que les Turquoises. Ledit Champ-doré nôtre conducteur és navigations de ce pais-là, ayant taillé dans

¹ Repub. de Bodin, liv. 6, chap. 2.² Esai. lii. vers. 5.³ Ci-dessus, liv. i, chap. 18.⁴ Petronius Arbitr.⁵ Ecclesiast. xxxi. vers. 8, 9, 10.

le roc vne de ces pierres, au retour de la Nouvelle-France il la rompit en deux, & en bailla l'une au sieur de Monts, l'autre au sieur de Poutrincourt, lesquelles
 444 ilz firent mettre en œuvre, & furent trouvées dignes d'estre présentées, l'une au Roy par ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, l'autre à la Roine par ledit sieur de ²³⁸ Monts, & furent fort bien receuës. J'ay memoire qu'un orfèvre offrit quinze escus audit de Poutrincourt de celle qu'il presenta à sa Majesté. Il y a beaucoup d'autres secrets & belles choses dans les terres, dont la conoissance n'est encore venuë jusques à nous, & se découvriront à mesure que la province s'habitera.

Description de la riviere Saint Jean & de l'ile Sainte Croix : Homme perdu dans les bois trouvé le sezième jour : Exemples de quelques abstinences étranges : Differens des Sauvages remis au jugement du sieur de Monts : Autorité paternelle entre lesdits Sauvages : Quels maris choisissent à leurs filles.

CHAP. IV

A PRES avoir reconu ladite mine, la troupe passa à¹ l'autre [côté] de la Baye Frâçoise, & allerent vers le profond d'icelle : puis en tournant le Cap vindrent à la *riviere Saint Jean*, ainsi appelée (à mon avis) pource qu'ils y arriverent le vingt-quatrième Iuin, qui est le jour & fête de S. Jean Baptiste. Là est vn beau port d'environ vne lieuë de longueur ; mais l'entrée en est dangereuse à qui n'en sçait les addresses, & au bout d'icelui se presente vn saut impetueux de ladite riviere, laquelle se precipite en bas des rochers, lors que la mer baisse, avec vn bruit merveilleux : car étans quelquefois à l'ancre en mer nous l'avons ouï de plus de deux lieuës 445 loin. Mais de haute mer on y peut passer avec de grands vaisseaux. Cette riviere est vne des plus belles qu'on puisse voir, ayant quâtité d'iles, & four-
 240 millant en poissons. Cette année dernière mille six cens huit, Champ-doré avec vn des gens dudit sieur de Monts, a été quelques cinquante lieuës à mont icelle, & témoignent qu'il y a grande quantité de vignes le long du rivage, mais les raisins n'en sont si gros qu'au pais des Armouchiquois ; il y a aussi des oignons, & beaucoup d'autres sortes de bonnes herbes. Quant aux arbres, ce sont les plus beaux qu'il est possible de voir. Lors que nous y étions nous y reconeumes des Cedres en grand nombre. Au regard des poissons, le même Champ-doré nous a rapporté qu'en mettant la chaudiere sur le feu ils en avoient pris suffisamment pour eux disner avant que l'eau fût chaude. Au reste cette riviere s'étendant avant dans les terres, les Sauvages abbrevent merveilleusement de grands voyages par le moyen d'icelle. Car en six jours ilz vont à *Gachépé*, gaignans la baye ou golfe de Chaleur quand ils sont au bout, en portant leurs canots par quelques lieuës. Et par la même riviere en huit jours ilz vont à *Tadoussac* par vn bras d'icelle qui vient de vers le Nor-ouïest. De sorte qu'au Port Royal on peut avoir en quinze ou dix-huit jours des nouvelles des Frâçois habituez en la grande riviere de *Canada* [par] telles voyes : ce qui ne se pourroit faire par mer en vn mois, ni sans hazard.

Quittans la riviere Saint-Jean, ilz vindrent suivant la côte à vingt lieuës de là en vne grande riviere (qui est proprement mer) où ilz se camperent en 446 vne petite ile size au milieu d'icelle, laquelle ayans reconu forte de nature & de facile garde, joint que la saison commençoit à se passer, & partant falloit
 247 penser de se loger, sans plus courir, ilz resolutent de s'y arrêter. Le ne veux

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *de*.

rechercher curieusement les raisons des vns & des autres sur la resolution de cette demeure : mais je seray toujours d'avis que quiconque va en vn país pour le posseder, ne s'arrête point aux iles pour y estre prisonnier. Car avant toutes choses il faut se proposer la culture de la terre. Et ie demàderois volontiers côme on la cultivera s'il faut à toute heure, matin, midi & soir, passer avec grand'peine vn large trajet d'eau pour aller aux choses qu'on requiert de la terre ferme ? Et si on craint l'ennemi, cômēt se sauvera celui qui sera au labourage ou ailleurs en affaires necessaires, étât poursuivi ? car on ne trouve pas toujours des bateaux à point nommé, ni deux hommes pour les conduire. D'ailleurs nôtre vie ayant besoin de plusieurs commodités, vne ile n'est pas propre pour commencer l'établissement d'une colonie s'il n'y a ²⁴² des courans d'eau douce pour le boire & le menage ; ce qui n'est point en des petites iles. Il faut du bois pour le chauffage : ce qui n'y est semblablemēt. Mais sur tout il faut avoir les abris des mauvais vents, & des froidures : ce qui est difficile en vn petit espace environné d'eau de toutes parts. Neantmoins la compagnie s'arrēta là au milieu d'une riviere large où le vent de Nort ²⁴⁷ & Nor-ouest bat à plaisir. Et d'autant qu'à deux lieus d'en dessus il y a des ruisseaux qui viennent côme en croix se décharger dās ce large bras de mer, cette ile de la retraite des François fut appelée SAINTE CROIX, à vingt-cinq lieus plus loin que le Port Royal. Or ce pendant qu'on commencera à couper & abbatre les Cedres & autres arbres de ladite ile pour faire les batiments necessaires, retournons chercher Maître Nicolas Aubri, perdu dans les bois, lequel on tient pour mort il y a long temps.

Comme on étoit après à deserter l'île, Champ-doré fut r'envoyé à la Baye Sainte-Marie avec vn maître de mines qu'on y avoit amené pour tirer de la mine d'argent & de fer : ce qu'ilz firent. Et comme ils eurent traversé la Baye ²⁴³ Française, ils entrèrent en ladite baye Sainte-Marie par vn passage étroit qui est entre la terre du Port Royal, & vne ile dite l'*Ile Longue* : là où après quelque sejour, allans pêcher, ledit Aubri les apperçeut, & commença d'une foible voix à crier le plus hautement qu'il peut. Et pour seconder sa voix il s'avisa de faire ainsi que jadis Ariadné à Thesée, comme le recite Ovide en ces vers :

*Je mis vn linge blanc sur le bout d'une lance
Pour leur donner de moy nouvelle souvenance,*

Mettant son mouchoir à son chapeau au bout d'un baton. Ce qui le donna mieux à conoitre. Car comme quelqu'un eut oui la voix, & dit à la compagnie si ce pourroit point être ledit Aubri, on s'en mocquoit. Mais quand on eut ²⁴⁸ veu le mouvement du drappeau, & du chapeau, on creut qu'il en pouvoit être quelque chose. Et s'étans approchés, ilz reconurent parfaitement que c'étoit lui même, & le recueillirent dans leur barque avec grande joye & contentement, le sezième jour après son égarement.

Plusieurs en ces derniers temps se flattans plus que de raison, ont farci leurs livres & histoires de maints miracles où n'y a pas si grād sujet d'admiration qu'ici. Car durāt ces seze jours il ne véquit que de ie ne sçay quels petitz fruits semblables à des cerises sans noyau, qui se trouvent assez raremēt dans ces bois. Je croy que ce sont de ceux que les Latins appellent *Myrttillos* & les Bourquignons du *Poiriau*. Mais il ne faut penser que cela fût capable ²⁴⁴

de sustenter un hōme bien mangeant & bien buvant, ains confesser que Dieu en ceci a opéré par dessus la Nature. Et de verité en ces derniers voyages s'est reconuë [vne] speciale grace & faveur [de Dieu] en plusieurs occurrences, lesquelles nous remarquerons selon que l'occasion se presentera. Le pauvre Aubri (ie l'appelle ainsi à cause de son affliction) étoit merveilleusement extenué, comme on peut penser. On lui bailla à manger par mesure, & le remena-on vers la troupe à l'île Sainte Croix, dont chacun receut vne incroyable joye & consolation, & particulièrement le sieur de Monts, à qui cela touchoit plus qu'à tout autre. Il ne faut ici m'alleguer les histoires de la fille de Confolans en Poitou, qui fut deux ans sans manger, il y a environ six ans : ni d'une autre d'aupres de Berne en Suisse, laquelle perdit l'appetit pour toute sa vie en 449 l'an mille six cens vn, & autres semblables. Car ce sont accidens venus par vn debauchement de la nature. Et quāt à ce que recite Pline qu'aux dernieres extremitez de l'Indie, és parties basses de l'Orient, autour de la fontaine & source du Gange, il y a vne nation d'Astomes, c'est à dire sans bouche, qui ne vit que de la seule odeur & exhalation de certaines racines, fleurs & fruicts, qu'ilz tirent par le nez, je ne l'en voudrois aisément croire : ni pareillement le Capitaine Jacques Quartier quand il parle de certains peuples du *Saguenay*, qu'il dit n'avoir point aussi de bouche, & ne manger point (par le rapport du Sauvage *Donnacona*, lequel il amena en France pour en faire recit au Roy), avec d'autres choses éloignées de commune croyance. Mais quand bien cela seroit, telles gens ont la nature disposée à cette façon de vivre. Et ici ce n'est pas de même. Car ledit Aubri ne manquoit d'appetit : & a vécu 245 seze jours nourri en partie de quelque force nutritive qui est en l'air de ce pais-là, & en partie de ces petits fruits que j'ay dit : Dieu lui ayant donné la force de soutenir cette longue disette de vivres sans franchir le pas de la mort. Ce que ie trouve étrange, & l'est vrayement : mais és histoires de notre temps recueillies par le sieur Goulart Senlisien, sont recitées des choses qui semblent dignes de plus grand étonnement. Entre autres d'un Henri de Hasseld, marchant trafiquant des pais bas à Berg en Norvvege : lequel ayant ouï vn gourmand de Precheur parler mal des jeûnes miraculeux, comme s'il n'étoit plus en la puissance de Dieu de faire ce qu'il a fait par le passé ; 450 indigné de cela, essaya de jeuner, & s'abstint par trois jours : au bout desquelz pressé de faim, il print vn morceau de pain en intention de l'avaller avec vn verre de biere : mais tout cela lui demeura tellement en la gorge qu'il fut quarante iours & quarante nuits sans boire ni manger. Au bout de ce tēps il rejetta par la bouche la viande & le breuvage qui lui étoient demeurez en la gorge. Vne si longue abstinence l'affoiblit de telle sorte, qu'il fallut le sustenter & remettre avec du lait. Le Gouverneur du pais ayant entendu cette merveille, le fit venir, & s'enquit de la verité du fait : à quoy ne pouvant 246 ajouter de foy, il en voulut faire vn nouvel essay, & l'ayant fait soigneusement garder en vne chambre, trouva la chose veritable. Cet homme est recommandé de grande pieté, principalemēt envers les pauvres. Quelque temps apres, étant venu pour ses affaires à Bruxelles en Brabant, vn sien debiteur, pour gagner ce qu'il lui devoit, l'accusa d'heresie, & le fit bruler en l'an mil cinq cens quarante-cinq.

Et depuis encore vn Chanoine de Liege, voulant faire essay de ses forces à jeuner, ayant continué iusques au dix-septième iour, se sentit tellement abbattu, qui si soudain on ne l'eût soutenu d'un bon restaurant, il defailloit du tout.

Vne ieune fille de Buchold, au territoire de Munstre en Vvestphalie, 451. affligée de tristesse, & ne voulant bouger de la maison, fut battuë à-cause de cela par sa mere. Ce qui redoubla tellement son angoisse, qu'ayant perdu le repos, elle fut quatre mois sans boire ni manger, fors que par fois elle machoit quelque pōme cuite, & se lavoit la bouche avec vn peu de ptisane.

Les histoires Ecclesiastiques,¹ entre vn grand nombre de jeûneurs, font mention de trois saints hermites nommez Sineon, lesquelz vivoient en austerité étrange, & longs jeûnes, comme de huit & quinze iours, voire plus : n'ayans pour toute demeure qu'une colombe où ils habitoient & passaient leur vie : à-raison dequoy ilz furent surnommez Stelites, c'est à dire Colomnaires, comme habitans en des Colomnes.

Mais tous ces gens ici s'étoient partie resolués à telz jeûnes, partie s'y étoient 247 peu à peu accoutumés & ne leur étoit plus étrange de tant jeûner. Ce qui n'a pas été en celui duquel nous parlons. Et pource son jeûne est d'autant plus admirable, qu'il ne s'y étoit nullement disposé, & n'avoit accoutumé ces longues austerités.

Or après qu'on l'eut fétoyé, & seiourné encore par quelque temps à ordonner les affaires, & reconoitre la terre des environs l'île Sainte-Croix, on parla de l'envoyer les navires en France avant l'hiver, & à tant se disposerent au retour ceux qui n'étoient allez là pour hiverner. Ce-pendant les Sauvages 452 volontiers aupres d'eux : mêmes en certains differens faisoient le sieur de Monts juge de leurs débats, qui est vn commencement de sujection volontaire, d'où l'on peut concevoir vne esperance que ces peuples s'accoutumeront bientôt à nôtre façon de vivre.

Entre autres choses survenües avant le partement desdits navires, avint vn jour qu'un Sauvage nommé *Bituani*, trouvant bonne la cuisine dudit sieur de Monts, s'y étoit arrêté, & y rendoit quelque service : & neantmoins faisoit l'amour à vne fille pour l'avoir en mariage, laquelle ne pouvant avoir de gré & du consentement du pere, il la ravit, & la print pour femme. Là dessus grosse querele : & lui est la fille enlevée, & remenée à son pere. Vn grand debat se preparoit, n'eust été que *Bituani* s'étant plaint de cette injure audit sieur de Monts, les autres vindrent defendre leur cause, disans, à sçavoir le pere assisté de ses amis, qu'il ne vouloit bailler sa fille à vn homme qui n'eût quelque industrie pour nourrir elle & les enfans qui proviendroient du mariage : 248 Que quât à lui il ne voyoit point qu'il sceut rien faire : Qu'il s'amusoit à la cuisine de lui sieur de Monts, & ne s'exerçoit point à chasser. Somme qu'il n'auroit point la fille, & devoit se contenter de ce qui s'étoit passé. Ledit sieur de Monts les ayant ouys, il leur remontra qu'il ne le detenoit point, [&] qu'il étoit gentil garçon, & iroit à la chasse pour donner preuve de ce qu'il sçavoit faire. Mais pour tout cela, si ne voulurent-ilz point lui rendre la fille qu'il n'eût montré par effet ce que ledit sieur de Monts promettoit. Bref 453 il va à la chasse (du poisson), prend force saumons : La fille lui est rendüe, & le lendemain il vint revêtu d'un beau manteau de castors tout neuf bien orné de *Matachias*, au Fort qu'on commençoit à bâtir pour les François, amenant sa femme quant & lui, comme triomphant & victorieux, l'ayant gagnée de bonne guerre : laquelle il a toujours depuis fort aymée pardessus la coutume

¹ Evagrius, liv. i. de l'*Hist. Ecclesia.*, chap. 13; Baronius, sur le *Martyrol. Rom.*, 9 Janv.

des autres Sauvages : donnant à entendre que ce qu'on acquiert avec peine on le doit bien cherir.

Par cet acte nous reconnoissōs les deux points les plus considerables en affaires de mariage être observés entre ces peuples, conduits seulement par la loy de Nature : c'est à sçavoir l'autorité paternelle, & l'industrie du mari. Chose que i'ay plusieurs fois admirée : voyant qu'en nôtre Eglise Chrétienne, par ie ne sçay quels abus, on a veçu plusieurs siecles, durant lesquels l'autorité paternelle a été baffouée & vilipendée, jusques à ce que les assemblées Ecclesiastiques ont debendé les ieux ; & reconu que cela étoit contre la nature même : & que noz Rois par Edits ont remise en son entier cette paternelle autorité : laquelle neantmoins és mariages spirituels & vœux de Religion n'est point encore r'entrée en son lustre, & n'a en ce regard son appui que sur les Arrêts des Parlemens, lesquels souventefois ont contraint les detenteurs des enfans de les rendre à leurs peres.

454 *Description de l'Île Sainte-Croix : Entreprise du sieur de Monts difficile, genereuse, & persecutée d'envies : Retour du sieur de Poutrincourt en France : Perils du voyage.*

CHAP. V

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DEVANT que parler du retour des navires en France, il nous faut dire que l'île de Sainte-Croix est difficile à trouver à qui n'y a été, Car il y a tant d'îles & de grandes bayes à passer devant qu'y parvenir, que ie m'étonne comme on avoit eu la patience de penetrer si avant pour l'aller trouver. Il y a trois ou quatre montagnes eminentes pardessus les autres aux côtez : mais de la part du Nort d'où descêd la riviere, il n'y en a sinon vne pointuë éloignée de plus de deux lieuës. Les bois de la terre-ferme sont beaux & relevez par admiration & les herbages semblablement. Il y a des ruisseaux d'eau douce tres-agreables vis-à-vis de l'île, où plusieurs des gens du sieur de Monts faisoient leur menage, & y avoient cabanné. Quant à la nature de la terre, elle est tres-bonne & heureusement abondante. Car ledit sieur de Monts y ayant fait cultiver quelque quartier de terre, & icelui ensemencé de segle (ie n'y ay point veu de froment) il n'eut moyen d'attendre la maturité d'icelui, pour le recueillir : & neantmoins
 455 le grain tombé a surcreu & reietté si merueilleusement, que deux ans après nous en recueillimes d'aussi beau, gros, & pesant, qu'il y en ait point en France, que la terre avoit produit sans culture : & de present il continuë à repulluler tous les ans. Ladite île a environ demie lieuë Françoisë de tour, & au bout du côté de la mer il y a vn tertre, & comme vn ilot separé, où étoit placé le canon dudit sieur de Monts, & là aussi est la petite chappelle batie à la
 250 Sauvage. Au pied d'icelle il y a des moules tant que c'est merveilles, lesquelles on peut amasser de basse mer, mais elles sont petites. Ie croy que les gens dudit sieur de Monts ne s'oublierent à prendre les plus grosses, & n'y laisserent que la semence & menuë generation. Or quant à ce qui est de l'exercice & occupation de noz François, durant le temps qu'ils ont été là, nous le toucherons sommairement après que nous aurons reconduit les navires en France.

Les frais de la marine en telles entreprises que celle du sieur de Monts sont si grands que qui n'a les reins fors succombera facilement : & pour éviter aucunement ces frais il convient s'incommoder beaucoup, & se mettre au peril de demeurer dégradé parmi des peuples qu'on ne conoit point ; & qui pis est, en vne terre inculte & toute forêtiere. C'est en quoy cette actiô est d'autât plus genereuse, qu'on y voit le peril éminēt, & neâtmoins on ne laisse de braver la Fortune, & sauter par dessus tant d'épines qui s'y presentēt. Les navires du sieur de Monts retournās en France, le voila demeuré en vn triste
 456 lieu avec vn bateau & vne barque tant seulement. Et ores qu'on lui pro-

mette de l'envoyer querir à la revolution de l'an, qui est-ce qui se peut asseurer de la fidelité d'Æole & de Neptune, deux mauvais maitres, furieux, inconstans, & impitoyables ? Voila l'état auquel ledit sieur de Monts se reduisoit, n'ayant point d'avancement du Roy comme ont eu ceux desquels (hors-mis le feu sieur Marquis de la Roche) nous avons ci-devant rapporté les voyages. Et toutefois c'est celui qui a plus fait que tous les autres, n'ayant point jusques ici laché prise. Mais en fin ie crains qu'il ne faille là tout quitter, au grand vitupere & reproche du nom François, qui par ce moyen est rendu ridicule & la fable des autres nations. Car comme si on se vouloit opposer à la conversion de ces pauvres peuples Occidentaux, & à l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu, & du Roy, il se trouve des gens pleins d'avarice & d'envie, gens qui ne
 251 voudroient avoir donné vn coup d'épée pour le service de sa Majesté, ni souffert la moindre peine du monde pour l'honneur de Dieu, lesquels empêchent qu'on ne tire quelque profit de la province, même pour fournir à ce qui est necessaire à l'établissement d'vn tel œuvre, aimans mieux que les Anglois & Hollandois s'en prevaillent que les François, & voulans faire que le nom de Dieu demeure inconnu en ces parties là. Et telles gens, qui n'ont point de Dieu (car s'ils en avoient ilz seroient zelateurs de son nom) on les écoute, on les croit, on leur donne gain de cause.

Or sus appareillons, & nous mettons bientôt à la voile. Le sieur de Poutrincourt avoit fait le voyage par-dela avec quelques hommes de mise, non pour y hiverner, mais comme pour y aller marquer son logis, & reconoitre vne terre qui lui fût agreable. Ce qu'ayant fait, il n'avoit besoin d'y séjourner plus long temps. Par ainsi les navires étans prêts à partir pour le retour, il se mit & ceux de sa compagnie dedans l'vn d'iceux. Ce-pendant le bruit étoit par-
 457 deça de toutes parts qu'il faisoit merveilles dedans Ostende, pour lors assiegée dés y avoit trois ans passez par les Altesses de Flandres. Le voyage ne fut sans tourmente & grans perils. Car entre autres i'en reciteray deux ou trois que l'on pourroit mettre parmi les miracles, n'étoit que les accidens de mer sont assez journaliers : sans toutefois que ie vueille obscurcir la faveur speciale que Dieu a toujours montrée en ces voyages.

252 Le premier est d'vn grain de vent qui sur le milieu de leur navigation vint de nuit en vn instant donner dans les voiles avec vne impetuosité si violête, qu'il renversa le navire en sorte que d'vne part la quille étoit prêque à fleur d'eau, & la voile nageant dessus, sans qu'il y eût moyen, ni loisir de l'ammener, ou desamarer les écoutes. Incontinent voila la mer comme en feu (les mariniens appellêt ceci Le feu saint Goudran). Et de mal-heur, en cette surprise ne se trouvoit vn seul couteau pour couper les cables, ou le voile. Le pauvre vaisseau cependant en ce fortunal demouroit en l'état que nous avons dit, 458 porté haut & bas. Bref plusieurs s'attendoient d'aller boire à leurs amis, quand voici vn nouveau renfort de vent qui brisa le voile en mille pieces invtiles par apres à toutes choses. Voile heureux d'avoir par sa ruine sauvé tout ce peuple. Car s'il eût été neuf le peril s'y fût rencontré beaucoup plus grand. Mais Dieu tente souvêt les siës, & les cōduit jusques au pas de la mort, afin qu'ilz reconnoissent sa puissance, & le craignêt. Ainsi le navire cōmença à se relever peu à peu, & se remettre en état d'asseurâce.

253 Le deuxiême fut au Casquet (île, ou rocher en forme de casque entre France & Angleterre, où n'y a aucune habitation) à trois lieuës duquel étans parvenus, il y eut de la jalousie entre les maitres de navire (mal qui ruine

souvent les hōmes & les affaires) l'un disant qu'on doubleroit bien ledit Casquet, l'autre que non, & qu'il falloit deriver vn petit de la droite route pour passer au dessous ¹ de l'île. En ce fait le mal étoit qu'on ne sçavoit l'heure du jour, parce qu'il faisoit obscur, à-cause des brumes, & par consequent on ne sçavoit s'il étoit ebe ou flot. Or s'il eût été flot, ils eussent aisément doublé : mais il se trouva que la mer se retiroit, & par ce moyen l'ebe avoit retardé & empêché de gagner le dessus. Si bien qu'approchans dudit roc ilz se virent au desespoir de se pouvoir sauver, & falloit necessairement aller choquer alencontre. Lors chacun de prier Dieu, & demander pardon les vns aux autres, & se lamenter pour le dernier reconfort. Sur ce point le Capitaine
 459 Rossignol (de qui on avoit pris le navire en la Nouvelle-France, comme nous avons dit) tira vn grand couteau pour tuer le Capitaine Timothée, gouverneur du present voyage, lui disant : Tu ne te contentes point de m'avoir ruiné, & tu me veux encore ici faire perdre ! Mais il fut retenu & empêché de faire ce qu'il vouloit. Et de verité c'étoit en lui vne grande folie, ou plutot rage, d'aller tuer vn homme qui s'en va mourir, & que celui qui veut faire le coup soit en même peril. En fin cōme on alloit dōner dessus le roc, le sieur de Poutrincourt demāda à celui qui étoit à la hune s'il n'y avoit plus d'esperance : lequel respōdit que non. Lors il dit à quelques vns qu'ilz l'aidassent à chāger les voiles. Ce que frēt deux ou trois seulement, & ja n'y avoit plus d'eau ²⁵⁴ que pour tourner le navire, quand la faveur de Dieu les vint aider & détourner le vaisseau du peril sur lequel ils étoient ja portés. Quelques vns avoiēt mis le pourpoint bas pour essayer de se sauver en grimpāt sur le rocher. Mais ilz n'en eurēt que la peur pour ce coup : fors que quelques heures après, étans arrivez près vn rocher qu'on appelle Le nid à l'Aigle, ilz cuiderēt l'aller aborder, pensans que ce fût vn navire, parmi l'obscurité des brumes ; d'où étans derechef échappés, ils arriverent en fin au lieu d'où ils étoient partis ; ayāt ledit sieur de Poutrincourt laissé ses armes & munitions de guerre en l'île Sainte-Croix en la garde dudit sieur de Monts, cōme vn arre & gage de la bōne volonté qu'il avoit d'y retourner.

Mais ie pourray bien mettre ici encore vn merveilleux danger, duquel ce même vaisseau fut garenti peu après le depart de Sainte-Croix, & ce par
 460 l'accident d'un mal duquel Dieu sceut tirer vn bien. Car vn certain alteré étant de nuit furtivemēt descēdu par la coutille au fōd du navire pour boire son saoul & emplir de vin sa bouteille, il trouva qu'il n'y avoit que trop à boire, & que ledit navire étoit dés-ja à moitié plein d'eau. En ce peril chacun se leve, & travaille à la pōpe, tant qu'à toute peine s'étans garentis, ilz trouverent qu'il y avoit vne grand' voye d'eau par la quille, laquelle ils étouperent en diligence.

¹ From the 1609 and 1611-12 editions: that of 1617-18 has, *au dessus*.

Batimens de l'île Sainte-Croix : Incommoditez des François audit lieu : Maladies inconnues : Ample discours sur icelles : De leurs causes : Des peuples qui y sont sujets : Des viandes, mauvaises eaux, air, vents, lacs, pourriture des bois, saisons, disposition de corps des jeunes, des vieux : Avis de l'Auteur sur le gouvernement de la santé & guerison desdites maladies.

CHAP. VI

PENDANT la navigation susdite, le sieur de Monts faisoit travailler à son Fort, lequel il avoit assis au bout de l'île, à l'opposite du lieu où nous avons dit qu'il avoit logé son canon. Ce qui étoit prudemment considéré, à-fin de tenir toute la riviere sujete en haut & en bas. Mais il y avoit vn mal que ledit Fort étoit du côté du Nort, & sans aucun abri, fors que des arbres qui étoient sur la rive de l'île, lesquels tout ⁴⁶¹ à l'environ il avoit defendu d'abattre. Et hors icelui Fort y avoit le logis des Suisses, grand & ample, & autres petits representans comme vn faux-bourg. Quelques-vns s'étoient cabannés en la terre ferme près le ruisseau. Mais dans le Fort étoient le logis dudit sieur de Monts fait d'une belle & artificielle charpenterie, avec la banniere de France au dessus. D'une autre part [estoit] le magasin, où reposoit le salut & la vie d'un chacun, fait semblablement de belle charpenterie, & couvert de bardeaux. Et vis à vis du magasin étoient les logis & maisons du sieur d'Orville, de Champlain, Champ-doré, & autres notables personages. A l'opposite du logis dudit sieur de Monts étoit vne gallerie couverte pour l'exercice soit du jeu ou des ouvriers en temps de pluie. Et entre ledit Fort & la Plateforme du canon, tout étoit répli de jardinages, à quoy chacun s'exerçoit de gaieté de cœur. Tout l'Automne se passa à ceci : & ne fut pas mal allé de s'être logé & avoir defriché l'île avant l'hiver, tandis que pardeça on faisoit courir les livrets souz le nom de maitre Guillaume, ²⁵⁶ farcis de toutes sortes de nouvelles : par lesquels entre autres choses ce prognostiqueur disoit que le sieur de Monts arrachoit¹ des épines en *Canada*. Et quand tout est bien considéré, c'est bien vrayemēt arracher des épines que de faire de telles entreprises remplies de fatigues & perils continuels, de soins, d'angoisse, & d'incommodités. Mais la vertu & le courage qui dompte toutes ²⁵⁷ ces choses fait, que ces épines ne sont qu'œillet & roses à ceux qui se resolvent à ces actions heroïques pour se rendre recommandables à la memoire des ⁴⁶² hommes, & ferment les yeux aux plaisirs des douilletts qui ne sont bons qu'à garder la chambre.

Les choses plus necessaires faites, & le pere grisart, c'est à dire l'hiver, étant venu, force fut de garder la maison, & vivre chacun chez soy. Durant lequel temps nos gens eurent trois incōmoditez principales en cette île, à-sçavoir faute de bois (car ce qui étoit en ladite île avoit servi aux batimens),

¹ The 1617-18 edition has, *attachoit* : those of 1609 and 1611-12 as above.

faute d'eau douce, & le guet qu'on faisoit de nuit craignât quelque surprise des Sauvages qui étoient cabanés au pied de ladite ile, ou autre ennemi. Car la maledictiō & rage de beaucoup de Chrétiens est telle, qu'il se faut plus dōner garde d'eux que des peuples infideles. Chose que ie dis à regret : mais à la miēne volōté que ie fusse menteur en ce regard, & que le sujet de le dire fût oté. Or quād il falloit avoir de l'eau ou du bois on étoit cōtraint de passer la riviere, qui est plus de trois fois aussi large que la Seine à Paris de chacun côté. C'étoit chose penible & de longue haleine. De sorte qu'il falloit retenir le bateau bien souvent vn jour devāt que le pouvoir obtenir. Là dessus les froidures & neges arrivent & la gelée si forte que le cidre étoit glacé dās les tōneaux, & falloit à chacun bailler sa mesure au poids. Quāt au vin, il n'étoit distribué que par certains jours de la semaine. Plusieurs paresseux buvoient de l'eau de nege, sans prendre la peine de passer la riviere. Bref voici des maladies inconuēs semblables à celles que le Capitaine Jacques Quartier nous
463 a représentées ci-dessus, lesquelles pour cette cause ie ne descriray pas, pour ne faire vne repetition vaine. De remede il ne s'en trouvoit point. Tandis les pauvres malades languissoient, se consommans peu à peu, n'ayans aucune douceur comme de laitage ou bouillie, pour sustenter cet estomac qui ne pouvoit recevoir les viandes solides, à-cause de l'empechement d'une chair mauvaïse qui croissoit & surabōdoit dās la bouche, & quand on la pensoit
258 enlever elle renaissoit du iour au lendemain plus abondamment que devant. Quant à l'arbre *Annedita* duquel ledit Quartier fait mention, les Sauvages de ces terres ne le conoissent point. Si bien que c'étoit grande pitié de voir tout le mōde en langueur, excepté bien peu, les pauvres malades mourir tous vifs sans pouvoir être secourus. De cette maladie il y en passa trente-six, & autres trente-six ou quarante, qui en étoient touchez guerirent à l'aide du Printemps si-tot qu'il fut venu. Mais la saison de mortalité en icelle maladie sont la fin de Ianvier, les mois de Fevrier & Mars, ausquels meurēt ordinairement les malades chacun à son rāg selon qu'ils ont cōmencé de bōne heure à être indisposez : de maniere que celui qui commencera sa maladie en Fevrier & Mars pourra échapper : mais qui se hatera trop, & voudra se mettre au lit en Decēbre & Ianvier il sera en danger de mourir en Fevrier, Mars, ou au commencement d'Avril, lequel temps passé il est en esperance & cōme en assurance de salut.

Le sieur de Monts étāt de retour en France cōsulta noz Medecins sur
464 le sujet de cette maladie, laquelle ilz trouverent fort nouvelle, à mon avis, car ie ne voy point qu'à nōtre voyage, qui fut posterieur à celui-là, nōtre Apothicaire fut chargé d'aucune ordonnance pour la guerison d'icelle. Et toutefois il semble qu'Hippocrate en a eu conoissance, ou au moins de quelqu'une qui en approchoit. Car au livre *De internis affect.* il parle de certaine maladie où le ventre, & puis apres la rate s'enfle & endurecit, & y ressentent des pointures douloureuses, la peau devient noire & palle, rapportant la couleur d'une grenade verte : les aureilles & gencives rendent des mauvaises odeurs, & se separēt icelles gencives d'avec les dents : des pustules viennent aux jambes : les membres sont attenuez, &c.

Mais particulièrement les Septentrionnaux y sont sujets plus que les autres nations plus meridionales. Témoins les Holandois, Frisons, & autres leurs
259 voisins, entre lesquels iceux Holandois écrivent en leurs navigations qu'allans aux Indes Orientales plusieurs d'entre eux furent pris de ladite maladie, étans

sur la côte de la Guinée : côte dâgerieuse, & portant vn air pestilent plus de cent lieus avant en mer. Et les mêmes estans allez en l'an mille six cens six sur la côte d'Hespagne pour la garder & empecher l'armée Hespagnole, furent contraints de se retirer à cause de ce mal, ayans jetté vingt-deux de leurs morts en la mer. Et si on veut encore ouïr le témoignage d'*Olaus Magnus*¹ traitant des nations Septentrionales d'où il estoit, Voici ce qu'il en rapporte : " Il y a (dit-il) encore vne maladie militaire qui tourmente & afflige 465 les assiegez, telle que les membres epossis par vne certaine stupidité charneuse, & par vn sang corrompu, qui est entre chair & cuir, s'écoulans comme cire : ils obeissent à la moindre impression qu'on fait dessus avec le doigt : & étourdit les dets comme prés à cheoir ; change la couleur blanche de la peau en bleu : & apporte vn engourdissement, avec vn dégoût de pouvoir prendre medecine : & s'appelle vulgairement en la langue du pais *Scorbut*, en Grec *καρχία*, paraventure à-cause de cette mollesse putride qui est souz le cuir, laquelle semble provenir de l'vsage des viandes sallées & indigestes & s'entretenir par la froide exhalaison des murailles. Mais elle n'aura pas tant de force là où on garnira de planches le dedans des maisons. Que si elle continué davantage, il la faut chasser en prenant tous les iours du bruvage d'absinthe, ainsi qu'on pousse dehors la racine du calcul par vne decoction de vieille cervoise beuë avec du beurre." Le même Autheur dit encore en vn autre lieu² vne autre chose fort remarquable : 'Au commencement (dit-il) ilz soutiennent le siege avec la force, mais en fin le soldat étant par la continué 260 affoibli, ils enlevent les provisions des assiegeans par artifices, finesses, & embuscades, principalement les brebis, lesquelles ils emmenent, & les font paître és lieux herbus de leurs maisons, de peur que par défaut de chairs fresches ilz ne tombent en vne maladie la plus triste de toutes les maladies, appellée en la langue du pais *Scorbut*, c'est à dire vn estomac navré, desséché par cruels tourmens, & longues douleurs. Car les viandes froides & indigestes prises gloutonnement, semblent être la vraye cause de cette maladie."

L'ay pris plaisir à rapporter ici les mots de cet Autheur, pource qu'il en parle comme sçavant, & represente assés le mal qui a assailli les nôtres en la Nouvelle-France, sinon qu'il ne fait mention que les nerfs des jarrets se roidissent, ni d'une abondance de chair, comme livide qui croit & abonde dans la bouche, & si on la pense ôter elle repullule toujours. Mais il dit bien de l'estomac navré. Car le sieur de Poutrincourt fit ouvrir vn Negre qui mourut de cette maladie en nôtre voyage, lequel se trouva avoir les parties bien saines, hors-mis l'estomac, lequel avoit des rides comme vlcérées.

Et quant à la cause des chairs salées, ceci est bien veritable, mais il y en a encore plusieurs autres causes concurrentes, qui fomentent & entretiennent cette maladie : entre lesquelles ie mettray en general les mauvais vivres, comprenant souz ce nom les boissons : puis le vice de l'air du pais, & après la mauvaïse disposition du corps : laissant aux Medecins à rechercher ceci plus curieusement. A quoy Hippocrate³ dit que le Medecin doit prendre garde soigneusement, en considerant aussi les saisons, les vents, les aspects du Soleil, les eaux, la terre même, sa nature & situation, le naturel des hommes, leurs façons de vivre & exercices.

Quant à la nourriture, cette maladie est causée par des viandes froides, 467

¹ Olaus, liv. xvi. chap. 51.

² C'est au liv. ix., chap. 38.

³ Au commencement du liv. *De aëre, aquis, & loc.*

sans suc, grossieres, & corrópuës. Il faut donc se garder des viandes salées, ²⁶¹ enfumées, rances, moisies, cruës, & qui sentent mauvais, & semblablement de poissons sechez, comme moruës & rayes empunaies, bref de toutes viandes melancholiques, lesquelles se cuisent difficilement en l'estomac, se corrompent bien-tot, & engendrent vn sang grossier & melancholique. Le ne voudroy pourtant être si scrupuleux que les Medecins, qui mettent les chairs de bœufs, d'ours, de sangliers, de pourceaux (ilz pourroient bien aussi adjouter les Castors, lesquels neâtmoins nous avons trouvé fort bons) entre les melancholiques & grossieres : comme ilz font entre les poissons, les tons, dauphins, & tous ceux qui portent lard : entre les oiseaux, les herons, canars, & tous autres de riviere : car pour être trop religieux observateur de ces choses on tomberoit en atrophie, en danger de mourir de faim. Ilz mettent encore entre les viandes qu'il faut fuir le biscuit, les fèves, & lentilles, le frequent vsage du lait, le fromage, le gros vin & celui qui est trop delié, le vin blanc, & l'vsage du vinaigre, la biere qui n'est pas bien cuite, ni bien ecumée, & où n'y a point assez de houblon : item les eaux qui passent par les pourritures des bois, & celles des lacs & marais dormantes & corrompues, telles qu'il y en a beaucoup en Holâde & Frise, là où on a observé que ceux d'Amsterdam sont plus sujets aux paralysies & roidisemens de nerfs, que ceux de Rotterdam,¹ pour la cause ⁴⁶⁸ susdite des eaux dormantes : lesquelles outre-plus engendrent des hydropisies, dysenteries, flux de ventre, fièvres quartes & ardantes, enflures, vlcères de poulmons, difficultez d'haleine, hergnes aux enfans, enflures de veines & vlcères aux jambes ; somme, elles sont du tout propres à la maladie de laquelle nous parlons, étans attirées par la rate, où elles laissent toute leur corruption.

Quelquefois aussi ce mal arrive par vn vice qui est même és eaux de fontaines coulantes, comme si elles sont parmi ou près des marais, ou sortent d'une terre bouëuse, ou d'un lieu qui n'a point l'aspect du Soleil. Ainsi Pline ² recite qu'au voyage que fit le Prince Cesar Germanicus en Allemagne, ayant donné ordre de faire passer le Rhin à son armée, afin de gagner toujours pais, il la fit camper le long de la marine és côtes de Frise, en vn lieu où ne se trouva ²⁶² qu'une seule fontaine d'eau douce, laquelle neâtmoins fut si pernicieuse, que tous ceux qui en beurent perdirêt les dents en moins de deux ans : & eurent les genoux si lâches & denoüez, qu'ilz ne se pouvoient soutenir. Ce qui est proprement la maladie de laquelle nous parlons, que les Medecins appelloient *στομακάκη*, c'est à dire Mal de bouche, & *σκελοτύρβη*, qui veut dire Tremblement de cuisses & de jambes. Et ne fut possible d'y trouver remede sinon par le moyen d'une herbe dite *Britannica*, qui d'ailleurs est fort bonne aux nerfs, aux maladies & accidens de la bouche, à la squinancie, & aux morsures de serpens. Elle a les feuilles longues, tirans sur le verd-brun, & produit ⁴⁶⁹ vne racine noire, de laquelle on tire le jus, comme on fait des fueilles. Strabon dit qu'il en print autant à l'armée qu'Ælius Gallus mena en Arabie par la commission de l'Empereur Auguste. Et autant encore à l'armée de saint Loys en Ægypte, selon le rapport du sieur de Ioinville. On voit d'autres effets des mauvaises eaux assez près de nous, sçavoir en la Savoye, où les femmes (plus que les hommes, à cause qu'elles sont plus froides) ont ordinairement des enflures à la gorge grosses comme des bouteilles.

Après les eaux, l'air aussi est vn des causes effectuelles de cette maladie

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *Amsterdam*.

² Pline, liv. xxv. chap. 3.

és lieux marécageux & humides, & opposés au Midi, où volontiers il est pluvieux. Mais en la Nouvelle-France il y a encore vne autre mauvaise qualité de l'air, à-cause des lacs qui y sont frequens, & des pourritures qui sont grandes dans les bois, l'odeur desquelles les corps ayans humé és pluies de l'Autône & de l'Hyver, ils accueillent aisément les corruptions de bouche & enflures de jambes dont nous avons parlé, & vn froid insensiblement s'insinuë là dedans, qui engourdit les membres, roidit les nerfs, contraint d'aller à quatre pieds avec deux potences & en fin tenir le lict.

263 Et d'autant que les vents participent de l'air, voire sont vn air coulant d'vne force plus vehemente que l'ordinaire, & en cette qualité ont vne grande puissance sur la santé & les maladies des hommes, disons-en quelque chose, sans nous éloigner neantmoins du fil de nôtre histoire.

On tient le vent de Levant (appellé par les Latins *Subsolanus*, qui est le 470 vent d'Est) pour le plus sain de tous, & pour cette cause les sages architectes donnent avis de dresser leurs batimens à l'aspect de l'Aurore. Son opposite est le vent qu'on appelle *Favonius*, ou Zephyre, que noz mariniers nomment Ouest, ou Ponant, lequel est doux & germeux pardeça. Le vent de Midi, qui est le Su (appellé *Auster* par les Latins), est chaud & sec en Afrique : mais en traversant la mer Mediterrannée, il acquiert vne grande humidité, qui le rend tempetueux & putrefactif en Provence & Languedoc. Son opposite est le vent de Nort, autrement dit *Boreas*, Bize, Tramontane, lequel est froid & sec, chasse les nuages & balaye la region aérée. On le tient pour le plus sain apres le vent de Levât. Or ces qualitez de vents reconuës par deça ne font point vne reigle generale par toute la terre. Car le vent du Nort au delà de la ligne equinoctiale n'est point froid comme pardeça, ni le vent du Su chaud, pour ce qu'en vne longue traverse ils empruntent les qualitez des regions par où ilz passent : joint que le vent de Su en son origine est rafraichissant, à ce que rapportent ceux qui ont fait des voyages en Afrique. Ainsi il y a des regions au Perou (comme en Lima, & aux plaines), où le vent de Nort est maladif & ennuyeux : & par toute cette côte, qui dure plus de cinq cens lieues, ilz tiennent le Su pour vn vent sain & frais, & qui plus est tres-serein & gracieux : mêmes que jamais il n'en pleut (à ce que recite le curieux Ioseph Acosta),¹ tout au contraire de ce que nous voyons en nôtre Europe. Et en Hespagne le vent 471 de Levant que nous avons dit estre sain, le même Acosta rapporte qu'il est

264 ennuyeux & mal-sain. Le vent *Circius*, qui est le Nordest, est si impetueux & bruyant & nuisible aux rives Occidentales de Norrvege, que s'il y a quelqu'un qui entreprenne de voyager par là quand il souffle, il faut qu'il face état de sa perte, & qu'il soit suffoqué : & est ce vent si froid en cette region qu'il ne souffre qu'aucun arbre, ni arbrisseau y naisse : tellement qu'à faute de bois il faut qu'ilz se servent d'oz de grands poissons pour cuire leurs viandes.² Ce qui n'est pardeça. De même avons-nous expérimenté en la Nouvelle-France que les vents de Nort ne sont pas bons à la santé : & ceux de Noroüest (qui sont les Aquilons roides, âpres, & tempetueux) encores pires : lesquels noz malades & ceux qui avoient là hiverné l'an precedent, redoutoient fort, pource qu'il y tomboit volontiers quelqu'un lors que ce vent souffloit, aussi en avoient-ilz quelque ressentiment : ainsi que nous voyons ceux qui sont sujets aux hernies & enteroceles supporter de grandes douleurs lors que le vent de Midi est en campagne : & comme nous voyons les animaux mêmes par quel-

¹ Liv. iii, chap. 3.

² Olaus Magnus, liv. i, chap. 10.

ques signes prognostiquer les changemens des temps. Cette mauvaise qualité de vent (par mon avis) vient de la nature de la terre par où il passe, laquelle (comme nous avons dit) est fort remplie de lacs, & iceux tres-grands, qui sont
 472 eaux dormantes, par maniere de dire. A quoy i'adioute les exhalaisons des pourritures des bois, que ce vent apporte, & ce en quantité d'autant plus grande que la partie du Noroest est grande, spacieuse, & immense en cette terre.

Les saisons aussi sont à remarquer en cette maladie, laquelle ie n'ay point veu, ni oui dire qu'elle commence sa batterie au Printemps, ni en l'Été, ni en l'Autône, si ce n'est à la fin ; mais en l'Hiver. Et la cause de ceci est que comme la chaleur renaissante du Printemps fait que les humeurs resserrées durât l'Hiver se dispersent iusques aux extremitez du corps, & le dechargent de la melancholie, & des sucx exorbitans qui se sont amassés durant l'Hiver : ainsi l'Autône à mesure que l'Hiver approche les fait retirer au dedans, & nourrit cette humeur melancholique & noire, laquelle abonde principalement
 265 en cette saison, & l'hiver venu fait paroître ses effets au dépens des patients. Et Galien¹ en rend la raison, disant que les sucx du corps ayans été rotis par les ardeurs de l'Été, ce qu'il y en peut rester apres que le chaud a été expulsé, devient incontinent froid & sec : c'est à sçavoir froid par la privation de la chaleur, & sec entât qu'au dessechement de ces sucx tout l'humide qui y étoit a été consommé. Et de là vient que les maladies se fomentēt en cette saison, & plus on va avant, plus la nature est foible, & les intemperies froides de l'air s'étans insinuées dās vn corps ja disposé, elles le manient à baguette, comme on dit, & n'en ont point de pitié.

473 J'adiouteray volontiers à tout ce que dessus les mauvaises nourritures de la mer, lesquelles apportent beaucoup de corruptions aux corps humains en vn long voyage. Car il faut par necessité apres quatre ou cinq jours vivre de salé : ou mener des moutons vifs, & force poullailles, mais ceci n'est que pour les maitres & gouverneurs des navires : & nous n'en avions point en nôtre voyage sinon pour la reserve & multiplication de la terre où nous allions. Les matelots donc & gens passagers souffrent de l'incommodité tant au pain qu'aux viandes & boissons. Le biscuit devient rance & pourri, les morües qu'on leur baille sont de memes : & les eaux empunaies. Ceux qui portent des douceurs soit de chairs, ou de fruits, & qui vsent de bon pain & bon vin & bons potages, evitent aisément ces maladies, & oserois par maniere de dire, répondre de leur santé, s'ilz ne sont bien mal-sains de nature. Et quand ie considere que ce mal se prêt aussi bien en Holande, en Frize, en Hespagne, & en la Guinée, qu'en Canada : Bref que tous ceux de deça qui vont au Levant y sont sujets, ie suis induit à croire que la principale cause d'icelui est ce que ie vien de dire, & qu'il n'est particulier à la Nouvelle-France.

Or après tout ceci il fait bon en tout lieu être bien composé de corps pour se bien porter, & vivre longuement. Car ceux qui naturellement accueillent des sucx froids & grossiers, & ont la masse du corps poreuse, item ceux qui sont
 266 sujets aux oppilations de la rate, & ceux qui menent vne vie sedentaire, ont
 474 vne aptitude plus grande à recevoir ces maladies. Par ainsi vn Medecin dira qu'un homme d'étude ne vaudra rien en ce pais là, c'est à dire qu'il n'y vivra point sainement : ni ceux qui ahannent au travail, ni les songe-creux, hommes qui ont des ravassemens d'esprit, ni ceux qui sont souvent assaillis de fièvres,

¹ Galen., Comm. 35, liv. 1., *De nat. hom.*

& autres telles sortes de gens. Ce que ie croiroy bien, d'autant que ces choses accumulent beaucoup de melancholie, & d'humeurs froides & superflues. Mais toutefois i'ay éprouvé par moy-même, & par autres, le contraire, cõtre l'opinion de quelques vns des nôtres, voire même du *Sagamos Membertou*, qui fait le devin entre les Sauvages, lesquels (arrivant en ce país là) disoient que ie ne retournerois jamais en France, ni le sieur Boullet (jadis Capitaine du regiment du sieur de Poutrincourt), lequel la plupart du temps y a été en fièvre (mais il se traitoit bien), & ceux-là mêmes conseilloyent nos ouvriers de ne guerres se pener au travail (ce qu'ils ont fort bien retenu). Car ie puis dire sans mêtir que jamais ie n'ay tant travaillé du corps, pour le plaisir que ie prenois à dresser & cultiver mes jardins, les fermer contre la gourmandise des pourceaux, y faire des parterres, aligner les allées, batis des cabinets, semer froment, segle, orge, avoine, fèves, pois, herbes de jardin, & les arrouser, tant j'avoy desir de reconoitre la terre par ma propre experience. Si bien que les jours d'Été m'étoient trop courts : & bien souvent au Printemps j'y étois encore à la lune. Quant est du travail de l'esprit, i'en avois honnetement. Car chacun étant retiré au soir, parmi les caquets, bruits & tintamares, i'étois enclos 475 en mon étude lisant ou écrivant quelque chose. Même ie ne seray hôteux de dire qu'ayât été prié par le sieur de Poutrincourt nôtre chef de donner quelques heures de mon industrie à enseigner Chrétiennement nôtre petit 267 peuple, pour ne vivre en bêtes, & pour donner exemple de nôtre façon de vivre aux Sauvages, ie l'ay fait en la nécessité, & en étant requis, par chacun Dimanche, & quelquefois extraordinairement, préque tout le temps que nous y avons été. Et vint bien à point que j'avoy porté ma Bible & quelques livres, sans y penser : Car autrement vne telle charge n'eût fort fatigué, & eût été cause que ie m'en fusse excusé. Or cela ne fut du tout sans fruit, plusieurs m'ayans rendu témoignage que jamais ilz n'avoient tant ouï parler de Dieu en bonne part, & ne sçachans auparavant aucun principe de ce qui est de la doctrine Chrétienne : qui est l'état auquel vit la plupart de la Chrétienté. Et s'il y eut de l'edification d'un côté, il y eut aussi de la médissance de l'autre, par ce que d'une liberté Gallicane ie disoy volontiers la verité. A propos dequoy il me souvient de ce que dit le Prophete Amos ¹ : *Ils ont haï celui qui les argüoit à la porte, & ont eu en abomination celui qui parloit en intégrité.* Mais en fin nous avons tous été bons amis. Et parmi ces choses Dieu m'a toujours donné bonne & entiere santé, toujours le gout genereux, toujours gay & dispos, sinon qu'ayant vne fois couché dans les bois, près d'un ruisseau en tẽps de nege, j'eü comme vne crampe ou sciastique à la cuisse l'espace de quinze jours, sans toutefois manquer d'appetit. Aussi prenoy-je plaisir à ce que je faisois, 476 desirieux de confiner là ma vie, si Dieu benissoit les voyages.

Ie seroy trop long si ie vouldy ici rapporter ce qui est du naturel de toutes persones, & dire quant aux enfans qu'ils sont plus sujets que les autres à cette maladie, d'autant qu'ils ont bien souvent des vlceres à la bouche & aux gen-cives, à-cause de la substance aigueuse dont leurs corps abondent : & aussi qu'ils amassent beaucoup d'humeurs creuës par leur dereglement de vivre, & par les fruits qu'ilz mangent en quantité & ne s'en saoulèt jamais, au moyen dequoy ils accueillèt grãde quãtité de sang sereux, & ne peut la rate oppilée 268 absorber ces serosités : Et quãt aux vieux, qu'ils ont la chaleur enervée, & ne peuvẽt resister à la maladie, étãs rẽplis du crudités, & d'une temperature froide

¹ Amos v. vers, 10.

& humide, qui est la qualité propre à la promouvoir, susciter & nourrir. Je ne veux entreprendre sur l'office des Medecins, craignant la verge censoriale. Et toutefois avec leur permission, sans toucher à leurs ordonnances d'agarie, aloes, reubarbe, & autres ingrediens, ie diray ici ce qui me semble être plus prompt aux pauvres gens qui n'ont moyen d'envoyer en Alexandrie, tant pour la conservation de leur santé que pour le remede de la maladie.

C'est vn axiome certain qu'il faut guerir vn contraire par son contraire. Cette maladie dôc provenant d'une indigestion de viandes rudes, grossieres, froides & melancholiques, qui offensent l'estomac, ie trouve bon (sauf meilleur avis) de les accompagner de bonnes saulces soit de beurre, d'huile, ou de graisse, le tout fort bien épicié, pour corriger tant la qualité des viandes, que du corps interieurement refroidi. Ceci est dit pour les viandes rudes & grossieres, comme fèves, pois, & pour le poisson. Car qui mangera de bons chappons, bonnes perdrix, bons canars & bons lapins, il est assuré de sa santé, ou il aura le corps bien mal-fait. Nous avons eu des malades qui sont ressuscitez de mort à vie, ou peu s'en faut, pour avoir mangé deux ou trois fois du consommé d'un coq. Le bon vin pris selon la nécessité de la nature est vn souverain preservatif pour toutes maladies, & particulièrement pour celle-ci. Les sieurs Macquin & Georges, honorables marchans de la Rochelle, comme associez du sieur de Monts, nous en avoient fourni quarante-cinq tonneaux en nôtre voyage, dont nous nous sommes fort bien trouvez. Et noz malades mêmes ayans la bouche gâtée, & ne pouvans manger, n'ont jamais perdu le gout du vin, lequel ils prenoient avec vn tuïau. Ce qui en a garanti plusieurs de la mort. Les herbes tendres au printemps sont aussi fort souveraines. Et outre ce que la raison veut qu'on le croye, ie l'ay expérimenté en étant moy-même allé cueillir plusieurs fois par les bois pour noz malades avant que celles de noz iardins fussent en vsage. Ce qui les remettoit en gout, & leur confortoit l'estomac debilité. Depuis quelques jours j'ay eu avis que l'essence de Vitriol y seroit bonne la gargarisant dâs la bouche, ou frottât d'icelle cette chair ²⁶⁹ surcroissante à l'entour des dêts. Je croy que l'eau seconde des Chirugiens n'est point mauvaise, & que macher souvent de la Sauge serviroit beaucoup à prevenir ce mal. Quelques vns trouvent bon aussi le frequent gargarisme de jus de citron. Mais il me semble que seigner sous la langue ne seroit pas mauvais, ou scarifier cette vilaine chair surcroissante, & la frotter de quelque liqueur mordicante : puis ventouser le malade à petits cornets à la façon de Suisse & d'Allemagne.

Et pour ce qui regarde l'exterieur du corps, nous nous sommes fort bien trouvez de porter des galoches avec noz souliers pour eviter les humidités. Ne faut avoir aucune ouverture au logis du côté d'Ouest ou Noroest, vents dangereux : ains du côté de l'Est, ou du Su. Fait bon estre bien couché (& m'en a bien pris d'avoir porté les choses à ce necessaires), & sur tout se tenir nettement. Mais ie trouveroy bon l'vsage des bains chauds, ou des poëles tels qu'ils ont en Allemagne, au moyen desquels ilz ne sentent point d'hiver, sinon entant qu'il leur plait, étans en la maison. Voire même es iardins ils en ont en plusieurs lieux qui temperent tellement la froidure de l'hiver, qu'en cette saison âpre & rude on y voit des orengers, limoniers, figuiers, grenadiers, & toutes telles sortes d'arbres, produire des fruits tels qu'en Provence : Ainsi que j'ay veu à Bale chez le sçavant Docteur Medecin Felix Platerus. Ce qui est d'autant plus facile à faire en cette nouvelle terre, qu'elle est toute couverte

de bois (hors-mis quand on vient au pais des Armouchiquois, à cent lieues 479 plus loin que le Port-Royal), & en faisant de l'hiver vn été on découvrira la terre : laquelle n'ayant plus ces grands obstacles, qui empechent que le Soleil lui face l'amour & l'échauffe de sa chaleur, il n'y a point de doute qu'elle ne devienne temperée & ne rende vn air tres-doux : & bien sympathisant à nôtre humeur, n'y ayant (même à present), ni froid ni chaud excessif.

270 Or les Sauvages qui ne sçavent que c'est d'Allemagne, ni de leurs coutumes, nous enseignent cette même leçon, lesquels, à-cause des mauvaises nourritures & entretenements, étans sujets à ces maladies (comme nous avons veu au voyage de Jacques Quartier), vsent souvent de sueurs, comme de mois en mois, & par ce moyen se garentissent, chassans par la sueur toutes humeurs froides & mauvaises qu'ilz pourroient avoir amassées. Mais vn singulier preservatif contre cette maladie coquine & traïtesse, qui vient insensiblement, & depuis qu'elle s'est logée ne veut point sortir, c'est de suivre le conseil du sage des Sages, lequel, après avoir considéré toutes les afflictions que l'homme se donne durant sa vie, n'a rien trouvé meilleur que de *se rejouir & bien faire, & prendre plaisir à ce que l'on fait.*¹ Ceux qui ont fait ainsi en nôtre compagnie se sont bien trouvés : au contraire, quelques vns toujours grondans, grongnans, mal-contens, faineans, ont esté attrapez. Vray est que pour se rejouir il fait bon avoir les douceurs des viandes fraîches, chairs, poissons, laictages, 480 beurres, huiles, fruits, & semblables : ce que nous n'aviôs pas à souhait (j'enten le commun : car en la table du sieur de Poutrincourt quelqu'un de la troupe apportoit toujours quelque gibier, ou venaison, ou poisson fraiz). Et si nous eussions eu demie douzaine de vaches, ie croy qu'il n'y fût mort persone.

Reste vn preservatif necessaire pour l'accomplissement de jouïssance, & afin de prendre plaisir à ce que l'on fait, c'est d'avoir l'honnête compagnie vn chacun de sa femme legitime : car sans cela la chere n'est pas entiere, on a toujours la pensée tendue à ce que l'on aime & desire, il y a du regret, le corps devient cacochyme, & la maladie se forme.

Et pour vn dernier & souverain remede, ie renvoye le patient à l'arbre de vie (car ainsi le peut-on bien qualifier), lequel Jacques Quartier ci-dessus appelle *Annedda*,² non encores connu en la côte du Port Royal, si ce n'est 271 d'aventure le Sassafras, dont y a quantité en la terre des Armouchiquois à cent lieues dudit Port : & est certain que ledit arbre y est fort singulier, ainsi que nous remarquerons encore ci-après au livre dernier chap. 24.

¹ Eccles. iii. vers. 12 & 22.

² Voy ci-dessus, liv. iii. chap. 24.

485¹ *Decouverte de nouvelles terres par le sieur de Monts : Contes fabuleux de la riviere & ville feinte de Norombega : Refutation des Auteurs qui en ont écrit : Bancs des Moruës en la Terre-neuve : Kinibeki : Choüakoet : Malebarre : Armouchiquois : Mort d'un François tué : Mortalité des Anglois en la Virginie.*

CHAP VII.

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LA saison dure étant passée, le sieur de Monts, ennuié de cette triste demeure de Sainte-Croix, delibera de chercher vn autre port en pais plus chaud & plus au Su : & à cet effet fit armer & garnir de vivres vne barque pour suivre la côte & aller, en découvrant pais nouveaux, chercher vn plus heureux port en vn air plus temperé. Et d'autant qu'en cherchant on ne peut pas tant avancer comme lors qu'on va à pleins voiles en la haute mer, & que trouvant des bayes & golfes gisans entre deux terres il faut penetrer dedans, pour ce que là on peut aussi-tôt trouver ce que l'on cherche comme ailleurs, il ne fit en son voyage qu'environ cent lieues, comme nous dirons à cette heure. Depuis Sainte-Croix iusques à cinquante lieues de là en avant la côte git Est & Ouest, & par les quarante-cinq degrez : au bout desquelles cinquante lieues est la riviere dite par les Sauvages *Kinibeki*, depuis lequell lieu jusques à Malebarre elle git Nort & Su, & y a de l'vn à 486 l'autre encore soixante lieues à droite ligne, sans suivre les bayes. C'est où se termina le voyage dudit sieur de Monts, auquel il avoit pour cōducteur de sa barque le pilote Champdoré. En toute cette côte jusques à *Kinibeki* il y a beaucoup de lieux où les navires peuvent être à couvert parmi les iles, mais le peuple n'y est frequent comme il est au-dela : & n'y a rien de remarquable (du moins qu'on ait veu au dehors des terres) qu'une riviere de laquelle plusieurs ont écrit des fables à la suite l'vn de l'autre, de memes que 273 ceux qui sur la foy des Commentaires de Hanno, Capitaine Carthaginois,² avoient feint des villes en grand nombre par lui baties sur la côte de l'Afrique qui est arrousée de l'Ocean, parce qu'il fit vn coup heroïque de naviger jusques aux iles du Cap Vert, & long temps depuis lui personne n'y avoit été, la navigation n'étant alors tant assurée sur cette grande mer qu'elle est aujourd'hui par le benefice de l'aiguille marine.

Sans donc amener ce qu'ont dit les premiers Hespagnols & Portugais, ie reciteray ce qui est au dernier livre intitulé, *Histoire universelle des Indes Occidentales*, imprimé à Douay l'an dernier mille six cens sept, lors qu'il parle de *Norumbega*, Car en rapportant ceci, j'auray aussi dit ce qu'ont écrit les precedts, de qui les derniers sont tenanciers.

¹ The numbers 481 to 484 are omitted in the original edition; but nothing has been left out. In the 1611-12 edition the numbers 493 to 496 were repeated.

² Pliny, liv. v. chap. 1.

“Plus outre vers le Septentriō (dit l’Auteur apres avoir parlé de la Virginie) [est] *Norumbega*, laquelle d’une belle ville, & d’un grand fleuve est assez conuë, encore que l’on ne trouve point d’où elle tire ce nom : car les 487 Barbares l’appellent *Agguncia*. Sur l’entrée de ce fleuve il y a une ile fort propre pour la pecherie. La region qui va le long de la mer est abondante en poisson, & vers la Nouvelle-France a grand nombre de bêtes sauvages, & est fort commode pour la chasse, & les habitans vivent de même façon que ceux de la Nouvelle-France.” Si cette belle ville a onques été en nature, ie voudroy bien sçavoir qui l’a demolie depuis octante ans : car il n’y a que des cabanes par ci par là faites de perches & couvertes d’écorces d’arbres, ou de peaux, & s’appellent l’habitation & la riviere tout ensemble *Pemptegoet*, & non *Agguncia*. La riviere, hors le flux de la mer, ne vaut pas nôtre riviere d’Oise. Et ne pourroit en cette côte là y avoir de grandes rivières, pource qu’il n’y a point assez de terres pour les produire, à cause de la grande riviere de 274 *Canada*, qui va comme cette côte à peu près, Est & Oest, & n’est point à soixante lieues loin de là, en traversant les terres ; & d’ailleurs cette riviere en reçoit beaucoup d’autres qui prennent leurs sources devers *Norumbega* : à l’entrée de laquelle tant s’en faut qu’il n’y ait qu’une ile, que plutôt le nombre en est (par maniere de dire) infini, d’autant que cette riviere s’elargissant comme un *Lambda*, lettre Grecque Λ , la sortie d’icelle est toute pleine d’îles ; desquelles y en a une bien avant (& la premiere) en mer, qui est haute & remarquable sur les autres.

Mais quelqu’un dira que ie m’équivoque en la situation de *Norumbega*, & qu’elle n’est pas là où ie la prens. A cela ie répons que l’Auteur de qui 488 i’ay nagueres rapporté les paroles, m’est suffisante caution en ceci, lequel en sa Charte géographique a situé l’entrée de cette riviere par les quarante-quatre degrez, & sa pretendue ville par les quarante-cinq. Ce que luy ayant accordé, il faudra necessairement qu’il me confesse que c’est celle-ci, par ce qu’icelle passée, & celle de *Kinibeki* (qui est en même hauteur), il n’y a point d’autre riviere plus avant dont on doit faire cas jusques à la Virginie. 275 Et comme de main en main un abus suit un autre, un Capitaine de marine nommé Iean Alfonse, Xaintôgeois, en la relatiō de ses voyages aventureux, s’est aventuré d’écrire chose de même foy, disant que “passé l’île de Saint Iean (laquelle ie prens pour celle que j’ay appelée ci-dessus l’île de Bacaillos), la côte tourne à l’Ouest & Ouest-Sur Ouest, jusques à la riviere de *Norembegue*, nouvellement découverte (ce dit-il) par les Portugalois & Hespagnols, laquelle est à trente degrez ; adjoutât que cette riviere a en son entrée beaucoup d’îles, bacs, & rochers : & que dedans bien quinze ou vingt lieues est batie une grande ville, où les gens sont petits & noirâtres, comme ceux des Indes, & sont vêtus de peaux dont ils ont abondance de toutes sortes. Item que là vient mourir le Banc de Terre-neuve : & que passé cette riviere la côte tourne à l’Ouest & Ouest-Norouest plus de deux cens cinquante lieues vers un pais où y a des villes & chateaux.” Mais ie ne reconoy rien, ou bien peu de verité en tous 489 les discours de cet homme ici : & peut-il bien appeller ses voyages aventureux, non pour lui, qui jamais ne fut en la centième partie des lieux qu’il décrit (au moins il est aisé à le conjecturer), mais pour ceux qui voudront suivre les routes qu’il ordonne de suivre aux mariniers. Car si ladite riviere de *Norembegue* est à trente degrez, il faut que ce soit en la Floride : qui est contredire à tous ceux qui en ont jamais écrit, & à la verité même. Quant à ce qu’il dit

du *Banc de Terre-neuve*, il finit (par le rapport des mariniers) environ l'île de *Sable*, à l'endroit du *Cap-Breton*. Bien est vray qu'il y a quelques autres 276 bancs, qu'on appelle *Le Banquereau*, & *Le Banc Iacquet*, mais ilz ne sont que de cinq, ou six, ou dix lieües, & sont separez du *grand Banc de Terre-neuve*. Et quant aux hommes, ilz sont de belle & haute stature en la terre de *Norumbega*. [Et de] dire que passé cette riviere la côte git Ouest & Ouest-Norouest, cela n'a aucune preuve. Car depuis le *Cap-Breton* iusques à la pointe de la *Floride* qui regarde l'île de *Cuba*, il n'y a aucune côte qui gise Ouest-Norouest, seulement y a en la partie de la vraye riviere dite *Norumbega* quelque cinquante lieües de côte qui git Est & Ouest. Somme, de tout le recit dudit Jean Alfonse ie ne reçoÿ sinon ce qu'il dit que cette riviere dont nous parlons a en son entrée beaucoup d'îles, bancs, & rochers.

Passée la riviere de *Norumbega*, le sieur de *Monts* alla toujours cotoyâs iusques à ce qu'il vint à *Kinibeki*, où y a vne riviere qui peut accourir le 490 chemin pour aller à la grande riviere de *Canada*. Il y a là nombre de Sauvages cabannez, & y commence la terre à être mieux peuplée. De *Kinibeki* en allant plus outre on trouve la *Baye de Marchin*, nommée du nom du Capitaine qui y commande. Ce *Marchin* fut tué l'année que nous partimes de la Nouvelle-France, mille six cens sept. Plus loin est vne autre *Baye* dite *Chouakoet*, où y a grand peuple au regard des païs precedens. Aussi cultivent-ils la terre, & commence la region à être plus temperée, s'élevant pardessus le quarante-quatrième degré : & pour temoignage de ceci il y a quantité de vignes en cette terre. Voire même il y en a des îles pleines (bien que plus exposées aux injures du vent & du froid), ainsi que nous dirons ci-après. Entre *Chouakoet* & *Malebarre* y a plusieurs bayes & îles, & est la côte sablonneuse, 277 avec peu de fond approchant dudit *Malebarre*, si qu'à peine y peut-on aborder avec les barques.

Les peuples qui sont depuis la riviere *Saint Iean* jusques à *Kinibeki* (en quoy sont cōprises les rivieres de *Sainte-Croix*, & *Norumbega*) s'appellent *Etechemins* : & depuis *Kinibeki* jusques à *Malebarre*, & plus outre, ilz s'appellent *Armouchiquois*. Ils sont traitres & larrons, & s'en faut donner de garde. Le sieur de *Monts* s'étant arreté quelque peu à *Malebarre*, les vivres commencerent à lui defaillir, & fallut penser du retour, mémemment voyant toute la côte si facheuse qu'on ne pouvoit passer outre sans peril, pour les basses qui se iettent fort avant en mer, & de telle façon que plus on s'éloigne de terre, moins il 491 y a de fond. Mais avât que partir il avint vn accident de mort à vn charpentier *Maloin*, lequel allant querir de l'eau avec quelques chauderons, vn *Armouchiquois*, voyant l'occasiō propre à dérober l'vn de ces chauderons lors que le *Maloin* n'y prenoit pas garde, le print & s'enfuit hativement avec sa proye. Le *Maloin* voulât courir après fut tué par cette mauvaise gent : & ores que cela ne lui fût arrivé, c'étoit en vain poursuivre son larron : car tous ces peuples *Armouchiquois* sont legers à la course cōme levriers, ainsi que nous dirons encore ci-après en parlât du voyage que fit là même le sieur de *Poutrincourt* en l'an mille six cens six. Le sieur de *Mōts* eut vn grand regret de voir telle chose, & étoiet ses gens en bonne volonté d'en prēdre vengeance (ce qu'ilz pouvoiet faire, attendu que les autres *Barbares* ne s'éloignerēt tant des François qu'vn coup de mousquet ne les eût peu gāter : & de fait ils avoiet ja chacun le sien couché en ioué, pour mirer chacun son hōme), mais icelui sieur de *Monts*, sur quelques considerations que plusieurs autres étâs en sa

qualité n'eussent eues, & pour ce que les meurtriers s'étoient évadés, fit baisser
 278 à chacun le serpent, & les laisserent, n'ayâs iusque là trouvé lieu agreable
 pour y former vne demeure arrestée. Et à-tant ledit sieur fit appareiller pour
 retourner à Sainte Croix, où il avoit laissé vn bon nombre de ses gens encore
 infirmes de la secousse des maladies hivernales, de la santé desquels il étoit
 soucieux.

Plusieurs qui ne sçavent que c'est de la marine pensent que l'établis-
 sement d'une habitatiō en terre inconuē soit chose facile, mais par le discours 492
 de ce voyage, & autres suivans, ilz trouveront qu'il est beaucoup plus aisé de
 dire que de faire, & que le sieur de Monts a beaucoup exploité de choses en
 cette premiere année d'avoir veu toute la côte de cette terre jusques à Male-
 barre, qui sont plus de quatre cens lieues en regeant icelle côte, & visitant
 jusques au fond des bayes : outre le travail des logemens qu'il lui cōvint faire
 edifier & dresser, le soin de ceux qu'il avoit là menés, & du retour en France,
 le cas avenant de quelque peril ou naufrage à ceux qui lui avoient promis de
 l'aller querir après l'an revolu. Mais on a beau courir, & se donner de la peine
 pour rechercher des ports où la Parque soit pitoyable. Elle est toujours
 semblable à elle-même. Il est bon de se loger en vn doux climat, puis qu'on
 est en plein drap, & qu'on a à choisir, mais la mort nous suit par tout. L'ay
 entendu d'un pilote du Havre de Grace qui fut avec les Anglois en la Virginie
 il y a vingt-quatre ans, qu'étans arrivez là il y en mourut trente-six en trois
 mois. Et toutefois on tient la Virginie être par les trente-six, trente-sept,
 & trente-huitième degrez de latitude, qui est bon temperament de pais. Ce
 que considerant, ie croy encore vn coup (car ie l'ay des-ja ci-devant dit) que
 279 telle mortalité vient du mauvais traitement : & est du tout besoin en tel pais
 d'y avoir dès le commencement du bestial domestic & privé de toute sorte :
 & porter force arbres fruitiers & entes, pour avoir bien-tot la recreation neces- 493
 saire à la santé de ceux qui desirent y peupler la terre. Que si les Sauvages
 mêmes sont sujets aux maladies dont nous avons parlé, c'est rarement, & cela
 arrivant, ie l'attribue à la même cause du mauvais traitement. Car ilz n'ont
 rien qui puisse corriger le vice des viandes qu'ils prennent : & toujours sont
 nuds parmi les humidités de la terre ; ce qui est le vray moyen d'accueillir
 quantité d'humeurs corrompues qui leur causent ces maladies aussi bien qu'aux
 étrangers qui vont par dela, quoy qu'ils soient nais à cette façon de vivre.

La nouvelle habitation y ayde aussi beaucoup, comme on a observé par
 experience ordinaire. Car où il faut arracher les arbres, les ouvriers sont con-
 traints de humer les vapeurs qui s'exhalent de la terre, qui leur corrompent
 le sang & pervertissent l'estomac (ainsi qu'à ceux qui travaillent aux mines)
 & causent lesdites maladies : là où la même experience nous a montré qu'après
 l'habitation faicte, elles n'ont plus eu tant de prise sur les hommes.

494 *Arrivée du sieur du Pont à l'île Sainte-Croix : Habitation transférée au Port-Royal : Retour du sieur de Monts en France : Difficulté des moulins à bras : Equipage dudit sieur du Pont pour aller découvrir les Terres-neuves outre Malebarre : Naufrage : Prevoyance pour le retour en France : Comparaison de ces voyages avec ceux de la Floride : Blame de ceux qui méprisent la culture de la terre.*

CHAP. VIII

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LA saison du printemps passée au voyage des Armouchiquois, le sieur de Monts attendit à Sainte-Croix le temps qu'il avoit convenu : dans lequel s'il n'avoit nouvelles de France il pourroit partir & venir chercher quelque vaisseau de ceux qui viennēt à la Terre-neuve pour la pecherie du poisson, à fin de repasser en France dans icelui avec sa troupe, s'il étoit possible. Ce temps des-ja étoit expiré, & étoient prêts à faire voile, n'attendans plus aucun secours ni rafraichissemens, quand voici le quinziesme de Juin, mil six cens cinq arriver le sieur du Pont, surnommé Gravé, demeurant à Honfleur, avec vne compagnie de quelques quarante hommes, pour relever de sentinelle ledit sieur de Mōts & sa troupe. Ce fut au grand contentement d'vn chacun, comme l'on peut penser : & canonnades
 495 ne manquerent à l'abord, selon la coutume, ni l'éclat des trompetes. Ledit sieur du Pont ne sçachant encore l'état de noz François, pensoit trouver là vne demeure bien assurée, & ses logemens prêts : mais attendu les accidens de la maladie étrange dont nous avons parlé, il fut avisé par Conseil de changer de lieu. Le sieur de Monts eût bien désiré que l'habitation nouvelle eût été comme par les quarante degrez, sçavoir à six degrez plus au Midi que le lieu de Sainte-Croix : mais après avoir veu la côte jusques à Malebarre, & avec beaucoup de peines, sans trouver ce qu'il desiroit, on delibera d'aller au Port Royal faire la demeure, attendant qu'il y eût moyen de faire plus ample découverte. Ainsi voila chacun embesoigné à trousseur son paquet : on demolit ce qu'on avoit bati avec mille travaux, hors-mis le magazin, qui étoit vne piece trop grande à transporter, & en execution de ceci plusieurs voyages se font. Tout étant arrivé au Port Royal, voici nouveau travail : on choisit la demeure vis à vis de l'île qui est à l'entrée de la riviere de l'Equille, dite
 aujourd'hui la riviere du Dauphin, là où tout étoit couvert de bois si épais qu'il n'est possible davantage. Ja le mois de Septembre arrivoit, & falloit penser de décharger le navire du sieur du Pont pour faire place à ceux qui devoient retourner en France. Somme, il y avoit de l'exercice pour tous. Quād le navire fut en état d'être mis à la voile, le sieur de Monts ayāt veu le cōmencement de la nouvelle habitation, s'embarqua pour le retour & avec lui ceux qui voulurent le suivre. Neātmoins plusieurs de bon courage de-
 496 meurerent sans apprehender le mal passé [entre lesquels estoient les sieurs

Champlein & Champdoré, l'un pour la géographie, & l'autre pour la conduite des voyages qu'il conviendrait faire sur mer]. Atant on met la voile au vent & demeure ledit sieur du Pont pour Lieutenant par delà, lequel ne manque de prôptitude (selon son naturel) à faire & parfaire ce qui estoit requis pour loger soy & les siens : qui est tout ce qui se peut faire pour cette année en ce pais là. Car de s'éloigner du parc durant l'hiver, mêmes apres vn si long harassement, il n'y avoit point d'apparence. Et quant au labourage de la terre, ie croy qu'ils n'eurent le tēps cōmode pour y vacquer : car ledit sieur du Pôt n'étoit pas hōme pour demeurer en repos, ni pour laisser ses gēs oisifs, s'il y eût eu moyē de ce faire.

L'hiver venu les Sauvages du pais s'assembloient de bien loin au Port Royal pour troquer de ce qu'ils avoient avec les François, les vns apportans des pelleteries de Castors, & de Loutres (qui sont celles dont on peut faire plus d'état en ce lieu là), & aussi d'Ellans, desquelles on peut faire de bons buffles : les autres apportans des chairs fresches, dōt ilz frēt maintes tabagies,¹ vivans joyeusement tant qu'ils eurent dequoy. Le pain oncques ne leur manqua, 282 mais le vin ne leur dura point jusques à la fin de la saison. Car quand nous y arrivames l'an suivant, il y avoit plus de trois mois qu'ilz n'en avoient plus, & furent fort rejouis ne nôtre venue, qui leur en fit reprendre le gout.

La plus grande peine qu'ilz avoient, c'étoit de moudre le bled pour avoir du pain. Ce qui est chose fort penible en moulins à bras, où il faut employer toute la force du corps. Et pour ce, non sans cause, anciennement on menaçoit les mauvaises gens de les envoyer au moulin, cōme à la chose la plus penible 497 qui soit : auquel métier on emploioit les pauvres esclaves avant l'usage des moulins à vent & à eau, comme nous témoignent les histoires profanes, & celles de la sortie du peuple d'Israël hors du pais d'Egypte,² là où pour la dernière playe que Dieu veut envoyer à Pharaon, il denonce par la bouche de Moïse, *qu'environ la minuit il passera au travers de l'Egypte, & tout premier-né y mourra jusques au premier-né de Pharaon qui devoit être assis sur son throne, jusques au premier-né de la servante qui est employée à moudre.* Et ce travail étant si grand, les Sauvages, quoy que bien pauvres, ne le sçauoient supporter, & aymeroient mieux se passer de pain que de prendre tant de peine, comme il a été expérimenté de nôtre temps, que leur voulant bailler la moitié de la mouture qu'ilz feroient, ils aimoient mieux n'avoir point de blé. Et croyoy bien que cela, avec d'autres choses, a aidé à fomentier la maladie de laquelle nous avons parlé, en quelques vns des gēs du sieur du Pont : car il y en mourut vn douzaine³ durant cet hiver en sa compagnie. Vray est que ie trouve vn defaut és batimens de noz François, c'est qu'il n'y avoit point de fossez à lentour, & s'écouloient les eaux de la terre prochaine par dessous leurs chambres basses : ce qui étoit fort contraire à la santé. A quoy j'ajoute encore les eaux mauvaises desquelles ilz se servoient, qui n'issoient point d'une 283 source vive, comme celle que nous trouvames assez prez de nôtre Fort, ains du plus prochain ruisseau.

Après que l'hiver fut passé, & la mer propre à naviguer, le sieur du Pont 498 voulut parachever l'entreprise commencée l'an precedent par le sieur de Monts, & aller rechercher vn port plus au Su, où la temperature de l'air fût plus douce, selon qu'il en avoit eu charge dudit sieur. Et de fait il equippa la

¹ *Tabagua*, mot de Sauvages qui signifie bâquet.

² Exod. xi. vers. 45.

³ The editions of 1609 and 1611-2 have, *demic douzaine*.

barque qui lui étoit restée pour cet effect : Mais étant sorti du port, & ja à la voile pour tirer vers Malebarre, il fut cōtraint par le vent contraire de relacher deux fois, & à la troisième ladite barque se vint perdre contre les rochers à l'entrée du passage dudit port. En cette disgrâce de Neptune les hommes furent sauvés, & la meilleure partie des provisions & marchandises. Mais quant à la barque, elle fut mise en pieces. Et par ce desastre fut rompu le voyage, & intermis ce que tant l'on desiroit. Car encore ne jugeoit-on point bonne l'habitation du Port Royal : & toutefois il est hautement abrié de la part du Nort & Noroest, de montagnes éloignées tantôt d'une lieuë, tantôt de demie du Port & de la riviere de l'Equille. Voila comme les entreprises ne se manient pas au desir des hommes, & sont accompagnées de beaucoup de perils. Si bien qu'il ne se faut émerveiller s'il y a de la longueur en l'établissement des colonies, principalement en des terres si lointaines desquelles on ne sçait la nature, ni le temperament de l'air, & où il faut combattre & abattre les forêts, & être contraint de se donner de garde, non des peuples que nous disons Sauvages, mais de ceux qui se disent Chrétiens & n'en ont que le nom, 499 gent maudite & abominable, pire que des loups, ennemis de Dieu, & de la nature humaine.

Ce coup donc étant rompu, le sieur du Pont ayant fait emmenoter Champdoré, & informer contre luy, ne sceut que faire, sinon d'attendre la venue du secours & rafraichissement que le sieur de Monts lui avoit promis envoyer 284 l'année suivante, lors qu'il partit du Port Royal pour revenir en France. Et neantmoins à tout événement, ne laissa de preparer vne autre barque, & vne patache, pour venir chercher des vaisseaux François és lieux où ils font la secherie des moruës (comme les Ports *Campseau*, des Anglois, de *Misamichis*, Baye de Chaleur, & des Moruës, & autres en grand nombre), ainsi qu'avoit fait le sieur de Monts l'an precedent, à fin de se mettre dedans & retourner en Frâce, le cas avenant qu'aucun navire ne vinst le secourir. En quoy il fit sagement : car il fut en danger de n'avoir aucunes nouvelles de nous, qui étions destinez pour lui succeder, ainsi que se verra par le discours de ce qui suit. Mais ce-pédant ici faut cōsiderer que ceux qui se sont trāsportez par-delà en ces derniers voyages ont eu vn avātage par-dessus ceux qui ont voulu habiter la Floride : c'est d'avoir ce recours que nous avons dit aux navires de Frâce qui frequētēt les Terres-neuves, sans avoir la peine de façōner des grāds vaisseaux, ni attēdre des famines extremes, cōme ont fait ceux-là, de qui les voyages ont été à déplorer en ce regard, & ceux-ci au sujet des maladies qui les ont persecuté. Mais aussi ceux de la Floride ont ils eu de l'heur en ce qu'ils étoiet en vn pais doux, fertile, & plus ami de la sāté humaine que la Nouvelle-France Septentrionale, de laquelle nous avons parlé en ce livre. Que s'ils ont eu de la famine, il y a eu de la grāde faute de leur part de n'avoir nullement cultivé la terre, laquelle ils avoient trouvée découverte : Ce qui est vn prealable de faire avant toute chose à qui veut s'aller habituer si loin de secours. Mais les François, & préque toutes les nations du jourd'hui (i'enten de ceux qui ne sont nais au labourage) ont cette mauvaise nature, qu'ils estiment deroger beaucoup à leur qualité de s'addonner à la culture de la terre, qui neantmoins est à peu près la seule vacation où reside l'innocence. Et 285 de là vient que chacun fuit ce noble travail, exercice de noz premiers peres, des Rois anciens, & des plus grands Capitaines du monde, & cherchant de se faire Gentil-homme aux dépens d'autrui, ou voulant apprendre tant seule-

ment le metier de tromper les hommes, ou se gratter au soleil, Dieu ôte sa benediction de nous, & nous bat aujourd'hui, & dés l'og temps, en verge de fer, si bien que le peuple languit miserablement en toutes parts, & voyons la France remplie de gueux, & Mendians de toutes especes, sans comprendre vn nombre infini qui gemit souz son toict, & n'ose faire paroître sa pauvreté.

501 *Motif, & acception du voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt, Ensemble de l'Auteur, en la Nouvelle-France : Partement de la ville de Paris pour aller à la Rochelle : Adieu à la France.*

CHAP. IX

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ENVIRON le temps du naufrage mentionné ci-dessus, le sieur de Monts songeoit par deça aux moyens de dresser nouvel equipage pour la Nouvelle-France. Ce qui lui sembloit difficile tât pour les grands frais que cela apportoit, que pour ce que cette province avoit été tellement décriée à son retour, que ce sembloit être chose vaine & infructueuse de plus continuer ces voyages à l'avenir. Ioint qu'il y avoit grande occasion de croire qu'on ne trouveroit personne qui s'y voulût aller hasarder. Neantmoins sachant le desir du sieur de Poutrincourt (auquel auparavant il avoit fait partage de la terre, suivant le pouvoir que le Roy luy en avoit donné) qui étoit d'habiter pardela, & y établir sa famille & sa fortune, & le nom de Dieu tout ensemble ; il lui écrivit, & envoya homme exprés, pour lui faire ouverture du voyage qui se presentoit. Ce que ledit sieur de Poutrincourt accepta, 502 quittant toutes affaires pour ce sujet : quoy qu'il eût des procès de consequence, à la poursuite & defense desquels sa presence étoit bien requise, & qu'à son premier voyage il eût éprouvé la malice de certains qui le poursuivoient rigoureusement absent, & devindrent souples & muets à son retour. Il ne fut plutot rendu à Paris, qu'il fallut partir, sans avoir à-peine le loisir de pourvoir à ce qui lui étoit nécessaire. Et ayant eu l'honneur de le conoitre quelques années auparavant, il me demanda si ie voulois être de la partie. Aquoy ie demanday vn jour de terme pour lui répondre. Apres avoir bien consulté en moy-même, desireux non tant de voir le país que de reconoitre 287 la terre oculairement, à laquelle j'avoy ma volonté portée, & fuir vn monde corrompu, ie lui donnay parole : étant même induit par l'iniustice qui m'avoit été peu au-paravant faite, laquelle fut réparée à mon retour par Arret de la Cour, dont i'en ay particulierement obligation à Monsieur Servin, Advocat general du Roy, auquel proprement appartient cet eloge attribué selon la lettre au plus sage & plus magnifique de tous les Rois : TV AS AIMÉ IUSTICE, ET AS EV EN HAINE INIQUITÉ.¹

C'est ainsi que Dieu nous reveille quelquefois pour nous exciter à des actions genereuses telles que de ces voyages, lesquelles (comme le monde est divers) les vns blameront, les autres approuveront. Mais n'ayant à repondre à personne en ce regard, ie ne me soucie des discours que les gens oisifs, ou ceux 503 qui ne me peuvent ou veulent ayder, pourroient faire, ayant mon contentement en moy-même, & étant prêt de rendre service à Dieu & au Roy es terres d'outre mer qui porteront le nom de France, si ma fortune, ou condition m'y

¹ Psal. xlv. ; Heb. xlv. vers. 17.

pouvoit appeller, pour y vivre en repos par vn travail agreable, & fuir la dure vie à laquelle ie voy pardeça la pluspart des hommes reduits.

Pour revenir donc au sieur de Poutrincourt, comme il eut fait quelques affaires, il s'informa en quelques Eglises s'il se pourroit point trouver quelque Prêtre qui eut du sçavoir pour le mener avec lui, & soulager celui que le sieur de Monts y avoit laissé à son voyage, lequel nous pensions être encore vivant. Mais d'autant que c'étoit la semaine sainte, temps auquel ilz sont occupés aux confessions, il ne s'en presenta aucun, les vns s'excusans sur les incommoditez de la mer & du long voyage, les autres remettans l'affaire apres
 288 Pasques. Occasiō qu'il n'y eut moyen d'en tirer quelqu'un hors de Paris, parce que le temps pressoit, & la mer n'attend personne : par ainsi falloit partir.

Restoit de trouver les ouvriers necessaires au voyage de la Nouvelle-Frâce. Aquoy fut pourveu en bref (car souz le nom de Poutrincourt il se trouvoit plus de gens qu'on ne vouloit), pris fait de leurs gages, & argēt donné à chacun par avance d'iceux gages, & pour se trouver à la Rochelle, où étoit le Rendez-vous, chez les sieurs Macquin & Georges, honorables marchans de ladite ville, associez du sieur de Mōts, lesquels fournissoient nôtre equipage.

Ce menu peuple étant parti, nous-nous acheminames à Orleans trois ou 504 quatre iours après, qui fut le Vendredy saint, pour aller faire noz Pasques en ladite ville d'Orleans, où chacun fist le devoir accoutumé à tous bons Chrétiens de prendre le Viatique spirituel de la divine Communion, mémement puisque nous allions en voyage.

Devant qu'arriver à la Rochelle, me tenant quelquefois à quartier de la compagnie, il me print envie de mettre sur mes tablettes vn Adieu à la France, lequel ie fis imprimer en ladite ville de la Rochelle le lendemain de nôtre arrivée, qui fut le troisieme jour d'Avril mil six cens six : & fut receu avec tant d'applaudissemēs du peuple, que ie ne dedaigneray de le coucher ici.

ADIEU A LA FRANCE

ORES que la saison du printemps nous invite
 A seillonner le dos de la vague Amphitrite,
 Et cingler vers les lieux où Phœbus chaque jour
 Va faire tout lassé son humide séjour,

Je veux ains que partir dire Adieu à la France,
 Celle qui n'a produit, & nourri dès l'enfance ;
 Adieu non pour toujours, mais bien sous cet espoir
 Qu'encores quelque jour ie la pourray revoir.

Adieu donc douce mere ; Adieu France amiable :

Adieu de tous humains le séjour delectable :

Adieu celle qui m'a en son ventre porté,

Et du fruit de son sein doucement alaité :

Adieu Muses aussi qui à vôtre cadence

Avez conduit mes pas dès mon adolescence :

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*Adieu riches palais, Adieu nobles cités
 Dont l'aspect a mes yeux mille fois contentés :
 Adieu lambris doré, saint temple de Justice,
 Où Themis aux humains d'un pénible exercice
 Rend le Droit, & Python d'un parler eloquent
 Contre l'oppression défend l'homme innocent.
 Adieu tours & clochers dont les pointes cornuës,
 Avoisinans les cieux, s'élèvent sur les nuës :
 Adieu prez emaillez d'un million de fleurs
 Ravissans mes esprits de leurs soüèves odeurs :
 Adieu belles forets, Adieu larges campagnes,
 Adieu pareillement sourcilleuses montagnes :
 Adieu côtaux vinueux, & superbes châteaux :
 Adieu l'honneur des châps, verdure & gras troupeaux :
 Et vous, ô ruisselets, fontaines, & rivières,
 Qui m'avez delecté en cent mille manières,
 Et mille fois charmé au doux gazouillement
 De vos bruyantes eaux, Adieu semblablement :
 Nous allons recherchant dessus l'onde azurée
 Les journaliers hazars du tempeteux Nerée,
 Pour parvenir aux lieux où d'une ample moisson
 Se presente aux Chrétiens une belle saison.*

*O combien se prepare & d'honneur & de gloire,
 Et sans cesse sera louable la memoire
 A ceux-là qui poussez de sainte intention
 Auront le bel objet de cette ambition !
 Les peuples à jamais beniront l'entreprise
 Des Auteurs d'un tel bien : & d'une plume apprise
 A graver dans l'airain de l'immortalité
 l'en laisseray memoire à la posterité.
 Prelats que Christ a mis pasteurs de son Eglise,
 A qui partant il a sa parole commise,
 Afin de l'annoncer par tout cet Vnivers,
 Et à sa loy ranger par elle les pervers,
 Sommeillez vous, hélas ! Pourquoi de vôtre zele
 Ne faites vous paroître une vive étincelle
 Sur ces peuples errans qui sont proie à l'enfer,
 Du sauvement desquels vous devriez triompher ?
 Pourquoi n'employez vous à ce saint ministère
 Ce que vous employez seulement à vous plaire ?
 Cependant le troupeau que Christ a racheté
 Accuse devant lui vôtre tardiveté.
 Quoy donc souffrirez vous l'ordre du mariage
 Sur vôtre ordre sacré avoir cet avantage
 D'avoir eu devant vous le desir, le vouloir,
 Le travail, & le soin de ce Chrétien devoir ?*

DE MONTS, tu es celui de qui le haut courage
 A tracé le chemin à un si grand ouvrage :
 Et pource de ton nom malgré l'effort des ans

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*La feuille verdoyra d'un eternel printemps.
 Que si en ce devoir que j'ay des-jà tracé
 Ambitieuxment ie ne suis devancé,
 Je veux de ton merite exalter la louange
 Sur l'Equille,¹ & le Nil, & la Seine, & le Gange,
 Et faire l'Vnivers bruire de ton renom,
 Si bien qu'en tout endroit on revere ton nom.
 Mais ie ne pourray pas faire de toy memoire,
 Qu'à la suite de ce ie ne couche en l'histoire
 Celui duquel ayant conu la probité,
 Le sens & la valeur & la fidelité,
 Tu l'as digne trouvé à qui ta lieutenance
 Fût seurement commise en la Nouvelle-France,
 Pour te servir d'Hercule, & soulager le faix
 Qui te surchargerait au dessein que tu fais.*

*POVTRINCOVRT, c'est donc toy qui as touché mon ame,
 Et lui as inspiré vne devote flamme
 A celebrer ton los, & faire par mes vers
 Qu'à l'avenir ton nom vole par l'Vnivers :
 Ta valeur dès long temps en la France conuë
 Cherche vne nation aux hommes inconnuë
 Pour la rendre sujette à l'empire François,
 Et encore y assoir le thrône de noz Rois :
 Ains plustot (car en toy la Sagesse eternelle
 A mis ie ne sçay quoy digne d'une ame belle)
 Le motif qui premier a suscité ton cœur
 A si loin rechercher vn immortel honneur,
 Est le zele devot & l'affection grande
 De rendre à l'Eternel vne agreable offrande,
 Lui voiant toi, tes biens, ta vie, & tes enfans,
 Que tu vas exposer à la merci des vents,
 Et voguant incertain comme à vn autre pole
 Pour son nom exalter & sa sainte parole.*

*Ainsi tous deux portés de même affection :
 Ainsi l'un secondant l'autre en intention,
 Heureux, vous acquerrés vne immortelle vie,
 Qui de felicité toujours sera suivie :
 Vie non point semblable à celle de ces dieux
 Que l'antique ignorance a feinte dans les cieux
 Pour avoir (comme vous) reformé la nature,
 Les mœurs & la raison des hommes sans culture,
 Mais vne vie où git cette felicité
 Que les oracles saints de la Divinité
 Ont liberalement promis aux saintes ames
 Que le ciel a formé de ses plus pures flammes.
 Tel est vôtre destin, & cependant ça bas
 Vôtre nom glorieux ne craindra le trépas,
 Et la posterité, de vôtre gloire éprise,*

C'est la riviere du Port-Royal, dite maintenant la riviere du Dauphin.

*Sera emeuë à suivre vne même entreprise,
 Mais vous serez le centre où se rapportera
 Ce que l'âge futur en vous suivant fera.
 Toy qui par la terreur de ta sainte parole
 Regis à ton vouloir les postillons d'Æole,
 Qui des flots irrites peux l'orgueil abbaïsser,
 Et les vallons des eaux en vn moment hausser,
 Grand Dieu sois nôtre guide en ce douteux voyage,
 Puis que tu nous y as enflammé le courage :
 Lache de tes thresors vn favorable vent
 Qui pousse nôtre nef en peu d'heure au Ponant,
 Et fay que là puissions arrivez par ta grace
 Ietter le fondement d'une Chrétienne race.*

Pour m'egayer l'esprit ces vers ie composois
 Au premier que ie vi les murs des Rochelois.

Jonas nom de nôtre navire : Mer basse à la Rochelle cause de difficile sortie : La Rochelle ville reformée : Menu peuple insolent : Croquans : Accident de naufrage du Jonas : Nouvel équipage : Foibles soldats ne doivent estre mis aux frontieres : Ministres prient pour la conversion des Sauvages : Peu de zele des nôtres : Eucharistie portée par les anciens Chrétiens en voyage : Diligence [du sieur] de Poutrincourt sur le point de l'embarquement.

CHAP. X

ARRIVEZ que nous fumes à la Rochelle, nous y trouvames les Sieurs de Monts & de Poutrincourt qui y étoient venus en poste, & nôtre navire appelé LE JONAS, du port de cent cinquante tonneaux, prêt ⁵⁰⁹ à sortir hors les chaines de la ville pour attendre le vent. Cependant nous faisons bône chere, voire si bonne, qu'il nous tardoit que ne fussions sur mer pour faire diete. Ce que nous ne fimes que trop quâd nous y fumes vne fois : car deux mois se passerent avant que nous vissions terre, comme nous dirons tantot. Mais les ouvriers parmi la bonne chere (car ils avoient chacun vingt sols par jour) faisoient de merveilleux tintamarres au quartier de Saint Nicolas, où ils étoient logez. Ce qu'on trouvoit fort étrange en vne ville si reformée que la Rochelle, en laquelle ne se fait aucune dissolution apparente, & faut que chacun marche l'œil droit s'il ne veut encourir la censure soit du Maire, soit des Ministres de la ville. De fait il y en eut quelques vns prisonniers, lesquels on garda à l'hôtel de ville jusques à ce qu'il fallut partir ; & eussent été chatiez sans la consideration du voyage, auquel on sçavoit bien qu'ils n'auroient pas tous leurs aises : car ilz payerent assez par apres la folle enchere de la peine qu'ils avoient baillée aux sieurs Macquin & Georges, bourgeois de ladite ville, pour les tenir en devoir. Je ne les veux toutefois mettre tous en ce rang, d'autant qu'il y en avoit quelques vns respectueux & modestes. Mais ie puis dire que c'est vn étrange animal qu vn menu peuple. Et me souvient à ce propos de la guerre des Croquans, entre lesquels ie me ²⁹⁰ suis trouvé vne fois, étant en Querci. C'étoit la chose la plus bigearre du monde que cette confusion de porteurs de sabots, d'où ils avoient pris le nom ⁵¹⁰ de Croquans, par ce que leurs sabots cloïez devant & derriere faisoient Croc à chaque pas. Cette sorte de gens confuse n'entêdoit ni rime, ni raison, chacun y étoit maître, armés les vns d'une serpe au bout d'un baton, les autres de quelque épée enrouillée, & ainsi consequemment.

Nôtre Jonas ayant sa charge entiere, est en fin tiré hors la ville à la rade, & pensions partir le huitième ou neuvième d'Avril. Le Capitaine Foulques s'étoit chargé de la cōduite du voyage. Mais comme il y a ordinairement de la negligence aux affaires des hommes, avint que ce Capitaine (homme neantmoins que j'ay reconu fort vigilant à la mer) ayant laissé le navire mal garni d'hommes, n'y étant pas lui-même, ni le Pilote, ains seulement six ou

sept matelots tant bons que mauvais, vn grand vent de Suest s'éleve la nuit, qui rompt le cable du Ionas, retenu d'une ancre tant seulement, & le chasse cōtre vn avant-mur qui est hors la ville adossant la tour de la chaine, contre lequel il choque tant de fois qu'il se creve & coule à fonds. Et bien vint que la mer pour lors se retiroit. Car si ce desastre fût arrivé de flot, le navire étoit en danger d'être renversé, avec vne perte beaucoup plus grande qu'elle ne fut, mais il se soutint debout, & y eut moyen de le radoubier : ce qui fut fait en diligēce. On avertit nos ouvriers de venir ayder à cette necessité, soit à tirer à la pompe, ou pousser au capestan, ou à autre chose, mais il y en eut peu qui se missent en devoir, & s'en rioient la plupart. Quelques vns s'étans 291
511 acheminez jusques là parmi la vase, s'en retournerēt se plainnās qu'on leur avoit jetté de l'eau, ne cōsiderans pas qu'ilz s'étoiēt mis du côté par où sortoit l'eau de la pōpe que le vent éparpilloit sur eux. I'y allay avec le sieur de Pourtrincourt & quelques autres de bōne volōté, où nous ne fumes inutiles. A ce spectacle étoit préque toute la ville de la Rochelle sur le[s] répar[s]. La mer étoit encore irritée, & pensames aller choquer plusieurs fois contre les grosses tours de la ville. En fin nous entrames dedans, bagues sauvées. Le vaisseau fut vuidée entierement, & fallut faire nouvel équipage. La perte fut grande & les voyages préque rompus pour jamais. Car après tant de coups d'essais, ie croy qu'à l'avenir nul se fût hazardé d'aller planter des colonies pardela : ce païs étant tellement décrié, que chacun nous plaignoit sur les accidens de ceux qui y avoient été par le passé. Neantmoins le sieur de Monts & ses associez soutindrent virilement cette perte. Et faut que ie die en cette occurrēce, que si iamais ce païs là est habité de Chrétiens & peuples civilisés, c'est (après ce qui est deu au Roy) aux autheurs de ce voyage qu'en appartiendra à iuste tître la premiere louange.

Cet esclandre nous retarda de plus d'un mois, qui fut employé tant à décharger qu'à recharger nôtre navire. Pendant ce temps nous allions quelquefois pourmener es voisinages de la ville, & particulièrement aux Cordeliers, qui n'en sont qu'à demie lieuë, là où étant vn jour au sermon par vn Dimāche, 292
512 ie m'émerveillay cōme en ces places frontieres on ne mettoit meilleure garnison, ayās de si forts ennemis aupres d'eux. Et puis que i'entreprends vne histoire narrative des choses en la façon qu'elles se sont passées, ie diray que ce nous est chose honteuse que les Ministres de la Rochelle priassent Dieu chaque jour en leurs assemblées pour la conversion des pauvres peuples Sauvages, & même pour nôtre conduite, & que nos Ecclesiastiques ne fissent pas le semblable. De verité nous n'avions prié ni les vns, ni les autres de ce faire, mais en cela se reconoit le zele d'un chacun. En fin peu auparavant nôtre depart il me souvint de demander au sieur Curé ou Vicaire de l'Eglise de la Rochelle s'il se pourroit point trouver quelque siē confrere qui voulût venir avec nous : ce que j'esperoy se pouvoir aisément faire, pource qu'ils étoient là en assez bon nombre, & joint qu'étans en vne ville maritime, ie cuidoy qu'ilz prinsent plaisir de voguer sur les flots : mais ie ne peu rien obtenir : Et me fut dit pour excuse qu'il faudroit des gens qui fussent poussez de grand zele & pieté pour aller en tels voyages, & seroit bon de s'adresser aux Peres Iesuites. Ce que nous ne pouvions faire alors, nôtre vaisseau ayant préque sa charge. A propos dequoy il me souvint avoir plusieurs fois ouï dire au sieur de Pourtrincourt qu'après son premier voyage étant en Court, vn Jesuite de Court lui demanda ce qui se pourroit esperer de la conversion des peuples de la Nouvelle-

France, & s'ils étoient en grand nombre. Aquoy il répondit qu'il y avoit moyen d'acquérir cent mille âmes à Iesus-Christ, mettant vn nombre certain ⁵¹³ pour vn incertain. Ce bon Pere, faisant peu de cas de ce nombre, dit là dessus par admiration, N'y a-il que cela ! comme si ce n'étoit pas vn sujet assez grand pour employer vn homme. Certes quand il n'y en auroit ²⁹³ que la centième partie, voire encore moins, on ne devroit la laisser perdre. Le bon Pasteur ayant d'entre cent brebis vne égarée, l'aura les nonante-neuf pour aller chercher la centième.¹ On nous enseigne (& ie le croy ainsi) que quand il n'y eût eu qu'un homme à sauver, nôtre Seigneur Iesus-Christ n'eût dedaigné de venir pour lui, comme il a fait pour tout le monde. Ainsi ne faut faire si peu de cas de ces pauvres peuples, quoy qu'ilz ne fourmillent en nombre comme dans Paris, ou Constantinople.

Voyant que ie n'avoys rien avancé à demander vn homme d'Eglise pour nous administrer les Sacremens, soit durant nôtre route, soit sur la terre : il me vint en memoire l'ancienne coutume des Chrétiens, lesquels allans en voyage portoient avec eux le sacré pain de l'Eucharistie : & ce faisoient-ils, pource qu'en tous lieux ilz ne rencontroient point des Prêtres pour leur administrer ce Sacrement, le monde étant lors encore plein de paganisme, ou d'heresies. Si bien que non mal à propos il étoit appelé Viatic, lequel ilz portoient avec eux allans par voyes : & neantmoins ie suis d'accord que cela s'entend spirituellement. Et considerant que nous pourrions être reduits à cette nécessité, n'y étant demeuré qu'un Prêtre en la demeure de la Nouvelle-⁵¹⁴ France (lequel on nous dit être mort quand nous arrivâmes là) ie demanday si on nous voudroit faire de même qu'aux anciens Chrétiens, lesquels n'étoient moins sages que nous. On me dit que cela se faisoit en ce temps-là pour des considerations qui ne sont plus aujourd'hui. Je remontray que le frere de saint Ambroise, *Satyrus*, allant en voyage sur mer, se servoit de cette medecine spirituelle (ainsi que nous lisons en sa harangue funebre faite par ledit Saint Ambroise) laquelle il portoit *in orario*, ce que ie prens pour vn linge, ou taffetas : & bien lui en print : car ayant fait naufrage, il se sauva sur vn ais du bris de son vaisseau. Mais en ceci ie fus éconduit comme au reste. Ce qui me donna sujet d'étonnemēt : & me sembloit chose bien rigoureuse d'être ²⁹⁴ en pire condition que les premiers Chrétiens. Car l'Eucharistie n'est pas aujourd'hui autre chose qu'elle étoit alors : & s'ilz la tenoient precieuse, nous ne la demandions pas pour en faire moins de compte.

Revenons à nôtre Ionas. Le voila chargé & mis à la rade hors de la ville : il ne reste plus que le temps & la marée à point : c'est le plus difficile de l'œuvre. Car es lieux où il n'y a gueres de fonds, comme à la Rochelle, il faut attendre les hautes marées de pleine & nouvelle lune, & lors paraventure n'aura-on pas vent à propos, & faudra remettre la partie à quinzaine. Cependant la saison se passe, & l'occasion de faire voyage : ainsi qu'il nous pensa arriver. Car nous vîmes l'heure qu'après tant de fatigues & de dépenses nous étions ⁵¹⁵ demeurez faute de vent, & pource que la lune venoit en decours, & consequemment la marée, le Capitaine Foulques sembloit ne se point affectionner à sa charge, & ne demeurait point au navire, & disoit-on qu'il étoit secretement sollicité des marchans autres que de la société du sieur de Monts, de faire rompre le voyage : & paraventure n'étoit-il encore d'accord avec ceux qui le mettoient en œuvre. Quoy voyant ledit sieur de Pourtincourt, il fit

¹ Matt. xviii, vers. 12, 13.

la charge de Capitaine de navire, & s'y en alla coucher l'espace de cinq ou six jours pour sortir au premier vent, & ne laisser perdre l'occasion. En fin à toute force l'onzième de May mille six cens six, à la faveur d'un petit vent d'Est, il gagna la mer, & fit conduire notre Ionas à la Palisse, & le lendemain douzième revint à Chef-de-bois (qui sont les endroits où les navires se mettent 295 à l'abri des vents), là où l'espoir de la Nouvelle-France s'assembla. Je di l'espoir, pour ce que de ce voyage dependoit l'entretenement, ou la rupture de l'entreprise.

*Partement de la Rochelle : Rencontres divers de navires, & Forbans : Mer tem- 516
petueuse à l'endroit des Essores, & pourquoy : Vent d'Ouest pourquoy
frequent en la mer du Ponant : D'où viennent les vêts : Marsoins prognos-
tiques de tempête : Façon de les prendre : Tempêtes : Effects d'icelles :
Calmes : Grain de vent que c'est : comme il se forme : Ses effects :
Assurance de Matelots : Reverence comme se rend au navire Royal : Sup-
putation de voyage : Mer chaude, puis froide : Raison de ce : & des Bancs
de glace en la Terre-neuve.*

CHAP. XI

LE Samedi veille de Pentecôte, trezième de May, nous levames les ancrs
& fimes voiles en pleine mer tant que peu à peu nous perdimes
de veüe les grosses tours & la ville de la Rochelle, puis les îles de
Rez & d'Oleron, disans Adieu à la France. C'étoit vne chose appre-
hensive à ceux qui n'avoient accoustumé vne telle danse, de se voir portez sur
vn element si peu solide, & être à tout momēt (comme on dit) à deux doigtz
de la mort. Nous n'eumes [pas] fait long voyage que plusieurs firent le devoir
de rendre le tribut à Neptune. Ce-pendant nous allions toujours avant, &
n'étoit plus question de reculer en arriere depuis que la planche fut levée.
Le sezième jour de May nous eumes en rencontre treze navires Flamendes 517
allans en Hespagne, qui s'enquirent de nôtre voyage, & passerent outre. Depuis
ce tēps nous fumes vn mois entier sans voir autre chose que ciel & eau hors
nôtre ville flotante, sinon vn navire environ l'endroit des Essores (ou Açores),
bien garni de gens mêlez de Flamens & Anglois. Ilz nous vindrent couper
chemin, & joindre d'assez prés. Et selon la coutume nous leur demandames
d'où étoit le navire. Ilz nous dirent qu'ils étoient Terre-neuviers, c'est à
dire qu'ils alloient à la pecherie des Moruës aux Terres-neuves, & demanderent
si nous voulions qu'ilz vinssent avec nous de compagnie : dequoy nous les
remerciames. Là dessus ilz beurent à nous & nous à eux, & prindrēt vne
autre route. Mais après avoir consideré leur vaisseau, qui étoit tout chargé
de mousse verte par le ventre & les côtéz, nous iugeames que c'étoient des
Forbans, & qu'il y avoit long temps qu'ilz battoient la mer en esperance de
faire quelque prise. Ce fut lors plus que devant que nous commençames à
297 voir sauter les moutons de Neptune (ainsi appelle-on les flots blanchissans
quand la mer se veut emouvoir) & ressentir les rudes estocades de son Trident.
Car ordinairement la mer est tempetueuse en l'endroit que i'ay dit. Que
si on m'en demande la cause, ie diray que i'estime cela provenir de certain
conflit des vents Orientaux & Occidentaux qui se rencontrent en cette partie
de la mer, & principalement en Eté quand ceux d'Oüest s'elevant, & d'une
grande force penetrent vn grand espace de mer jusques à ce qu'ilz trouvent 518
les vents de deça qui leur font resistance : & à ces rencontres il fait mauvais

se trouver. Or cette raison me semble d'autant plus probable, que iusques environ les Essores nous avions eu vêt assés à propos, & depuis préque toujours vent debout, ou Suroest, ou Noroest, peu du Nort & de Su, qui ne nous étoient que bons pour aller à la bouline. De vent d'Est rien du tout, sinon vne ou deux fois, lequel ne nous dura pour en faire cas. Il est bien certain que les vents d'Oest regnent fort au long & au large de cette mer, soit par vne certaine repercussion du vent Oriental qui est rapide souz la ligne æquinoctiale, duquel nous avons parlé ci-dessus; ou par ce que cette terre Occidentale étant grande, le vent aussi qui en sort abonde davantage. Ce qui arrive principalement en été quand le soleil a la force d'attirer les vapeurs de la terre. Car les vents en viennent & volontiers sortent des baumes & cavernes d'icelle. Et pource les Poëtes feignent qu'Æole les tient en des prisons, d'où il les tire, & les fait marcher en campagne quand il lui plaît. Mais l'esprit de Dieu nous le confirme encore mieux, quand il dit par la bouche du Prophete,¹ que Dieu tout puissant entre autres merveilles tire les vents de ses thresors, qui sont ces cavernes dont ie parle. Car le mot de thresor signifie en Hebrieu lieu secret & caché.

*Des recoins de la terre, où ses limites sont,
Les pesantes vapeurs il souleve en amont,
Il change les éclairs en pluvieux ravages,
Tirant de ses thresors les vents & les orages.*

Et sur cette consideration Christophe Colomb, Genois, premier navigateur en ces derniers siecles aux iles de l'Amerique, iugea qu'il y avoit quelque grande terre en l'Occident, s'estât pris garde en allant sur mer qu'il y en venoit des vents continuels.

Poursuivans donc nôtre route nous eumes quelques autres tempêtes & difficultés causées par les vents, que nous avions préque toujours contraires pour estre partis trop tard: Mais ceux qui partent en Mars ont ordinairement bon temps, pour ce qu'alors sont en vogue les vents d'Est, Nordest, & Nort, propres à ces voyages. Or ces tempêtes bien souvent nous étoient presagées par les Marsoins qui environnoient nôtre vaisseau par milliers, se joûans d'une façon fort plaisante. Il y en eut quelques vns à qui mal print de s'être trop approchés. Car il y avoit des gens au guet souz le Beau-pré (à la prouë du navire) avec des harpôs en main qui les dardoient² quelquefois, & les faisoient venir à bord à l'aide des autres matelots, lesquels avec des gaffes les tiroient en haut. Nous en avons pris plusieurs de cette façon allant & venant, qui ne nous ont point fait de mal. Cet animal a deux doigts de lart sur le dos tout au plus. Quand il étoit fendu, nous lavions noz mains en son sang tout chaud, ce qu'on disoit être, bon à conforter les nerfs. Il a merveilleuse quantité de dents le long du museau, & pense qu'il tient bien ce qu'il attrape vne fois. Au reste, les parties interieures ont le gout entierement comme de pourceau, & les os non en forme d'arrêtes, mais comme vne quadrupede. Ce qui y est de plus delicat est la crête qu'il a sur le dos, & la queue, qui ne sont ni chair, ni poisson, ains meilleures que cela; telle qu'est aussi en matiere de queue, celle du Castor, laquelle semble être écaillée. Ces

¹ Psalm cxxxiv. ; Heb. cxxxv. vers. 7.

² The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *lardoient*.

299 Marsoins sont les seuls poissons que nous primmes devant que venir au grand Banc des Moruës. Mais de loin nous voyions d'autres gros poissons, qui faisoient paroître plus de demi arpent de leur echine hors de l'eau : & pousoient plus de deux lances de hauteur des gros canaux d'eau en l'air par les évents & trous qu'ils avoient sur la tête.

Pour venir à nôtre propos des tempêtes, durant nôtre voyage nous en eumes quelques vnes qui nous firent mettre voiles bas, & demeurer les bras croisez, portés au vouloir des flots, & balottez d'une étrange façon. S'il y avoit quelque coffre mal amarré (je veux vser de ce mot de marinier), on l'entendoit rouler, faisant un beau sabat. Quelquefois la marmite étoit renversée, & en dinant ou soupant noz plats voloient d'un bout de la table à l'autre, s'ilz n'étoient bien tenus. Pour le boire, il falloit porter la bouche & le verre selon le mouvement du navire. Bref c'étoit un passe-temps, mais un peu rude à ceux qui ne portent pas aisément ce branlement. Nous ne laissions pourtant de rire la plupart : car le danger n'y étoit point, du moins apparemment, étans dans un bon & fort vaisseau pour soutenir les vagues. Quelquefois aussi 521 nous avions des calmes bien importuns durât lesquels on se baignoit en la mer, on dansoit sur le tillac, on grimpoit à la hune, nous chantions en Musique. Puis quand on voyoit sortir de dessous l'horizon un petit nuage, c'étoit lors qu'il falloit quitter ces exercices, & se prendre garde d'un grain de vent enveloppé là dedans, lequel se desserrant, grondant, ronflant, sifflant, bruiant, tempétant, bourdonnant, étoit capable de renverser nôtre vaisseau c'en dessus dessous, s'il n'y eût eu des gens prêts à executer ce que le maitre du navire (qui étoit le Capitaine Foulques, homme fort vigilant) leur commandoit. Or ces grains de vents, lesquels autrement on appelle orages, il n'y a danger de dire comme ilz se forment, & d'où ilz prennent origine. Pline en parle en son Histoire naturelle,¹ & dit en somme que ce sont exhalations & vapeurs legeres elevées de la terre jusques à la froide region de l'air : & ne pouvâs passer 300 outre, ains plutot contraintes de retourner en arriere, elles rencontrent quelquefois des exhalations sulfurées & ignées, qui les environnent & resserrent de si près, qu'il en survient un grand combat, émotion & agitation entre le chaud sulfureux & l'aëreux humide, lequel forcé par son plus fort ennemi de fuir, il s'élargit, se fait faire iour, & siffle, bruit, tempête, bref se fait vent, lequel est grand, ou petit, selon que l'exhalaison sulfurée qui l'enveloppe se rompt & lui fait ouverture, tantot tout à coup, ainsi que nous avons posé le fait ci dessus, tâtôt avec plus de temps, selon la quantité de la matiere de laquelle 522 elle est composée, & selon que plus ou moins elle est agitée par contraires qualitez.

Mais ie ne puis laisser en arriere l'assurance merveilleuse qu'ont les bons matelots en ces conflicts de vents, orages, & tempêtes, lors qu'un navire étant porté sur des montagnes d'eaux, & de la glissé comme aux profonds abymes du monde, ilz grimpent parmi les cordages non seulement à la hune, & au bout du grand mast, mais aussi, sans degrez, au sommet d'un autre mast qui est enté sur le premier, soutenus seulement de la force de leurs bras & piés entortillés à l'entour des plus hauts cordages. Voire je diray plus, qu'en ce grand branlement s'il arrive que le grand voile (qu'ils appellent Paphil, ou Papefust) soit denoué par les extremités d'enhaut, le premier à qui il sera commandé se mettra à chevalon sur la Vergue (c'est l'arbre qui traverse le

¹ Pline, liv. ii. chap. 48.

grand mast), & avec vn marteau à sa ceinture & demie douzaine de clous à la bouche, ira r'attacher au peril de mille vies ce qui étoit decousu. P'ay autrefois ouï faire grād cas de la hardiesse d'un Suisse qui (apres le siege de Laon, & la ville renduë à l'obeissance du Roy) grimpa, & se mit à chevalon sur le travers de la Croix du clocher de l'Eglise nôtre Dame dudit lieu, & y fit l'arbre fourchu, les piés en haut : qui fut vne action bien hardie : On en dit autant d'un qui vne fois l'an fait le même sur la pointe du clocher de 301 Strasbourg, qui est encore plus haut que celui de Laon : mais cela ne me 523 semble rien au pris de ceci, étant ledit Suisse & l'autre sur vn corps solide & sans mouvement ; & cetui-ci (au contraire) pendant sur vne mer agitée de vents impetueux, comme nous avons quelquefois veu.

Depuis que nous eumes quitté ces Forbans, desquels nous avons parlé ci-dessus, nous fumes jusques au dix-huitième de Juin agitez de vents divers & préque tous contraires sans rien découvrir qu'un navire fort éloigné, lequel nous n'abordames, & neantmoins cela nous consolait. Et ledit iour nous rencontrames vn navire de Honfleur où cōmandoit le Capitaine la Roche, allât aux Terres-neuves, lequel n'avoit eu sur mer meilleure fortune que nous. C'est la coutume en mer que quād quelque navire particulier rencontre vn navire Royal (cōme étoit le nôtre), de se mettre au dessouz du vent, & se presenter non point côte à côte, mais en biaisant : même d'abatre son enseigne : ainsi que fit ce Capitaine la Roche, hor-mis l'enseigne qu'il n'avoit point non plus que nous : n'en étant besoin en si grād voyage sinō quand on approche la terre, ou quād il se faut battre. Noz mariniers firent alors leur estime sur la route que nous avions faite. Car en tout navire les Maitre Pilote, & Contremaître, font regitre chaque iour des routes, & airs de vêts qu'ils ont suivi, par cōbien d'heures, & l'estimation des lieuës. Ledit la Roche dôc estimoit être par les quarante-cinq degrés & à cent lieuës du Banc : Nôtre Pilote nômé 524 Maitre Olivier Fleuriot, de Saint-Malo, par sa supputatiō, disoit que nous n'ê étions qu'à soixāte lieuës : & le Capitaine Foulques à six vingts, & ie croy qu'il iugeoit le mieux. Nous eumes beaucoup de contentement de ce rencontre, & primmes bon courage puis que nous cōmencions à rencontrer des vaisseaux, nous étant avis que nous entriens en lieu de conoissance.

Mais il faut remarquer vne chose en passant que l'ay trouvée admirable, & où il y a à philosopher. Car environ cedit iour dix-huitième de Juin, nous trouvames l'eau de la mer l'espace de trois jours fort tiede, & en étoit nôtre 302 vin de même au fond du navire, sans que l'air fut plus échauffé qu' auparavant. Et le vingt-vnième dudit mois tout au rebours nous fumes deux ou trois jours tant environnez de brouillas & froidures, que nous pèsions être au mois de Janvier : & étoit l'eau de la mer extrememēt froide. Ce qui nous dura iusques à ce que nous vimmes sur le Banc, pour le regard desdits brouillas qui nous causoient cette froidure au dehors. Quand ie recherche la cause de cette antiperistase, ie l'attribuë aux glaces du Nort qui se deschargēt sur la côte & la mer voisine de la Terre-neuve, & de Labrador, lesquelles nous avons dit ailleurs être là portées par le mouvement naturel de la mer, lequel se fait plus grād là qu'ailleurs, à cause du grand espace qu'elle a à courir comme dans vn golfe au profond de l'Amerique, où la nature & sit de la terre universele la porte aisément. Or ces glaces (qui quelquefois se voient en bancs longs de huit, ou dix lieuës, & hautes comme monts & côteaux, & trois fois autant 525 profondes dans les eaux) tenans comme vn empire en cette mer, chassent

loin d'elles ce qui est contraire à leur froideur, & conséquemment font resserrer pardeça ce peu que l'esté peut apporter de doux temperament en la partie où elles se viennent camper. Sans toutefois que ie vueille nier que cette region là en même parallele ne soit quelque peu plus froide que celles de nôtre Europe, pour les raisons que nous dirons ci-après, quand nous parlerons de la tardiveté des saisons. Telle est mon opinion : n'empeschant qu'un autre ne dise la sienne. Et de cette chose memoratif, i'y voulu prendre garde au retour de la Nouvelle-France, & trouvay la même tiedeur d'eau (ou peu s'en falloit), quoy qu'au mois de Septèbre, à cinq ou six journées au deça dudit Banc, duquel nous allons parler.

Du grand Banc des Moruës : Arrivée audit Banc : Description d'icelui : Pêcheries de Moruës & d'oiseaux : Gourmandise des Happe-foyes : Perils divers : Faveurs de Dieu : Causes des frequentes & longues brumes en la mer Occidentale : Avertissemens de la terre : Veüe d'icelle : Odeurs merveilleuses : Abord de deux chaloupes : Descente au port du Mouton : Arrivée au Port Royal : De deux François y demeurez seuls parmi les Sauvages.

CHAP. XII

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526 **D**EVANT que parvenir au Banc duquel nous avons parlé ci-dessus, qui est le grand Banc où se fait la pescherie des Moruës vertes (ainsi les appelle-on, quand elles ne sont seches : car pour les secher il faut aller à terre) les Mariniers, outre la supputation qu'ilz font de leurs routes, ont des avertissemens qu'ils en approchent, par les oiseaux, tout ainsi qu'on fait en revenant en France, quand on en est à quelques cent ou six vingtz lieuës près. De ces oiseaux les plus frequens vers ledit Banc sont des Godes, Fouquets, & autres qu'on appelle Happe-foyes, pour la raison que nous dirons tantot. Quand donc on eut reconu de ces oiseaux qui n'étoient pas semblables à ceux que nous avions veu au milieu de la pleine mer, on iugea que nous n'étions pas loin d'icelui Banc. Ce qui occasionna de jeter la sonde par vn leudi vingt-deuxième de Iuin, & lors ne fut trouvé fond. Mais le même jour sur le soir on la jetta derechef avec meilleur succès. Car on trouva fond à trente-six brasses. Je ne sçauois exprimer la joye que nous eumes de nous voir la où nous avions tant désiré d'être parvenus. Il n'y avoit plus de malades, chacun sautoit de liesse, & nous sembloit être en nôtre pais, quoy que ne fussions qu'à moitié de nôtre voyage, du moins pour le temps que nous y employames devant qu'arriver au Port Royal, où nous tendions.

527 Ici, devant que passer outre, ie veux éclaircir ce mot de Banc : qui par-
 aventure tient quelqu'un en peine de sçavoir que c'est. On appelle Bancs quelquefois vn fond areneux où n'y a gueres d'eau, ou qui asseche de basse mer. Et tels endroits sont funestes aux navires qui les rencontrent. Mais le Banc duquel nous parlons ce sont montagnes assises sur le profond des abymes
 [des eaux, lesquelles] s'élevent jusques à trente, trente-six, & quarante brasses
 près de la surface de la mer. Ce banc, on le tient de deux cens lieuës de long, & dix-huit, vingt, & vingt-quatre de large : passé lequel on ne trouve plus de fond non plus que pardeça, jusques à ce qu'on aborde la terre. Là dessus les navires étans arrivés, on plie les voiles, & fait-on la pêcherie de la Moruë verte, comme j'ay dit, de laquelle nous parlerons au dernier livre. Pour le contentement de mon lecteur ie l'ay figuré en ma Charte geographique de la Terre-neuve avec des points, qui est tout ce qu'on peut faire pour le repre-

senter. Au milieu du lac de Neuf-chastel en Suisse se rencôtre chose semblable. Car les pêcheurs y pechent à six brasses de profond, & hors de là ne trouvent point de fond. Plus loin que le grand banc des moruës s'en trouve d'autres, ainsi que j'ay marqué en ladite Charte, sur lesquels on ne laisse de faire bonne pêcherie : & plusieurs y vont qui sçavent les endroits. Lors que nous partimes de la Rochelle il y avoit comme vne foret de navires à Chef-de-bois (d'où aussi ce lieu a pris son nom) qui s'en allerent en ce pais là tout d'une volte, nous ayans devancé de deux jours.

Après avoir reconu le Bâc, nous-nous remimes à la voile & fimes porter toute la nuit, suivans toujours nôtre route à l'Oüest. Mais le point du jour
 305 venu, qui étoit la veille saint Iean Baptiste, à bon jour bonne œuvre, ayans mis les voiles bas, nous passames la journée à la pêcherie des Moruës avec mille rejoyssances & contentemens, à cause des viandes fresches que nous eumes 528 tant qu'il nous pleut, après les avoir long temps désirées. Parmi la pecherie nous eumes aussi le plaisir de voir prendre de ces oiseaux que les mariniers appellent Happe-foyes,¹ à-cause de leur aviduité à recueillir les foyes des Moruës que l'on jette en mer, après qu'on leur a ouvert le ventre, desquels ilz sont si frians, que quoy qu'ils voient vne grande perche ou gaffe dessus leur tête prête à les assommer, ilz se hazardent d'approcher du vaisseau pour en attraper à quelque pris que ce soit. Et à cela passoient leur tēps ceux qui n'étoient occupés à ladite pecherie : & firent tant par leur industrie & diligence, que nous en eumes enviro vne trétaine. Mais en cette action vn de noz charpentiers de navire se laissa tomber dans la mer : & bien vint que le navire ne derivoit gueres. Ce qui lui donna moyen de se sauver & gagner le gouvernail, par où on le tira en haut, & au bout fut chatié de sa faute par le Capitaine Foulques.

En cette pecherie nous prenions aussi quelquefois des chiens de mer, les peaux desquelz noz Menuisiers gardoient soigneusement pour addoucir leur bois de menuiserie : item des Merlus qui sont meilleurs que les Moruës : & quelquefois des Bars : laquelle diversité augmentoit nôtre contentemēt. Ceux qui ne tendoient ni aux moruës, ni aux oiseaux, passaient le temps à recueillir les cœurs, tripes, & parties interieures plus delicates desdites Moruës qu'ilz mettoient en hachis avec du lart, des epices, & de la chair d'icelles Moruës, dont ilz faisoient d'aussi bons cervelats qu'on sçauoit faire dans Paris. Et en mangames de fort bon appetit. 529

306 Sur le soir nous appareillames pour nôtre route poursuivre, après avoir fait bourdonner noz canons tant à-cause de la fête de saint Iean, que pour l'amour du Sieur de Poutrincourt qui porte le nom de ce saint. Le lendemain quelques vns des nôtres nous dirent qu'ils avoient veu vn banc de glaces. Et là dessus nous fut recité que l'an precedent vn navire Olonois s'étoit perdu pour en être approché trop près, & que deux hommes s'étans sauvez sur les glaces avoient eu ce bon heur qu'un autre navire passant les avoit recuillis.

Faut remarquer que depuis le dix-huitième de Iuin jusques à nôtre arrivée au Port Royal nous avons trouvé temps tout divers de celui que nous avions eu auparavant. Car (comme nous avons dit ci-dessus) nous eumes des froidures

¹ The edition of 1609 has: "*Le sieur de Poutrincourt, & un jeune homme de Retel nommé le Fèvre, qui pressez du mal de mer, n'estoient sortis du lit, ou de la chambre, depuis le commencement de la navigation : monterent sur le tillac cette journée là, & eurent le plaisir de la pecherie non seulement des Moruës, mais aussi de ces oiseaux que les mariniers appellent Happe-foyes,*" &c.

& brouillas (ou brumes) devant qu'arriver au Banc (où nous fumes de beau soleil), mais le lendemain nous retournames aux brumes, lesquelles nous voyions venir de loin nous envelopper & tenir prisonniers ordinairement trois jours durant pour deux jours de beau tēps qu'elles nous permettoient. Ce qui étoit toujours accompagné de froidures par l'absence du soleil. Voire même en diverses saisons, nous-nous sommes veus huit jours cōtinuels en brumes épaisses par deux fois sans apparence du soleil que bien peu, comme nous reciterons ci-après. Et de tels effects i'ameneray vne raison qui me semble probable. Comme nous voyons que le feu attire l'humidité d'un linge mouillé
 530 qui lui est opposé, ainsi le soleil attire des humiditez & vapeurs de la terre & de la mer. Mais pour la resolution d'icelles il a ici vne vertu, & pardela vne autre, selon les accidens & circonstances qui se presentent. Es pais de deça il nous enleve seulement les vapeurs de la terre & de noz rivieres, lesquelles étans pesantes & grossieres, & tenans moins de l'element humide, nous causent un air chaud : & la terre dépouillée de ces vapeurs en est plus chaude & plus rotie. De là vient que cesdites vapeurs ayans la terre d'une part & le soleil de l'autre qui les échauffent, elles se resoudent aisément, & ne demeurēt gueres en l'air, si ce n'est en hiver, quand la terre est refroidie, & le soleil au-delà de
 la ligne æquinoctiale éloigné de nous. De cette raison vient aussi la cause
 307 pourquoy en la mer de Frâce les brumes ne sont point si frequentes ne si longues qu'en la Terre-neuve, par-ce que le soleil passant de son Orient par dessus les terres, cette mer, à la venuë d'icelui, ne reçoit quasi que des vapeurs terrestres, & par un long espace il conserve cette vertu de bien-tôt resoudre les exhalations qu'il a attirées à soy. Mais quand il vient au milieu de la mer Oceane, & à ladite Terre-neuve, ayant élevé & attiré à soy en un si long voyage vne grande abondance de vapeurs de toute cette plaine humide, il ne les resout pas aisément, tant pource que ces vapeurs sont froides d'elles-mêmes & de leur nature, que pource que le dessous sympathize avec elles & les conserve, & ne sont point les rayons du soleil secondés à la resolution d'icelles, comme
 531 ilz sont sur la terre. Ce qui se reconoit même en la terre de ce pais-là : laquelle, encores qu'elle ne soit gueres échauffée, à-cause de l'abondance des bois, toutefois elle aide à dissiper les brumes & brouillas qui y sont ordinairement au matin durant l'été, mais non pas comme à la mer, car étans élevées apres la minuit sur les huit heures elles cōmencent à s'évanouir, & lui servēt de rousée.

L'espere que ces petites digressions ne seront desagreesables au Lecteur, puis qu'elles viennent à nôtre propos. Le vingt-huitième de Juin nous-nous trouvames sur un Banquereau (autre que le grand Banc duquel nous avons parlé), à quarante brasses : & le lendemain un de noz matelots tomba de nuit en la mer, & étoit fait de lui s'il n'eût rencōtré un cordage pendant en l'eau. De là en avant nous commençames à avoir des avertissemens de la terre (c'étoit la Terre-neuve) par des herbes, mousses, fleurs, & bois, que nous rencontrions toujours plus abondamment plus nous en approchions. Le quatrieme de Juillet noz matelots qui étoient du dernier quart apperceurent dès le grand matin les iles saint Pierre, chacun étant encore au lit. Et le
 Vendredi septième dudit mois nous découvrimes à estribort ¹ vne côte de terre
 308 relevée longue à perte de veüe, qui nous remplit de jouissance plus qu'auparavant. En quoy nous eumes vne grande faveur de Dieu d'avoir fait cette

¹ Estribort, c'est à droite.

découverte de beau temps. Et étans encore loin, les plus hardis montoient à la hune pour mieux voir, tant nous étions tous desirieux de cette terre vraye habitation de l'homme. Le sieur de Poutrincourt y monta & moy aussi, ce que nous n'avions onques fait. Noz chiens mettoient le museau hors le bord 532 pour mieux flairer l'air terrestre, & ne se pouvoient tenir de témoigner par leurs gestes l'aise qu'ils avoient. Nous en approchames à vne lieuë prés & (voiles bas) fimes pecherie de moruës, celle qu'avions faite au banc commençant à faillir. Ceux qui paravant nous avoient fait des voyages pardela jugerent que nous étions au Cap Breton. La nuit venât, nous dressames le cap à la mer : Et le lendemain, huitième dudit mois [de Juillet], comme nous approchions de la Baye de *Campseau*, vindrent les brumes sur le vépre, qui durerent huit jours entiers, pendant lesquelz nous nous soutimmes en mer, louvians toujours, sans avancer, contrariés des vents d'Oüest & Sur-ouest. Pendant ces huit jours, qui furent d'un Samedi à un autre, Dieu (qui a toujours conduit ces voyages, ausquels ne s'est perdu vn seul homme par mer) nous fit paroître vne speciale faveur, de nous avoir envoyé parmi les brumes épaisses vn éclaircissement de soleil, qui ne dura que demie heure : & lors nous eumes la veüe de la terre ferme, & coneumes que nous-nous allions perdre sur les brisans si nous n'eussions viteement tourné le cap en mer. C'est ainsi qu'on recherche la terre cōme vne bien-aimée, laquelle quelquefois rebute bien rudement son amant. En fin le Samedi quinziesme de Juillet, sur les deux heures apres midi, le ciel commença de nous saluer à coups de canonades, pleurant comme fâché de nous avoir si long temps tenu en peine.

309 Si bien que le beau temps revenu, voici droit à nous (qui étions à quatre lieuës de terre) deux chaloupes à voile deployée parmi vne mer encore emueë. Cela nous donna beaucoup de contentement. Mais tandis que nous poursuivies nôtre route, voici [venir] de la terre des odeurs en suavité nompareilles apportées d'un vent chaut si abondamment, que tout l'Orient n'en sçauoit produire davantage. Nous tendions noz mains, comme pour les prendre, tant elles étoient palpables : ainsi qu'il avint à l'abord de la Floride à ceux qui y furent avec Laudonniere. A tant s'approchent les deux chaloupes, l'une chargée de Sauvages, qui avoient vn Eflan peint à leur voile, l'autre de François Maloins, qui faisoient leur pécherie au port de *Campseau*. Mais les Sauvages furent plus diligens, car ils arriverent les premiers. N'en ayant jamais veu, i'admiray du premier coup leur belle corpulence & forme de visage. Il y en eut vn qui s'excusa de n'avoir apporté sa belle robbe de Castors, par-ce que le temps avoit été difficile. Il n'avoit qu'une piece de frize rouge sur son dos : & des *Matachiaz* au col, aux poignets & au dessus du coude, & à la ceinture. On les fit manger & boire : & ce faisant ilz nous dirent tout ce qui s'étoit passé depuis vn an au Port-Royal, où nous allions. Cependant les Maloins arriverent, & nous en dirent tout autant que les Sauvages : Adjoutans que le Mercredi auquel nous evitames les brisans, ilz nous avoient veu, & vouloient venir à nous avec lesdits Sauvages, mais que nous étans retournez en mer ilz s'en étoient desistez : & davantage, qu'à terre il avoit toujours fait beau-temps : 534 ce que nous admirames fort : mais la cause en a été renduë ci-dessus. De cette incommodité se peut tirer à l'advenir vn bien, que ces brumes serviront de rempar au païs, & sçaura-on toujours en diligence ce qui se passera en mer. Ilz nous dirent aussi qu'ils avoient eu avis quelques iours auparavant, par 310 d'autres Sauvages, qu'on avoit veu vn navire au Cap Breton. Ces François de Saint Malo étoient gens qui faisoient pour les associez du sieur de Monts,

& se plaignirent que les Basques, contre les défenses du Roy, avoient enlevé & troqué avec les Sauvages plus de six mille Castors. Ilz nous donnerent de leurs poissons, comme Bars, Merlus, & grans Fletans. Quant aux Sauvages, avant partir ilz demanderent du pain pour porter à leurs femmes : Ce qu'on leur accorda. Et le meritoient bien d'estre venus de si bon courage pour nous dire en quelle part nous étions. Car depuis nous allames toujours asseurement.

A l'Adieu quelque nombre de ceux de notre compagnie s'en allerent à terre au Port de *Campseau*, tant pour nous faire venir du bois & de l'eau douce, [dont nous avions besoin], que pour de là suivre la côte iusques au Port-Royal dans vne chaloupe : car nous avions crainte que le Capitaine du Pont n'en fust déjà parti lors que nous arriverions : Les Sauvages s'offrirent d'aller vers lui à travers les bois, avec promesse qu'ils y seroient dans six jours, pour l'avertir de notre venue, afin de l'arrêter, d'autant qu'il avoit le mot de partir
535 si dans le sezième du mois il n'avoit secours : à quoy il ne faillit point : toutefois noz gens desireux de voir la terre de prés, empêcherent cela, & nous promirent nous apporter le lendemain l'eau & le bois susdit si nous nous trouvions près ladite terre. Ce que nous ne fimes point, & poursuivimes notre route.

Le Mardi dix-septième de Juillet nous fumes à l'accoutumée pris de brumes & de vent contraire. Mais le Jeudi nous eumes du calme, si bien que nous n'avancions rien ni de brumes, ni de beau temps. Durant ce calme, sur le soir, vn charpentier de navire se baignant en la mer apres avoir trop beu d'eau de vie, se trouva surpris, le froid de la marine combattant cõtre l'echauffement de cet esprit de vin. Quelques matelots voyans leur compaignon en peril, se jetterēt dans l'eau pour le secourir, mais ayāt l'esprit troublé, il se mocquoit d'eux, & n'en pouvoit-on jouir. Ce qui occasionna encore d'autres matelots d'aller au secours : & s'empecherent tellement l'un l'autre que tous se virent en peril. En fin il y en eut vn qui parmi cette cõfusiõ
ouit la voix du sieur de Poutrincoort qui lui disoit : Iean Hay (c'étoit son nom) regardez-moy, & print le cordage qu'on lui presentoit. On le tira en haut, & le reste quant & quant fut sauvé. Mais l'auteur de la noise tomba en vne maladie dont il pensa mourir.

Après ce calme nous retournames pour deux iours au país des brumes. Et le Dimanche vingt-troisième dudit mois eumes conoissance du Port du Rossignol, & le même iour apres midi de beau soleil nous mouillames l'ancre
536 en mer à l'entrée du Port au Mouton, & pensames toucher, étans venus jusques à deux brasses & demie de profond. Nous allames en nombre de dix-sept à terre pour querir de l'eau & du bois qui nous defailloient. Là nous trouvames encore entieres les cabannes & logemens du sieur de Monts qui y avoit séjouré l'espace d'un mois deux ans auparavant, comme nous avons dit en son lieu. Nous y remarquames parmi vne terre sablonneuse force chênes porte-glās, cyprès, sapins, lauriers, roses muscades, grozelles, pourpier, framboises, fougeres, lysimachia, espece de scammonée, Calamus odoratus, Angélique, & autres Simples, en deux heures que nous y fumes : Et reportames en notre navire quantité de pois sauvages que nous trouvames bons. Ilz croissent sur les rives de la mer, qui les couvre deux fois le iour. Nous n'eumes le loisir d'aller à la chasse des lapins, qui sont en grand nombre non loin dudit Port : ains nous en retournames si tôt que notre charge d'eau & de bois fut faite : & nous mimes à la voile.

Le Mardi vingt-cinquième étions à l'endroit du Cap de Sable de beau-

³¹² temps, & fimes bonne iournée, car sur le soir nous eumes en veü l'île Longue & la baye sainte Marie, mais à cause de la nuit nous reculames à la mer. Et le lendemain vimmes mouiller l'ancre à l'entrée du Port-Royal, où ne peumes entrer pource qu'il étoit ebe. Mais deux coups de canons furent tirez de nôtre navire pour saluër ledit Port & avertir les François qui y étoient.

Le Leudi vingt-septième de Juillet nous entrames dedans avec le flot, qui ⁵³⁷ ne fut sans beaucoup de difficultez, pource que nous avions le vent opposite, & des revolins entre les montagnes, qui nous pensèrent porter sur les rochers. Et en ces affaires nôtre navire alloit à rebours la poupe devant, & quelquefois tournoit, sans qu'on y peust faire autre chose. En fin étans dedans le port, ce nous étoit chose émerveillable de voir la belle étenduë d'icelui, & les môtagnes & côtaux qui l'environnent, & m'étonnois comme vn si beau lieu demeueroit desert & tout rempli de bois, veu que tant de gens languissent au monde qui pourroient faire proufit de cette terre s'ils avoient seulement vn chef pour les y conduire. Peu à peu nous approchames de l'île qui est vis-à-vis du Fort où nous avons depuis demeuré ; ile di-je, la plus agreable qui se puisse voir, desirans en nous-mêmes y voir portez de ces beaux batimens qui sont inutiles pardeça, & ne servent que de retraite aux hibous & cercerelles. Nous ne sçavions encore si le sieur du Pont étoit parti, & partant nous-nous attendions qu'il nous deust envoyer quelques gens au devant. Mais en vain : car il n'y étoit plus dès y avoit douze iours. Et cependant que nous voguions par le milieu du port, voici que *Membertou*, le plus grand *Sagamos* ¹ des Souriquois (ainsi s'appellent les peuples chez lesquels nous étions), vient au Fort François vers ceux qui étoient demeurez en nombre de deux tant seulement, crier comme vn homme insensé, disant en son langage. Quoy ? vous-vous amusés ici à diner (il étoit environ midi) & ne voyez point vn grand navire ⁵³⁸ qui vient ici, & ne sçavôs quelles gens ce sont ? Soudain ces deux hômes courent sur le boulevart, & appretent les canôs en diligence, lesquels ilz ³¹³ garnissent de boulets & d'amorces. *Membertou* sans dilayer vient dans son canot fait d'écorces, avec vne sienne fille, nous reconoitre : & n'ayant trouvé qu'amitié, & nous reconoisant François, il ne fit point d'alarme. Neantmoins l'vn de ces deux hommes là demeurez, dit La Taille, vint sur la rive du port la meche sur le serpentín pour sçavoir qui nous étions (quoy qu'il le sçeut bien, car nous avions la banniere blanche déployée à la pointe du mast), & si tôt voila quatre volées de canons qui font des Echoz innombrables : & de nôtre part le Fort fut salué de trois canonades, & plusieurs mousquetades : en quoy ne manquoit nôtre Trompette à son devoir. A tant nous descendons à terre, visitons la maison, & passons la iournée à rendre graces à Dieu, voir les cabannes des Sauvages, & nous aller pourmener par les prairies. Mais ie ne puis que ie ne louë beaucoup le gentil courage de ces deux hommes, desquels j'ay nommé l'vn, l'autre s'appelle Miquelet : & meritent bien d'être ici enchassés, pour avoir exposé si librement leurs vies à la conservation du bien de la Nouvelle-France. Car le sieur du Pont n'ayant qu'une barque & vne patache, pour venir chercher vers la Terre-neuve des navires de France, ne pouvoit se charger de tant de meubles, blez, farine, & marchandises, qui étoient par-dela, lesquels il eût fallu jetter dans la mer (ce qui eût été à nôtre ⁵³⁹ grand preiudice, & en avions bien peur) si ces deux hommes n'eussent pris le hazard de demeurer là pour la conservation de ces choses. Ce qu'ilz firent volontairement, & de gayeté de cœur.

¹ Sagamos c'est Capitaine.

Heureuse rencontre du sieur du Pont : Son retour au Port-Royal : Rejouissance : Description des environs dudit Port : Conjecture sur l'origine de la grande riviere de Canada : Semaines de blez : Retour du sieur du Pont en France : Voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt au païs des Armouchiquois : Beau segle provenu sans culture : Exercices & façon de vivre au Port-Royal : Cause des prairies de la riviere de l'Equille, [dite aujourd'hui la riviere du Dauphin].

CHAP. XIII

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LE Vendredi lendemain de notre arrivée, le sieur de Poutrincourt, affectié à cette entreprise comme pour soy-même, mit vne partie de ses gens en besogne au labourage & culture de la terre, tandis que les autres s'occupièrent à nettoyer les chambres, & chacun appareiller ce qui étoit de son métier. Le desir que j'avois de sçavoir ce qui se pouvoit esperer de cette terre, me rendit avide audit labourage plus que les autres. Cependant ceux des nôtres qui nous avoient quittez à *Campseau* pour venir le lög de la côte, rencontrerent comme miraculeusement le sieur du Pont parmi des îles, qui sont frequētes en ces parties là. De dire combien fut grande la joye d'une part & d'autre, c'est chose qui ne se peut exprimer. Ledit sieur du Pont à cette heureuse rencontre retourna en arriere pour nous venir voir au Port Royal, & se mettre dans le *Ionas* pour repasser en France. Si ce hazard lui fut vtile, il nous le fut aussi par le moyen de ses vaisseaux qu'il nous laissa. Et sans cela nous étions en vne telle peine, que nous n'eussions sceu aller ni venir par eau apres que notre navire eust été de retour en France. Il arriva le Lundi dernier jour de Juillet, & demeura encore au Port-Royal iusques au vingt-huitieme d'Aoust. Et pendant ce mois grande jouissance. Le sieur de Poutrincourt fit mettre sur cul vn mui de vin, l'un de ceux qu'on lui avoit baillé pour sa bouche, & permission de boire à tous venans tant qu'il dura : si bien qu'il y en eut qui se firent beaux enfans.

Dés le commencement nous fumes desireux de voir le païs à-mont la riviere, où nous trouvames des prairies préque continuellement iusques à plus de douze lieues, parmi lesquelles decoulent des ruisseaux sans nombre qui viennent des collines & montagnes voisines. Les bois y sont fort épais sur les rives des eaux, & tāt que quelquefois on ne les peut traverser. Je ne voudroy toute-fois les faire tels que Ioseph Acosta¹ recite être ceux du Perou, quand il dit : " Vn de noz freres, homme digne de foy, nous contoit qu'étāt egaré & perdu dans les mōtagnes sans sçavoir quelle part, ni par où il devoit aller, il se trouva dans des buissons si épais, qu'il fut contraint de cheminer sur iceux sans mettre les pieds en terre, par l'espace de quinze jours entiers." Je laisse à chacun d'en croire ce qu'il voudra, mais cette croyance ne peut venir jusques à moy

Or en la terre de laquelle nous parlons les bois sont plus clairs loin des rives,

¹ Joseph Acosta, liv. iv. chap. 30.

& des lieux humides : & en est la felicité d'autant plus grande à esperer, qu'elle est semblable à la terre que Dieu promettoit à son peuple par la bouche de Moÿse, disant : *Le Seigneur ton Dieu te va faire entrer en vn bon païs, [païs] de torrens d'eaux, de fontaines, & abymes, qui sourdent par campagnes, &c. Païs où tu ne mangeras point le pain en disette, auquel rien ne te defaudra, païs duquel les pierres sont fer & des montagnes duquel tu tailleras l'airain.*¹ Et plus outre, cōfirmant les promesses de la bonté & situation de la terre qu'il lui devoit donner : *Le païs (dit-il) auquel vous allez passer pour le posseder n'est pas comme le païs d'Egypte, duquel vous estes sortis, là où tu semois ta semence, & l'arrousois avec le travail de ton pied, comme vn jardin à herbes. Mais le païs auquel vous allez passer pour le posseder est vn païs de montagnes & campagnes, & est abreuvé d'eaux selon qu'il pleut des cieux.*² Or selon la description que nous avons fait ci-devant du Port Royal & de ses environs, en décrivant le premier voyage du sieur de Monts, & comme nous le disons ici, les ruisseaux y abondent à souhait par toute cette terre, dont rendent témoignage les frequentes & grandes rivières qui l'arrousent. En consideration dequoy elle ne
316 doit être estimée moins heureuse que les Gaulles (qui ont vne felicité parti- 542
culiere en ce regard) si jamais elle vient à être habitée d'hommes industrieux, & qui la sachēt faire valoir. Quant aux pierres que nôtre Dieu promet devoir être fer, & les montagnes d'airain, cela ne signifie autre chose que les mines de cuivre & de fer & d'acier desquelles nous avōs des-ja parlé ci-dessus, & parlerons encores ci-après. Et au regard des cāpagnes (dōt nous n'avōs encore parlé) il y en a préques tout à l'environ dudit Port Royal. Et au dessus des mōtagnes y a de belles cāpagnes où i'ay veu des lacs & des ruisseaux ne plus ne moins qu'aux vallées. Mêmes au passage pour sortir d'icelui Port & se mettre en mer, il y en a vn qui tombe des hauts rochers en bas, & en tombant s'éparpille en pluie menuë, qui est chose fort delectable en Eté, par ce qu'au bas du roc il y a des grottes où l'on est à couvert tandis que cette pluie tombe si agreablement : & se fait comme vn arc en ciel dedans la grotte où tombe la pluie du ruisseau, lors que le soleil luit : ce qui m'a causé beaucoup d'admiration. Vne fois nous allames depuis nôtre Fort jusques à la mer à travers les bois, l'espace de trois lieuës, mais au retour nous fumes plaisamment trompés. Car au bout de nôtre carriere, pensans être en plat païs, nous-nous trouvames au sommet d'une haute montagne, & nous fallut descendre avec assez de peine à-cause des neges. Mais les mōtagnes en vne cōtrée ne sont point perpetuelles. A dix³ lieuës de nôtre demeure, le païs où passe la riviere de l'Equille est tout
317 plat. I'ay veu par dela plusieurs contrées où le païs est tout vni, & le plus 543
beau du monde. Mais la perfection est qu'il est bien arrousé. Et pour
témoignage de ce, non seulement au Port Royal, mais aussi en toute la Nouvelle-France, la grande riviere de *Canada* en fait foy, laquelle au bout de quatre cēs lieuës est aussi large que les plus grandes rivières du monde, remplie d'îles & de rochers innumerables : prenant son origine de l'vn des lacs qui se rencontrent au fil de son cours (& ie le pense ainsi), si bien qu'elle a deux cours, l'vn en l'Orient vers la France : l'autre en Occident vers la mer du Su. Ce qui est admirable, mais non sans exemple qui se trouve en nôtre Europe. Car j'apprens que la riviere qui descend à Trente & à Verone procede d'vn lac qui produit vne autre riviere dont le cours tend oppositement

¹ Deuteron. viii, vers. 7, 9.² Deuteron. xi, vers. 10.³ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *quinze*.

à la riviere du Lins, lequel se décharge au Danube. Ainsi noz Geographes nous font croire que le Nil procede d'un lac qui produit d'autres rivières, lesquelles se déchargent au grand Ocean.

Revenons à notre labourage : car c'est là où il nous faut tendre : c'est la première mine qu'il nous faut chercher, laquelle vaut mieux que les thresors d'Atabalippa : & qui aura du blé, du vin, du bestial, des toiles, du drap, du cuir, du fer, & au bout des Moruës, il n'aura que faire d'autres thresors, quant à la nécessité de la vie. Or tout cela est, ou peut être, en la terre que nous décrivôs : sur laquelle ayât le sieur de Poutrincourt fait faire à la quinzaine un secôd labourage : & moy de même, nous les ensemencames de notre blé François tant froment que segle [& de chanve, lin, navettes, raifors, choux & autres semences]; & à la huitaine suivante vit son travail n'avoir été vain
544 ains une belle esperance par la production que la terre avoit des-jà fait des semences qu'elle avoit receu. Ce qu'ayant été montré au sieur du Pont, ce lui fut un sujet de faire son rapport en France de chose toute nouvelle en ce lieu là.

Il étoit des-jà le vingtième d'Aoust quand ces belles montres se firent, 31⁸ & admonetoit le tēps ceux qui étoient du voyage, de troussez bagage : à quoy on commença de donner ordre, tellement que le vingt-cinquième dudit mois, apres maintes canonades, l'ancre fut levée pour venir à l'emboucheure du Port, qui est ordinairement la première journée.

Le sieur de Monts ayant désiré de s'élever au Su tant qu'il pourroit & chercher un lieu bien habitable pardelà Malebarre, avoit prié le Sieur de Poutrincourt de passer plus loin qu'il n'avoit été, & chercher un Port convenable en bonne temperature d'air, ne faisant plus de cas du Port Royal que de sainte Croix, pour ce qui regarde la santé. A quoy voulant obtemperer ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, il ne voulut attendre le printemps, sachant qu'il auroit d'autres exercices à s'occuper. Mais voyant ses semailles faites, & la verdure sur son champ, il resolut de faire ce voyage & découverte avant l'hiver. Ainsi il disposa toutes choses à cette fin, & avec sa barque vint mouïller l'ancre près du Ionas, afin de sortir par compagnie. Tâdis qu'ilz furent là attendans le vent propre l'espace de trois jours, il y avoit une moyenne baleine (que les sauvages appellent *Maria*) laquelle venoit tous les jours au matin dans le Port
545 avec le flot, noüant là dedans tout à son aise, & s'en retournoit d'ebe. Et lors prenant un peu de loisir, ie fis en rhyme François une Adieu audit sieur du Pont & sa troupe, lequel est ci-après couché parmi LES MUSES DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE.

Le vingt-huitième dudit mois, chacun print sa route qui deça, qui delà, diversement, à la garde de Dieu. Quant au sieur du Pont, il deliberoit en passant d'attaquer un marchant de Rouën nommé Boyer (lequel, contre les deffenses du Roy, étoit allé pardela troquer avec les Sauvages apres avoir
319 été delivré des prisons de la Rochelle par le consentemēt du sieur de Poutrincourt, & souz promesse qu'il n'iroit point), mais il étoit déjà parti. Et quant audit sieur de Poutrincourt, il print la volte de l'île sainte Croix, première demeure des François, ayant Champdoré pour maitre & conducteur de sa barque : mais côtrarié du vent, & pource que sa barque faisoit eau, il fut contraint de relacher par deux fois. En fin franchit la Baye François, & visita ladite île, là où il trouva du blé meur de celui que deux ans auparavant le sieur de Monts avoit semé, lequel étoit beau, gros, pesant,

& bien nourri. Il nous en envoya au Port Royal, où i'étois demeuré, ayant été de ce prié pour avoir l'œil à la maison, & maintenir ce qui y restoit de gens en concorde. A quoy j'avoy condescendu (encores que cela eust été laissé à ma volonté) pour l'assurance que nous nous donnions que l'an suivant l'habitation se feroit en pais plus chaut pardela Malebarre, & que nous irions tous ⁵⁴⁶ de compagnie avec ceux qu'on nous enverroient de France. Pendant ce temps ie me mis à preparer de la terre, & faire des clotures & compartimens de jardins pour y semer des legumes,¹ & herbes de menage. Nous fimes aussi faire vn fossé tout à l'entour du Fort, lequel étoit bien necessaire pour recevoir les eaux & humidités qui paravant decouloient par dessous les logemens parmi les racines des arbres qu'on y avoit defrichez : ce qui paraventure rendoit le lieu mal sain.

Ie ne veux m'arreter à décrire ici ce que nos autres ouvriers faisoient chacun en particulier. Il suffit que nous avions nombre de menuisiers, charpentiers, massons, tailleurs de pierres, serruriers, taillandiers, couturiers, scieurs d'ais, matelots, &c., qui faisoient leurs exercices, en quoy ils étoient fort humainement traitez. Car on les quittoit pour trois heures de travail par jour. Le surplus du temps ilz l'emploioient à recueillir des Moules, qui sont de basse mer en grande quantité devant le Fort, ou des Houmars (espece de ³²⁰ Langoustes), ou des Crappes, qui sont abondamment sous les roches au Port-Royal, ou des Cocques, qui sont souz la vase de toutes parts és rives dudit port. Tout cela se prent sans filets & sans batteaux. Il y en avoit qui prenoïent quelquefois du gibier, mais n'étans dressez à cela ilz gatoient la chasse. Et pour nôtre regard, nous avions à nôtre table vn des gens du sieur de Monts, qui nous pourvoyoit en sorte que nous n'en manquions point, nous apportant quelquefois demi douzaine d'Outardes, quelquefois autant de canars, ou oyes sauvages grises & blanches, bien souvent deux & trois douzaines d'alouettes, ⁵⁴⁷ & autres sortes d'oiseaux. De pain, nul n'en manquoit : & avoit chacun trois chopines de vin pur & bon. Ce qui a duré tant que nous avons été pardela, sinon que quand ceux qui nous vindrent querir, au lieu de nous apporter des cômodités, nous eurent aidé à en faire vuïdange (comme nous le pourrions repeter ci-après), il fallut reduire la portion à vne pinte. Et neantmoins bien souvent il y a eu de l'extraordinaire. Ce voyage en ce regard a été le meilleur de tous, dont nous en devons beaucoup de louâge audit sieur de Môts & à ses associez les sieurs Macquin & George, Rochelois, qui nous en pourveurēt tât honnêtement. Car certes ie trouve que cette liqueur Septēbrale est entre autres choses vn souverain preservatif contre la maladie du Scorbut : & les epicerics, pour corriger le vice qui pourroit être en l'air de cette region, lequel neantmoins i'ay toujours reconu bien pur & subtil, nonobstant les raisons que i'en pourrois avoir touchées parlât ci-dessus d'icelle maladie. Pour la pitance, nous aviôs pois, fèves, ris, pruneaux, raisins, moruës seches, & chairs sallées, sans cōprendre les huiles & le beurre. Mais toutes & quantes fois que les Sauvages habitez pres de nous avoient pris quelque quantité d'Eurgôs, Saumôs, ou menus poissons : item quelques Castors, Ellans, Caribous, ou autres animaux mētionéz en mon Adieu à la Nouvelle-Frâce, ils nous en apportoiēt la moitié : & ce qui restoit ilz l'exposoiēt quelquefois en vête en place publique, & ceux qui en vouloient troquoiēt du pain alencontre. Voila en partie nôtre façon ⁵⁴⁸ de vivre par dela. Mais jajoit que chacun de nosdits ouvriers eût son métier

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *blez*.

particulier, neantmoins il falloit s'employer à tous vsages, comme plusieurs faisoient. Quelques massons & tailleurs de pierres se mirent à la boulangerie, lesquels nous faisoient d'aussi bon pain que celui de Paris. Ainsi vn de noz scieurs d'ais nous fit plusieurs fois du charbon en grande quantité.

En quoy est à noter vne chose dont ici ie me souvien. C'est que comme il fut necessaire de lever des gazons pour couvrir la pile de bois assemblée pour faire ledit charbon, il se trouva dans les prez plus de deux pieds de terre, non terre, mais herbes melées de limon qui se sont entassées les vnes sur les autres annuellement depuis le commencement du monde, sans avoir été fauchées. Neantmoins la verdure en est belle, servant de pasture aux Ellans, lesquels nous avons plusieurs fois veu en noz prairies de delà en troupe de trois ou quatre, grands & petits, se laissans aucunement approcher, puis gaignans les bois. Mais ie puis dire davantage avoir veu en traversant deux lieuës de nosdites prairies, icelles toutes foullées de vestiges d'Ellans, car ie n'y sçay point d'autres animaux à pié fourchu. Et en fut tué vn non loin de nôtre Fort, en vn endroit là où le sieur de Monts ayant fait faucher l'herbe deux ans devant, elle estoit revenuë la plus belle du monde. Quelqu'un pourra s'étonner comment se font ces prairies, veu que toute la terre en ces lieux là est couverte de bois. Pour à quoy satisfaire, le curieux sçaura qu'és hautes marées, principalement en celles de Mars & de Septembre, le flot couvre ces rives là : ce qui empeche les arbres d'y prendre racine. Mais par tout où l'eau ne surnage point, s'il y a de la terre, il y a des bois.

Partement de l'île Sainte-Croix : Baye de Marchin : Chouakoet : Vignes & raisins : & largesse de Sauvages : Terre & Peuple Armouchiquois : Cure d'un Armouchiquois blessé : Simplicité & ignorance de peuple : Vices des Armouchiquois : Soupçon : Peuple ne se souciant de vêtement : Blé semé & vignes plantées en la terre des Armouchiquois : Quantité de raisins : Abondance de peuple : Mer périlleuse.

CHAP. XIV

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REVENONS au sieur de Poutrincourt, lequel nous avons laissé en l'île Sainte-Croix. Apres avoir là fait vne reveuë & caressé les Sauvages qui y étoient, il s'en alla en quatre jours à *Pemptegoet*, qui est ce lieu tant renommé souz le nom de *Norombega*. Et ne falloit vn si long temps pour y parvenir, mais il s'arreta sur la route¹ à faire racouter sa barque : car à cette fin il avoit mené vn serrurier & vn charpentier, & quantité d'ais. Il traversa les îles qui sont à l'embouchure de la riviere, & vint à *Kinibeki*, là où sa barque fut en peril à-cause des grans courans d'eaux que la nature du lieu y fait. C'est pourquoy il ne s'y arreta point, ains passa⁵⁵⁰ outre à la Baye de *Marchin*, qui est le nom d'un Capitaine Sauvage, lequel à l'arrivée dudit sieur commença à crier hautemēt *Hé hé* : à quoy on lui repondit de même. Il repliqua demandant en son langage : Qui êtes-vous ? On lui dit que c'étoient amis. Et là dessus à l'approcher le sieur de Poutrincourt traita amitié avec lui, & lui fit des presens de couteaux, haches, & *Matachiaz*, c'est à dire écharpes, carquans, & brasselets faits de patenôtres, ou de tuyaux de verre blanc & bleu, dont il fut fort aise, même de la confederation que ledit sieur de Poutrincourt faisoit avec lui, reconnoissant bien que cela lui seroit beaucoup de support. Il distribua à quelques vns d'un grand nombre de peuple qu'il avoit autour de soy, les presens dudit sieur de Poutrincourt, auquel il apporta force chairs d'Orignac, ou Ellan (car les Basques appellent vn Cerf, ou Ellan, Orignac) pour rafraichir de vivres la compagnie. Cela fait, on tendit³²³ les voiles vers *Chouakoet*, où est la riviere du Capitaine *Olmechin*, & où se fit l'année suivante la guerre des *Souriquois* & *Etechemins* souz la conduite du *Sagamos Membertou*, laquelle i'ay décrit en vers rapportez és Muses de la Nouvelle-Frâce. A l'entrée de la Baye dudit lieu de *Chouakoet* est² vne île grande comme de demie lieuë de tour, en laquelle noz gens découvrirent premierement la vigne (car encores qu'il y en ait aux terres plus voisines du Port-Royal comme le long de la riviere saint Jean, toutefois on n'en avoit encore eu conoissance), laquelle ilz trouverent en grande quantité, ayant le⁵⁵¹ tronc haut de trois à quatre piez, & par bas gros comme le poin, les raisins beaux & gros, les vns comme prunes, les autres moindres : au reste si noirs qu'ilz

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *par le chemin*.

² The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *il y a*.

laissoient la teinture où se repandoit leur liqueur : Ils étoient couchez sur les buissons & ronces qui sont parmi cette ile, en laquelle les arbres ne sont si pressez qu'ailleurs, ains éloignez comme de six à six toises. Ce qui fait que le raisin y meurit plus aisément ; ayant d'ailleurs vne terre fort propre à cela, sablonneuse & graveleuse. Ilz n'y furent que deux heures ; mais fut remarqué que du côté du Nort n'y avoit point de vignes, ainsi qu'en l'île Sainte-Croix n'y a des Cedres que du côté d'Ouest.

De cette ile ils allerent à la riviere d'*Olmechin*, port de¹ *Chouakoet*, là où *Marchin* & ledit *Olmechin* amenerent vn prisonnier Souriquois (& partant leur ennemi) au sieur de Poutrincourt, lequel ilz lui donnerent liberalement. Deux heures après arrivent deux Sauvages, l'un Etechemin, nommé *Chkoudun*, Capitaine de la riviere Saint Iean, dite par les Sauvages *Oigoudi* : l'autre Souriquois, nommé *Messamoet*, Capitaine ou *Sagamos* en la riviere du Port de la Heve, sur lequel on avoit pris ce prisonnier. Ils avoiēt force marchandises troquées avec les François, lesquelles ilz venoiēt là debiter, sçavoir, 324 chaudières grandes, moyēnes, & petites, haches, couteaux, robbes, capots, camisolles rouges, pois, fèves, biscuit, & autres choses. Sur ce voici arriver douze ou quinze bateaux pleins de Sauvages de la sujction d'*Olmechin*, iceux en 552 bon ordre, tous peints à la face, selon leur coutume, quand ilz veulent être beaux, ayans l'arc, & la fleche en main, & le carquois auprès d'eux, lesquels ilz mirent bas à bord. A l'heure *Messamoet* commence à haranguer devant les Sauvages, leur remontrant, "comme par le passé ils avoiēt eu souvēt de l'amitié ensemble : & qu'ilz pourroient facilement domter leurs ennemis s'ils "se vouloient entendre & se servir de l'amitié des François, lesquels ilz voyoient "là presens pour reconoitre leur païs, à fin de leur porter des commodités à "l'avenir, & les secourir de leurs forces, lesquelles il sçavoit, & les leur repre- "sentoit d'autant mieux, que lui qui parloit étoit autrefois venu en France" & y avoit demeuré en la maison du sieur de Grandmont, Gouverneur de Bayonne. Somme, il fut près d'une heure à parler avec beaucoup de vehemence & d'affection, & avec vn cōtournement de corps & de bras tel qu'il est requis en vn bon Orateur. Et à la fin jetta toutes ses marchandises (qui valoient plus de trois cens escus rendus en ce païs-là) dans le bateau d'*Olmechin*, comme lui faisant present de cela en assurance de l'amitié qu'il lui vouloit témoigner. Cela fait, la nuit s'approchoit, & chacun se retira. Mais *Messamoet* n'étoit pas content de ce qu'*Olmechin* ne lui avoit fait pareille harangue, ni retaliation de son present : car les Sauvages ont cela de noble qu'ilz donnent liberalement, jettans aux piez de celui qu'ilz veulent honorer le present qu'ilz lui font : mais c'est en esperance de recevoir quelque honnēteté reciproque, 553 qui est vne façon de contract que nous appellons sans nom, *Je te donne à fin 325 que tu me donnes*. Et cela se fait par tout le monde. Partant *Messamoet* dès ce jour là songea de faire la guerre à *Olmechin*. Neantmoins le lendemain matin lui & ses gens retournerent avec vn bateau chargé de ce qu'ils avoient, sçavoir blé, petun, fèves, & courges, qu'ilz distribuerent deçà & delà. Ces deux Capitaines, *Olmechin* & *Marchin*, ont depuis été tués à la guerre. A la place desquels avoit été élu par les Sauvages vn nommé *Bessabés* : lequel depuis nôtre retour a été tué par les Anglois : & au lieu d'icelui ont fait venir vn Capitaine de dedans les terres nommé *Asticou*, homme grave, vaillant, & redouté, lequel d'un clin d'œil amassera mille Sauvages, ce que faisoient aussi

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *du*.

Olmechin & Marchin. Car noz barques y étans, incontinent la mer se voyoit toute couverte de leurs bateaux chargez d'hommes dispos, se tenans droits là dedans : ce que nous ne sçaurions faire sans peril, n'étans iceux bateaux que des arbres creusez à la façon que nous dirons au dernier livre. De là donc le sieur de Poutrincourt poursuivant sa route, trouva vn certain port bien agreable, lequel n'avoit été veu par le sieur de Monts : & durant le voyage ils virent force fumées, & gens à la rive, qui les invitoient à s'approcher d'eux : & voyans qu'on n'en tenoit conte, ilz suivoient la barque le long de la grève sablonneuse, voire la devançoient le plus souvent, tant ilz sont agiles, ayans l'arc en main, & le carquois sur le dos, dansans toujours & chantant, sans se soucier dequoy ils vivront par les chemins. Peuple heureux, voire mille fois 554 plus que ceux qui se font adorer pardeça, s'il avoit la conoissance de Dieu & de son salut.

Le sieur de Poutrincourt ayant pris terre à ce port, voici parmi vne multitude de Sauvages des fifres en bon nombre, qui joüoyent de certains flageollets longs, faits comme de cannes de roseaux, peints par dessus, mais non avec telle harmonie que pourroient faire noz bergers : & pour montrer 326 l'excellence de leur art, ilz siffoient avec le nez en gambadant selon leur coutume.

Et comme ces peuples accouroient precipitamment pour venir à la barque, il y eut vn Sauvage qui se blessa grièvement au talon contre le trenchant d'une roche, dont il fut contraint de demeurer sur la place. Le Chirurgien du sieur de Poutrincourt à l'instant voulut apporter à ce mal ce qui étoit de son art, mais ilz ne le voulurent permettre que premierement ilz n'eussent fait à l'entour de l'homme blessé leurs chimagrées. Ils le coucherēt donc par terre l'un d'eux lui tenant la tête en son giron, & firent plusieurs criaillemens, danses & chansons, à quoy le malade ne répondoit sinon Ho, d'une voix plaintive. Ce qu'ayant fait ilz le permirent à la cure dudit Chirurgien, & s'en allerent, comme aussi le patient après qu'il fut pèsé ; mais deux heures passées il retourna le plus gaillard du monde, ayant mis à l'entour de sa tête le bandeau dont étoit enveloppé sō talō, pour être plus beau fils.

Le lendemain les nôtres entrèrent plus avant dans le port, là où étans allé voir les cabannes des Sauvages, vne vieille de cent ou six-vingts ans vint jeter 555 aux piez du sieur de Poutrincourt vn pain de blé qu'on appelle Mahis, & pardeça blé de Turquie, ou Sarrazin, puis de la chanve fort belle & haute, item des fèves, & raisins frais cuillis, pour ce qu'ils en avoient veu manger aux François à *Chouakoet*. Ce que voyans les autres Sauvages qui n'en sçavoient rien, ils en apportoiēt plus qu'on ne vouloit à l'envi l'un de l'autre, & en recompense on leur attachoit au front vne bende de papier mouillée de crachat, dont ils étoient fort glorieux. On leur montra, en pressant le raisin dans le verre, que de cela nous faisons le vin que nous beuvons. On les voulut faire manger du raisin, mais l'ayās en la bouche ilz le crachoient, & pensoiēt (ainsi qu'Amman Marcellin recite de noz vieux Gaullois) que ce fût poison, tant ce peuple est ignorant de la meilleure chose que Dieu ait donnée à l'homme, 327 apres le pain. Neantmoins si ne manquent-ils point d'esprit, & feroiēt quelque chose de bon s'ils étoient civilisés, & avoient l'usage des métiers. Mais ilz sont cauteleux, larrons, & traitres, & quoy qu'ilz soyēt nuds, on ne se peut garder de leurs mains : car si on detourne tant soit peu l'œil, & voyent l'occasion de dérober quelque couteau, hache, ou autre chose, ilz n'y manqueront

point, & mettront le larrecin entre leurs fesses, ou le cacherôt souz le sable avec le pied si dextrement, qu'on ne s'en appercevra point. J'ay leu en quelque voyage de la Floride, que ceux de cette province sont de mesme naturel, & 556 ont la même industrie de dérober. De verité ie ne m'étonne pas si vn peuple pauvre & nud est larron, mais quand il y a de la malice au cœur, cela n'est plus excusable. Ce peuple est tel qu'il le faut traiter avec terreur : car par amitié si on leur donne trop d'accès ils machinerôt quelque surprise, comme s'est reconu en plusieurs occasions, ainsi que nous avons veu ci-dessus & verrons en or ci-après. Et sans aller plus loin, le deuxième iour après être la arrivez, comme ils voyoient noz gens occupez sur la rive du ruisseau qui est là, à faire la lessive, ilz vindrēt quelques cinquante à la file, avec arcs, fleches, & carquois, en intention de faire quelque mauvais tour, comme on en a eu coniecture sur la maniere de proceder. Mais on les prevint, & alla-on au devant d'eux avec mousquets & la méche sur le serpent. Ce qui fit les vns fuir, & les autres étans enveloppés, après avoir mis les armes bas, vindrent à vne peninsule où étoient noz gens, & faisans beau semblant demanderent à troquer du petun qu'ils avoient, contre noz marchandises.

Le lendemain le Capitaine dudit lieu & port vint voir le sieur de Poutrincourt en sa barque. On fut étonné de le voir accompagné d'*Olmechin*, veu que la traite étoit merveilleusement longue de venir là par terre, & beaucoup plus briève par la mer. Cela dōnoit sujet de mauvais soupçon, encores qu'il eût promis amitié aux François. Neantmoins ilz furent humainement receuz, & bailla le sieur de Poutrincourt vn habit complet audit *Olmechin*, duquel 557 étant vêtu, il se regardoit en vn miroir, & rioit de se voir ainsi. Mais peu 328 après sentant que cela l'empechoit, quoy qu[e ce fust] au mois d'Octobre, quand il fut retourné aux cabannes il le distribua à plusieurs de ses gens, afin qu'vn seul n'en fût trop empesché. Ceci devoit servir de leçon à tant de mignons & mignones de deça, à qui il faut faire des habits & corselets durs cōme bois, où le corps est si miserablement gehenné, qu'ilz sont dans leurs vêtemens inhabiles à toutes bonnes choses : Et s'il fait trop chaud ilz souffrent dans leurs groz culs à mille replis des chaleurs insupportables, qui surpassent les douleurs que l'on fait quelquefois sentir aux criminels.

Or durant le temps que ledit sieur de Poutrincourt fut là, étant en doute si le sieur de Monts viendrait point faire vne habitation en cette côte, comme il en avoit desir, il y fit cultiver vn parc de terre pour y semer du blé & plâter la vigne, comme il fit à l'aide de nôtre Apoticaire, M. Louïs Hebert, homme qui outre l'experience qu'il a en son art, prent grand plaisir au labourage de la terre. Et peut-on ici comparer ledit sieur de Poutrincourt au bon pere Noé, lequel après avoir fait la culture la plus necessaire qui regarde la semaille des blez, se mit à planter la vigne, de laquelle il ressentit les effects par après.

Sur le point qu'on deliberoit de passer outre, *Olmechin* vint à la barque pour voir le sieur de Poutrincourt, là où après s'être arreté par quelques heures soit à deviser, soit à manger, il dit que le lendemain devoient arriver cent 558 bateaux contenant chacun six hommes : mais la venue de telles gens n'étant qu'onereuse, le sieur de Poutrincourt ne les voulut attendre : ains s'en alla le jour même à Malebarre, non sans beaucoup de difficultés à cause des grans courans & du peu de fond qu'il y a. De maniere que la barque ayant touché à trois piez d'eau seulement, on pensoit être perdu, & commença-on à la 329 décharger & mettre les vivres dans la chaloupe qui étoit derriere, pour se sauver

en terre : mais la mer n'étant en son plein, la barque fut relevée au bout d'une heure. Toute cette mer est vne terre vsurpée comme celle du Mont saint Michel, terre sablonneuse, en laquelle ce qui reste est tout plat pais jusques aux montagnes que l'on voit à quinze lieuës de là. Et ay opinion que jusques à la Virginie c'est tout de même. Au surplus ici grāde quantité de raisins comme devant, & pais fort peuplé. Le sieur de Monts étant venu à Malebarre en autre saison, recueillit seulement du raisin vert, lequel il fit confire, & en apporta au Roy. Mais ç'a été vn heur d'y être venu en Octobre pour en voir la parfaite maturité. J'ay dit ci-devant la difficulté qu'il y a d'entrier au port de Malebarre. C'est pourquoy le sieur de Poutrincourt n'y entra point avec sa barque, ains y alla seulement avec vne chaloupe, laquelle trente ou quarante Sauvages aiderent à mettre dedans, & comme la marée fut haute (or ici la mer ne hausse que de deux brasses ; ce qui est rare à voir), il en sortit & se retira en sadite barque, pour dés le lendemain, si tôt qu'il ajourneroit, passer outre.

559 *Perils : Langage inconnu : Structure d'une forge, & d'un four : Croix plantée : Abondance : Conspiration : Desobéissance : Assassinat : Fuite de trois cens contre dix : Agilité des Armouchiquois : Propheties de nôtre temps : Barbin : Marquis d'Ancre : Accident d'un mousquet crevé. Insolence, timidité, impiété, & fuite de Sauvages : Port fortuné : Mer mauvaise : Vengeance : Cōseil & resolution sur le retour : Nouveaux perils : Faveurs de Dieu : Arrivée du sieur de Poutrincourt au Port Royal : & la reception à lui faite.*

CHAP. XV

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LA nuit commençant à plier bagage pour faire place à l'aurore, on mit la voile au vent, mais ce fut avec vne navigation fort perilleuse. Car avec ce petit vaisseau, qui n'étoit que de dix-huit tonneaux, il étoit force de côtoyer la terre, où noz gens ne trouvoient point de fond : reculans à la mer c'étoit encore pis : de maniere qu'ilz touchèrent deux ou trois fois, étans relevez seulemēt par les vagues ; & fut le gouvernail rompu, qui étoit chose effroyable. En cette extremité furent contraints de mouiller l'ancre en mer à deux brasses d'eau & à trois lieuës loin de la terre. Ce que fait, le sieur de Poutrincourt envoya Daniel Hay (hōme qui se plaît de môtrer sa vertu aux perils de la mer) vers la côte, pour la reconoitre, & voir s'il y avoit point de port. Et cōme il fut près de terre il vit vn Sauvage qui dâsoit
560 chantant *yo, yo, yo*, le fit approcher, & par signes lui demanda s'il y avoit point de lieu propre à retirer navires, & où il y eût de l'eau douce. Le Sauvage ayant fait signe qu'oui, il le receut en sa chaloupe, & le mena à la barque, dans laquelle étoit *Chkoudun*, Capitaine de la riviere *Oigoudi*, autrement Saint Iean, lequel confronté à ce Sauvage, il ne l'entēdoit non plus que les nôtres. Vray est que par signes il comprenoit mieux qu'eux ce qu'il vouloit dire. Ce Sauvage montra les endroits où il y avoit des basses, & où il n'y en avoit point : Et fit si bien en serpentāt, toujours la sonde à la main, qu'en fin on parvint au port qu'il avoit dit, auquel y a peu de profond, là où étāt la barque arrivée, 331 on fit diligence de faire vne forge pour la racouter avec son gouvernail ; & vn four pour cuire du pain, parce que le biscuit étoit failli.

Quinze jours se passerent à ceci, pendant lesquels le sieur de Poutrincourt, selon la loüable coutume des Chrétiens, fit charpenter & planter vne Croix sur vn tertre, ainsi qu'avoit fait deux ans auparavant le sieur de Monts à *Kinibeki*, & Malebarre. Or parmi ces laborieux exercices on ne laissoit de faire bonne chere de ce que la mer & la terre peut en cette part fournir. Car en ce port il y a quātité de gibier, à la chasse duquel plusieurs de noz gens s'employoient : principalement les Alouëttes de mer y sont en si grandes troupes que d'un coup d'arquebuz le sieur de Poutrincourt en tua vingt-huit. Pour le regard des poissons, il y a des marsoins & souffleurs en telle abondance
561 que la mer en semble toute couverte. Mais on n'avoit les choses necessaires

à faire cette pécherie, ains on s'arrétoit seulement aux coquillages, comme huitres, palourdes, ciguenaux, & autres dequoy il y avoit moyen de se contenter. Les Sauvages d'autre part apportoiēt du poisson & des raisins pleins des paniers de joncs, pour avoir en échāge quelque chose de noz denrées. Ledit sieur de Poutrincourt voyant là les raisins beaux à merveilles, avoit commandé à son homme de chambre de serrer dans la barque vn fais des vignes où ils avoiēt été pris. Maître Loys Hebert, nôtre Apoticaire, desireux d'habiter ce païs-là, en avoit arraché vne bonne quantité, afin de les planter au Port Royal, où n'y en a point, quoy que la terre y soit fort propre au vignoble. Ce que toutefois (par vne stupide oubliance) ne fut fait, au grand déplaisir dudit sieur & de nous tous.

332 Après quelques jours, voyant la grande assemblée de Sauvages, en nombre de cinq à six cens, icelui sieur descendit à terre, & pour leur donner quelque terreur, fit marcher devant lui vn de ses gens jouānt de deux épées, & faisant avec icelles maints molinets. Dequoy ils étoient étonnez. Mais bien encore plus quād ilz virent que noz mousquets perçoient des pieces de bois épees, où leurs fleches n'eussent sceu tant seulement mordre. Et pour ce ne s'attaquerent-ilz jamais à noz gens tant qu'ilz se tindrent en garde. Et eût été bon de faire sonner la trompette au bout de chacune heure, comme faisoit le Capitaine Jacques Quartier. Car (comme dit bien souvent ledit sieur de Poutrincourt) *Il ne faut jamais tendre aux larrons*, c'est qu'il ne faut donner 562 sujet à vn ennemi de penser qu'il puisse avoir prise sur vous : ains [faut] toujours montrer qu'on se deffie de lui, & qu'on ne dort point : & principalement quand on a affaire à des Sauvages, lesquels n'attaqueront jamais celui qui les attendra de pié ferme. Ce qui ne fut fait en ce lieu par ceux qui portèrent la folle enchere de leur negligēce, cōme nous allons dire.

Au bout de quinze jours ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, voyant sa barque racourcée, & ne rester plus qu'une fournée de pain à achever, il s'en alla environ trois lieus dās les terres pour voir s'il découvrirōit quelque singularité. Mais au retour lui & ses gens aperceurent les Sauvages fuyans par les bois en diverses troupes, de vingt, trente, & plus, les vns se baissans comme gens qui ne veulent être veuz : d'autres se bloutissans dans les herbes pour n'être aperceuz : d'autres transportans leurs bagages, & canots pleins de blé, comme pour deguerpir : Les femmes d'ailleurs transportans leurs enfans, & ce qu'elles pouvoient de bagage avec elles. Ces façons de faire donnerēt opinion au sieur de Poutrincourt que ces gens ici machinoient quelque chose de mauvais. Partant quand il fut arrivé, il commanda à ses gens qui faisoient le pain, de se retirer en la barque. Mais comme jeunes gens sont bien souvent oublieux de leur devoir, ceux-ci ayans quelque gateau ou tarte à faire, aimerent mieux suivre leur appetit, que [faire] ce qui leur étoit commandé, & laisserent venir 333 la nuit sans se retirer. Sur la minuit le sieur de Poutrincourt ruminant sur ce qui s'étoit passé la iournée precedente, demanda s'ils étoient dedans la 563 barque. Et ayant entendu que non, il leur envoya la chaloupe pour les prendre & amener à bord : à quoy ils ne voulurent entendre, fors son homme de chambre, qui craignoit d'être battu. Ils étoient cinq armez de mousquets & épées, lesquels on avoit averty d'être toujours sur leurs gardes, & neantmoins ne faisoient aucun guet, tant ils étoient amateurs de leurs volontés. Il étoit bruit qu'auparavant ils avoiēt tiré deux coups de mousquets sur les Sauvages pource que quelqu'un d'eux avoit derobé vne hache. Somme, iceux

Sauvages ou indignés de cela, ou par vn mauvais naturel, sur le point du jour vindrent sans bruit (ce qui leur est aisé à faire, n'ayans ni chevaux, ni charettes, ni sabots) jusques sur le lieu où ilz dormoient : & voyans l'occasion belle à faire vn mauvais coup, ilz dōnent dessus à traits de flèches & coups de masses, & en tuent deux, le reste demeurant blessé commencerent à crier fuians vers la rive de la mer. Lors celui qui faisoit la sentinelle dans la barque, s'écrie tout effrayé, Aux armes, on tuë noz gens, on tuë noz gens. A cette voix chacun se leve, & hativement sans prendre le loisir de s'habiller, ni d'allumer sa mèche, se mirent dix dans la chaloupe, des noms desquels il ne me souvient, sinon de Champlain, Robert Gravé, fils du sieur du Pont, Daniel Hay, les Chirurgien & Apothicaire, & le Trompette : tous lesquels suivans ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, qui avoit son fils avec lui, descendirent à terre en pur corps.

564 Mais les Sauvages s'enfuirent belle erre, encores qu'ils fussent plus de trois cens, sans ceux qui pouvoient être tapis dans des herbes (selon leur coutume) qui ne se montroiēt point. En quoy se reconoit cōme Dieu imprime ie ne sçay quelle terreur en la face des fideles à-l'encontre des mécreans, suivant sa parole, quand il dit à son peuple élu : *Nul ne pourra subsister devant vous. Le Seigneur vōtre Dieu mettra vne frayeur & terreur de vous sur toute la terre, sur laquelle vous marcherés.*¹ Ainsi nous voyons que cent trente-cinq mille 334 combattans Madianites s'enfuirent & s'entretuerent eux-mêmes au-devant de Gedeon qui n'avoit que trois cens hommes.² Or de penser poursuivre ceux-ci c'eût été peine perduë, car ilz sont trop legers à la course : Mais qui auroit des chevaux il les gateroit bien : car ils ont force petits sentiers pour aller d'un lieu à autre (ce qui n'est au Port Royal), & ne sont leurs bois épais, & outre-ce encor ont force terre découverte, où sont leurs maisons, ou cabannes, au milieu de leur labourage.

Pendant que le sieur de Poutrincourt venoit à terre, on tira de la barque quelques coups de petites pieces de fonte sur certains Sauvages qui étoient sur vn tertre, & en vit on quelques vns tōber, mais ilz sont si habiles à sauver leurs morts qu'on ne sçait qu'en penser. Ledit sieur voyant qu'il ne profiteroit rien de les poursuivre, fit faire des fosses pour enterrer ceux qui étoient decedez, lesquels l'ay dit être deux, mais il y en eut vn qui mourut sur le bord

565 de l'eau pensant se sauver, & vn quatrième qui fut si fort navré de flèches qu'il mourut étant rendu au Port Royal. Le cinquième avoit vne fleche dans la poitrine, mais il échappa pour cette fois là : & vaudroit mieux qu'il y fût mort : car on nous a frechement rapporté qu'il s'est fait pendre en l'habitation que le sieur de Monts entretient à *Kebec* sur la grande riviere de *Canada*, ayant été autheur d'une conspiration faite contre Champlain. Et quant à ce desastre, il a été causé par la folie & desobeissance d'un que ie ne veux nommer, puis qu'il y est mort, lequel faisoit le coq entre des jeunes gens à lui trop credules, qui autrement étoient d'assez bonne nature ; & pource qu'on ne le vouloit enivrer, avoit iuré (selon sa coutume) qu'il ne retourneroit point dans la barque, ce qui avint aussi. Et il fut trouvé mort la face en terre ayant vn petit chien sur son doz, tous-deux cousus ensemble & transpercez d'une même fleche.

Sur l'occurrence de cette prophetie il me plaît d'en rapporter deux de même étoffe & tres-veritables avenues à la conservation de la France, la veille Saint-Marc en cette année mille six cens dix-sept, léquelles n'ont point été remarquées par tous ceux qui ont fait des libelles sur la mort du Marquis d'Ancre.

¹ Deuteron. xi, vers. 25.

² Iuges vii. 8.

La premiere est de Barbin, qui fut fait Controlleur general des finances, en la place d'un meilleur François & plus homme de bien que lui, pour mettre en la main d'un faquin la Monarchie Française.¹ Cet homme voyant trois ou quatre Princes & quelques Seigneurs seuls & foibles, s'opposer à la tyrannie que ledit Marquis avoit occupée souz le nom du Roy, disoit ordinairement que ces 566 affaires ne dureroient point jusques à la fin de May, & que dans ce temps ces Princes & Seigneurs (qui se sacrifioient pour leur patrie) seroient reduits à la nécessité de se rendre. Ce qui en apparence étoit veritable. Mais Dieu juste iuge y pourveut, ayant contre l'esperance commune fortifié l'esprit & le courage de ce jeune Prince Roy, en sorte qu'en moins d'un tourbillon cette haute 336 puissance qui vouloit eprouver jusques où, à quel point & degré la Fortune pouvoit elever un homme, fut tout à plat abattuë, & entierement ruinée par la mort de cet ambitieux trop enivré des faveurs qu'il ne meritoit point.

L'autre Prophete qui ie veux dire a été cetui-ci même, lequel en son dernier voyage fait à Paris, passant par Ecoüi à sept lieues de Roüen eut plainte d'une servante de l'épée Royale, où il étoit logé, que la guerre leur coutoit beaucoup, & ne leur venoit plus d'hostes : Surquoy il repartit, disant : Ma fille, ie m'en vay à Paris ; Si ie retourne nous aurons la guerre ; Sinon, nous aurons la paix. Ce qui est arrivé, mais en un autre sens qu'il ne l'entendoit. Car certes il ne s'attendoit pas de mourir si tot ; & sa mort tant désirée & necessaire nous a en un moment ramené la paix, a garenti ces bons & genereux Princes d'une entiere ruine, & a sauvé le Roy & la maison Royale, de qui l'Etat & la vie ne pendoit qu'à un filet que pretendoit bien-tot couper ce malheureux Pisandre.

Ainsi plusieurs prophetisent quelquefois contre leur sens & entente, dont 567 l'exemple nous est assez notoire en l'histoire sainte par la prophetie de Balaam. Mais revenons à nos Armouchois.

En cette mauvaise occurrence le fils du sieur du Pont susnommé eut trois doigts de la main emportez de l'éclat d'un mousquet qui se creva pour être trop chargé. Ce qui troubla fort la compagnie, laquelle étoit assés affligée d'ailleurs. Neantmoins on ne laissa de rendre le dernier devoir aux morts, lesquels on enterra au pié de la Croix qu'on avoit là plantée, comme a été dit. Mais l'insolence de ce peuple barbare fut grâde après les meurtres par eux commis, en ce que comme noz gens chantoient sur noz morts les oraisons & prieres funebres accoutumées en l'Eglise, ces maraux, di-je, dansoyent & 337 hurloyent loin de là se rejouïssans de leur trahison : & pourtant, quoy qu'ilz fussent grand nombre, ne se hazardoyent pas de venir attaquer les nôtres, lesquels ayans à leur loisir fait ce que dessus, pource que la mer baissoit fort, se retirerent en la barque, dans laquelle étoit demeuré Champ-doré pour la garde d'icelle. Mais comme la mer fut basse, & n'y avoit moyen de venir à terre, cette méchante gent vint derechef au lieu où ils avoient fait le meurtre, arracherent la Croix, deterrerent l'un des morts, prindrent sa chemise, & la vêtirent, montrans leurs depouilles qu'ils avoient emportées : & parmi ceci encor tournans le dos à la barque jettoient du sable à deux mains par entre les fesses en derision, hurlâs comme des loups : ce qui facha merveilleuse- 568 ment les nôtres, lesquels ne manquoient de tirer sur eux leurs pieces de fonte,

¹ Another copy of this same edition in the British Museum (G 7092) has : *La premiere est de Barbin, qui fut fait Conterollleur general des finances en la place de Monsieur le President Jeannin, lequel n'étoit agreable, par-ce qu'il étoit trop bon François. Cet homme, &c.*

mais la distance étoit fort grande, & avoient des-ja cette ruse de se jeter par terre quand ils [y] voyoient mettre le feu, de sorte qu'on ne sçavoit s'ils avoient été blessés ou autrement : & fallut par nécessité boire ce calice, attendant la marée, laquelle étant venuë & suffisante pour porter à terre, comme ilz virent noz gens s'embarquer en la chaloupe, ilz s'enfuirent comme levriers, se fians en leur agilité. Il y avoit avec les nôtres vn *Sagamos* nommé *Chkoudun*, duquel nous avons parlé ci-devant, lequel avoit grand déplaisir de tout ceci : & vouloit seul aller combattre cette multitude, mais on ne le voulut permettre. Et à tant on releva la Croix avec reverence, & enterra-on derechef le corps qu'ils avoient deterré. Et fut ce port appelé *le Port Fortuné*.

Le lendemain on mit la voile au vent pour passer outre & découvrir nouvelles terres : mais on fut contraint par le vent contraire de relacher & r'entrer dans ledit Port. L'autre lendemain on tenta derechef d'aller plus loin, mais ce fut en vain, & fallut encores relacher jusques à ce que le vent fût propre. Durant cette attête les Sauvages (pensans, ie croy, que ce ne fût que jeu ce qui s'étoit passé) voulurent se r'approviser, & demanderent à 338 troquer, faisant semblant que ce n'étoient pas eux qui avoient fait le mal, mais d'autres, qu'ilz montroient s'en être allez. Mais ilz n'avoient pas l'avise-
569 ment de ce qui est dit en vne fable, que la Cigogne ayant été prise parmi les Gruës qui furent trouvées en dommage, fut punie comme les autres, non-obstant qu'elle dist que tant s'en fallût qu'elle fit mal, qu'au contraire elle purgeoit la terre de serpès qu'elle mangeoit. Le sieur de Poutrincourt donc les laissa approcher, & fit semblant de vouloir prendre leurs denrées, qui étoient du petun, quelques chaines, colliers, & brasselets faits de coquilles de Vignaux (appellés *Esurgni*, au discours du second voyage de Jacques Quartier), fort estimé entre eux : item de leurs blé, fèves, arcs, fleches, carquois, & autres menuës bagatelles. Et comme la société fut renouée, ledit sieur commanda à neuf ou dix qu'il avoit avec lui de mettre les meches de leurs mousquets en façon de laqs, & qu'au signal qu'il feroit chacun jettât son cordeau sur la tête de celui des Sauvages qu'ils auroient accosté, & s'en saisist, comme le maitre des hautes œuvres fait de sa proie : & pour l'effect de ce, que la moitié s'en allassent à terre, tandis qu'on les amuseroit à troquer dâs la chaloupe. Ce qui fut fait : mais l'exécution ne fut pas du tout selon son desir. Car il pretendoit se servir de ceux que l'on prendroit comme de forçats¹ au moulin à bras & à couper des bois. A quoy par trop grande precipitation on manqua. Neantmoins il y en eut six ou sept charpentés & taillés en pieces, lesquels ne peurent point si bien courir dans l'eau comme en la campagne, & furent attendus au passage par ceux des nôtres qui étoient demeurés à terre. Le
570 Sauvage *Chkoudun* mentionné ci-devant, rapportoit vne des têtes de ceux-là, mais par fortune elle tomba dans la mer, dont il eut tant de regret, qu'il en pleuroit à chaudes larmes.

Cela fait, le lendemain on s'efforça d'aller plus avant, nonobstant que le vent ne fût à propos, mais on avança peu, & vit-on tant seulement vne ile à six ou sept lieues loing, à laquelle il n'y eut moyen de parvenir, & fut appelé 339 *Pile Douteuse*. Ce qui considéré, & que d'une part on craignoit manquer de vivres, & d'autre que l'hiver n'empêchât la course ; & d'ailleurs encores, qu'il y avoit deux malades, ausquels on n'esperoit point de salut : Conseil pris, fut resolu de retourner au Port-Royal, étant, outre ce que dessus, encore le sieur

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *forçaires*.

de Poutrincourt en souci pour ceux qu'il avoit laissés. Ainsi on vint pour la troisième fois au Port Fortuné, là où ne fut veu aucun Sauvage.

Au premier vent propre ledit sieur fit lever l'ancre pour le retour, & memoratif des dangers passez, fit cingler en pleine mer : ce qui abbregea sa route. Mais non sans vn grand desastre du gouvernail qui fut derechef rompu : de maniere qu'étans à l'abandon des vagues, ils arriverent en fin du ¹ mieux qu'ilz peurent aux îles de *Norombega*, où ilz le racourterent. Et au sortir d'icelles vindrent à *Menane*, île d'environ six lieues de long entre Sainte-Croix & le Port-Royal, où ils attendirent le vent, lequel étant venu aucunement à souhait, au partir de là, nouveaux desastres. Car la chaloupe qui étoit attachée à la barque fut poussée d'un coup de mer si rudement, que de sa pointe elle rompit tout le derriere d'icelle [barque], où étoit ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, & autres. Et d'ailleurs n'ayans peu gagner le passage dudit Port-Royal, la marée (qui vole en cet endroit) les porta vers le fond de la Baye Françoisé, d'où ilz ne sortirent point à leur aise, & se trouverent en aussi grand danger qu'ils eussent été onques auparavant : d'autant que voulans retourner d'où ils étoient venus, ilz se virent portez de la marée & du vêt vers la côte, qui est de hauts rochers & precipices : là où, s'ilz n'eussent doublé vne pointe qui les menaçoit de ruine, c'eût été fait d'eux. Mais en des hautes entreprises Dieu veut éprouver la constance de ceux qui combattent pour son nom, & voir s'ilz ne branleront point : il les meine iusques à la porte de l'enfer, c'est à dire du sepulchre, & neantmoins les tient par la main, afin qu'ilz ne tombent dans la fosse, ainsi qu'il est écrit : *Ce suis-je, ce suis-je moy, & n'y a point de Dieu avec moy. Je fay mourir, & fay vivre : ie navre, & ie gueri : & n'y a personne qui puisse delivrer aucun de ma main.*² Ainsi avons-nous dit quelquefois ci-devant, & veu par effet, que combien qu'en ces navigations se soient presentez mille dangers, toutefois il ne s'est iamais perdu vn seul hôme par mer, jaçoit que de ceux qui vont tant seulement pour les Moruës, & le traffic des pelletteries, il y en demeure assez souvêt : témoins quatre pécheurs Maloins qui furent engloutis des eaux étans allés à la pécherie, lors que nous étions sur le retour en France : Dieu voulant que nous reconnoissions tenir ce benefice de lui, & manifester sa gloire de cette façon, afin que sensiblement on voye que c'est lui qui est auteur de ces saintes entreprises, lesquelles ne se font par avarice, ni par l'injuste effusion du sang, mais par vn zele d'établir son nom, & sa grandeur parmi les peuples qui ne le connoissent point. Or après tant de faveurs du ciel, c'est à faire à ceux qui les ont receuës à dire comme le Psalmiste-Roy bien aimé de Dieu : ³

*Tu m'as tenu la dextre, & ton sage vouloir
M'a seurement guidé, iusqu'à me faire voir
Mainte honorable grace
En cette terre basse.*

Après beaucoup de perils (que ie ne veux comparer à ceux d'Ulysses, ni d'Æneas, pour ne souiller noz voyages saints parmi l'impureté), le sieur de Poutrincourt ³⁴¹ arriva au Port-Royal le quatorzième de Novembre, où nous le receumes joyeusement & avec vne solennité toute nouvelle pardela. Car sur le point

¹ The edition of 1617-18 has, *au*.

² Deuteron. xxxii, vers. 39.

³ Psalm lxxii, vers. 23.

que nous attendions son retour avec grand desir (& ce d'autant plus, que si mal lui fût arrivé nous eussions été en danger d'avoir de la confusion), ie m'avisay de représenter quelque gaillardise en allant audevant de lui, comme nous fîmes. Et d'autant que cela fut en rhimes Françoises faites à la hâte, ie l'ay mis avec *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*, souz le tiltre de THEATRE DE NEPTVNE, où ie renvoye mon ¹ Lecteur. Au surplus, pour honorer davantage le retour & ² nôtre action, nous avons mis au dessus de la porte de nôtre Fort les armes de France, environnées de courônes de lauriers (dont il y a là 573 grande quâtité au long des rives des bois) avec la devise du Roy, DVO PROTEGIT VNVS. Et au dessous celles du sieur de Monts avec cette inscription, DABIT DEVS HIS QVOQVE FINEM : & celles du sieur de Poutrincourt avec cette autre inscription, INVIA VIRTVTI NVLLA EST VIA, toutes deux aussi ceintes de chapeaux de lauriers.

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *le*.

² The editions of 1611-12 and 1617-18 have, *de*.

Etat de semailles : Institution de l'Ordre de Bon-Temps : Comportement des Sauvages parmi les François : Etat de l'hiver : Pourquoi en ce temps pluies & brumes rares : Pourquoi pluies frequentes entre les Tropiques : Neges utiles à la terre : Etat de Janvier : Conformité de temps en l'antique & Nouvelle-France : Pourquoi Printemps tardif : Culture de jardins : Rapport d'iceux : Moulin à eau : Manne de barens : Preparation pour le retour : Invention du sieur de Poutrincourt : Admiration des Sauvages : Nouvelles de France.

CHAP. XVI

APRES la jouissance publique cessée, le sieur de Poutrincourt eut soin de voir ses blés, dont il avoit semé la plus grande partie à deux lieues loin de notre Fort en amont de la riviere de l'Equille, dite du Dauphin : & l'autre à l'entour de notre Fort : & trouva les premiers semez bien avancés, & non les derniers qui avoient été semez les sixième & dixième de Novembre, lesquels toutefois ne laisserent de croître 574 sous la neige durant l'hiver, comme ie l'ay remarqué [en mes semailles]. Ce seroit chose longue de vouloir minuter tout ce qui se faisoit durant l'hiver entre nous : comme de dire que ledit sieur fit faire plusieurs fois du charbon, celui de forge étant failli : qu'il fit ouvrir des chemins parmi les bois : que nous allions à travers les forets sous la guide du Kadran, & autres choses selon les occurrences. Mais ie diray que pour nous tenir joyeusement & nettement, quât aux vivres, fut établi un Ordre en la Table dudit sieur de Poutrincourt, qui fut nommé L'ORDRE DE BON TEMPS, mis premierement en avant par Champlain, suivât lequel ceux d'icelle table étoient Maitres-d'hôtel chacun à son jour, qui étoit en quinze jours une fois. Or avoit-il le soin de faire que nous fussions bien & honorablement traités. Ce qui fut si bien observé, que (quoy que les gourmâs de deçà nous disent souvent que là nous n'avions point la ruë aux Ours de Paris) nous y avons fait ordinairement aussi 343 bonne chere que nous sçaurions faire en cette ruë aux Ours, & à moins de frais. Car il n'y avoit celui qui deux jours devant que son tour vint ne fût soigneux d'aller à la chasse, ou à la pecherie, & n'apportat quelque chose de rare, outre ce qui étoit de notre ordinaire. Si bien que jamais au déjeuner nous n'avons manqué de saupiquets de chair ou de poissons : & au repas de midi & du soir encor moins : car c'étoit le grand festin, là où l'Architriclin, ou Maître-d'hôtel (que les Sauvages appellēt *Atotegic*¹), ayant fait preparer toutes choses au cuisinier, marchoit la serviette sur l'épaule, le batô d'office en main, [&] le colier de l'Ordre au col [qui valoit plus de quatre escus], & tous ceux d'icelui Ordre après lui, portans chacun son plat. Le même étoit au dessert, non toutefois avec tant de suite. Et au soir, avant rendre grâces à Dieu, il resignoit le collier

¹ The 1609 edition has, *Atotegic*.

de l'Ordre avec vn verre de vin à son successeur en la charge, & buvoient l'un à l'autre. J'ay dit ci-devant que nous avions du gibier abondamment, Canars, Outardes, Oyes grises & blanches, perdrix, alouettes, & autres oiseaux : Plus des chairs d'Ellans, de Caribous, de Castors, de Loutres, d'Ours, de Lapins, de Chats-Sauvages, ou Leopars, de *Nibachés*, & autres telles que les Sauvages prenoient, dont nous faisons chose qui valoit bien ce qui est en la rotiſserie de la ruë aux Ours : & plus encor : car entre toutes les viandes il n'y a rien de si tendre que la chair d'Ellan (dont nous faisiōs aussi de bōne patisserie), ni de si delicieux que la queue du Castor. Mais nous avōs eu quelquefois demie douzaine d'Eturgeons tout à coup que les Sauvages nous ont apportez, desquels nous prenions vne partie en payant, & le reste on le leur permettoit vendre publiquement & troquer contre du pain, dont nôtre peuple abondoit. Et quant à la viāde ordinaire portée de France, cela étoit distribué également autant au plus petit qu'au plus grād. Et ainsi étoit du vin, comme a été dit.

En telles actions nous avions toujours vingt ou trente Sauvages, hommes, femmes, filles, & enfans, qui nous regardoient officier. On leur bailloit du ³⁴⁴ pain gratuitemēt comme on feroit à des pauvres. Mais quant au *Sagamos Membertou*, & autres *Sagamos* (quand il en arrivoit quelqu'un), ils étoient à la table mangeans & buvans comme nous : & avions plaisir de les voir, comme au contraire leur absence nous étoit triste : ainsi qu'il arriva trois ou quatre fois que tous s'en allerent és endroits où ilz sçavoient y avoir de la chasse, & emmenerent vn des nôtres, lequel véquit quelques six semaines comme eux sans sel, sans pain, & sans vin, couché à terre sur des peaux, & ce en temps de neges. Au surplus ils avoient soin de lui (comme d'autres qui sont souvent allés avec eux) plus que d'eux-mêmes, disans que s'ils mouraient, on leur imposerait qu'ilz les auroient tués : & par ce se conoit que nous n'étions comme dégradés en vne ile ainsi que le sieur de Villegagnon au Bresil. Car ce peuple aime les François, & en vn besoin s'armeront tous pour les soutenir.

Or, pour ne nous égarer, tels regimes dont nous avons parlé, nous servoient de preservatifs contre la maladie du païs. Et toutefois il nous en deceda quatre en Fevrier & Mars de ceux qui étoient ou chagrins, ou paresseux : & me souvient de remarquer que tous ils avoient leurs chambres du côté d'Ouest, & regardant sur l'étenduë du Port, qui est de quatre lieus préque en ovale. D'ailleurs ils étoient mal couchés, cōme tous. Car les maladies precedentes, & le depart du sieur du Pont en la façon que nous avons dit, avoient fait que l'on avoit jetté dehors les matelats, & étoient pourris, & ceux qui s'en allerent ⁵⁷⁷ avec ledit sieur du Pont emporterent ce qui restoit de draps de lits, disans qu'ils étoient à eux. De maniere que quelques-vns des nôtres eurent le mal de bouche, & l'enflure de jambes, à la façon des phthisiques : qui est la maladie que Dieu envoya à son peuple au desert,¹ en punition de ce qu'ilz s'étoient voulu engraisser de chair, ne se contentans de ce que le desert leur fournissoit par la volonté divine.

Nous eumes beau temps préque tout l'hiver. Car les pluies, ni les brumes ³⁴⁵ n'y sont si frequentes qu'ici, soit en la mer, soit en la terre : & ce pour autant que les rayons du soleil en cette saison [par la longue distance] n'ont pas la force d'élever les vapeurs d'ici bas, mémement en vn païs tout forêtier. Mais en Eré cela se fait sur tous les deux, lors que leur force est augmentée, & se resoudent ces vapeurs subitement ou tardivement selon qu'on approche

¹ Nomb. xi. vers. 33, et Psalm cv. vers. 15.

de la ligne æquinociale. Car nous voyons qu'entre les deux tropiques les pluies sont abondantes en mer & en terre, & specialement au Perou & en Mexique plus qu'en l'Afrique, pour ce que le soleil par vn si long espace de mer ayant humé beaucoup d'humidités de tout l'Ocean, il les resout en vn moment par la grande force de sa chaleur, là où vers la Terre-neuve ces vapeurs s'entretiennent long temps en l'air devant que se condenser en pluie, ou être dissipées : ce qui est en Été (comme nous avons dit) & non en hiver : & en la mer plus qu'en la terre. Car en la terre les brouïllas du matin servent de rousée, & tombent sur les huit heures : & en la mer ilz durent deux, trois, & huit jours, comme nous avons souvent expérimenté.

Or puis que nous sommes sur l'hiver, disons que les pluies en tel temps 578 éans rares par-dela, aussi y fait-il beau soleil après que la nege est tombée, laquelle nous avons eüe sept ou huit fois, mais elle se fondoît facilement és lieux découverts, & la plus constante a été en Février. Quoy que ce soit, la nege moderee est fort vtile aux fruits de la terre, pour les conserver contre la gelée, & leur servir comme d'une robbe fourrée. Ce que Dieu fait par vne admirable providence, pour ne ruiner les hommes, & comme dit le Psalmiste.¹

*Il donne la nege chenuë
Comme laine à tas blanchissant,
Et comme la cendre menuë
Répand les frimas brouïssans.*

Et comme le ciel n'est gueres souvent couvert de nuées vers la Terre-neuve 346 en temps d'hiver, aussi y a-il des gelées matinales, lesquelles se renforcent sur la fin de Ianvier, en Février, & au commencement de Mars : car iusques audit tēps de Ianvier nous y avons toujours été en pourpoint : & me souvient que le quatorzième de ce mois par vn Dimanche après midi nous-nous reïouissions chantans Musique sur la rivièr de l'Equille [dite maintenant la rivièr du Dauphin] : & qu'en ce même mois nous allames voir les blez à deux lieüs de nôtre Fort, & dinames ioyeusement au soleil. Je ne voudroy toutefois dire que toutes les années fussent semblables à celle-ci. Car comme cet hiver là fut semblablement doux pardeça, le dernier hiver de l'an mil six cens sept [& huit], le plus rigoureux qu'on vit iamais, a aussi été de même par-dela, en sorte que beaucoup de Sauvages sont morts par la rigueur du temps, ainsi 579 qu'en France beaucoup de pauvres, & de voyageurs. Mais ie diray que l'année de devant que nous fussions en la Nouvelle-France, l'hiver n'avoit point été rude, ainsi que m'ont testifié ceux qui y avoient demeuré avant nous.

Voilà ce qui regarde la saison de l'hiver. Mais ie ne suis point encore bien satisfait en la recherche de la cause pourquoy en même parallele la saiso est par-dela plus tardive d'un mois qu'ici, & n'apparoissent les feuilles aux arbres que sur le declin du mois de May : si ce n'est que nous disions que l'epaisseur des bois & grandeur des forêts empêche le soleil d'échauffer la terre : itē que le païs où nous etiōs est voisin de la mer, & plus suiet au froid cōme participant du Perou, païs semblablement froid à l'égard de l'Afrique : & d'ailleurs que cette terre n'ayant iamais été cultivée, elle est plus condense, & ne peuvent les arbres & plantes aisément tirer le suc de leur mere. En recompense dequoy aussi l'hiver y est plus tardif, comme nous l'avōs recité ci-dessus.²

¹ Psalm cxlvii, vers. 5.

² Copy G 7092 has, *avons n'agueres dit,*

Les froidures étans passées, sur la fin de Mars tous les volôtaires d'entre nous se mirêt à l'envi l'un de l'autre à cultiver la terre, & faire des iardins pour y semer, & en recueillir des fruits. Ce qui vint bien à propos. Car nous fumes fort incômodez l'hiver faute d'herbes de iardins. Quâd chacun eut 347 fait ses semailles, c'étoit vn merveilleux plaisir de les voir croître & profiter chacun iour, & encore plus grâd contentemēt d'en vser si abondâment que nous fimes : si biē que ce cômencemēt de bōne esperāce nous faisoit préque 580 oublier nôtre païs originaire, & principalement quand le poisson commença à rechercher l'eau douce & venir à foison dans noz ruisseaux, tant que nous n'en sçavions que faire. Ce que quand ie considere, ie ne me sçaurois assés étōner comme il est possible que ceux qui ont été en la Floride ayēt souffert de si grandes famines, veu la tēperature de l'air qui [y] est préque sās hiver, & que leur famine vint és mois d'Avril, May, Iuin, ausquels ilz ne devoiēt māquer de poissons.

Tandis que les vns travailloient à la terre, le sieur de Poutrincourt fit preparer quelques batimens pour loger ceux qu'il esperoit nous devoir succeder. Et considerant combien le moulin à bras apportoit de travail, il fit faire vn moulin à eau, qui fut fort admiré des Sauvages. Aussi est-ce vne invention qui n'est pas venuē és esprits des hommes dés les premiers siecles. Depuis cela nos ouvriers eurent beaucoup de repos : car ilz ne faisoient préque rien pour la plupart. Mais ie puis dire que ce moulin nous fournissoit des harēs trois fois plus qu'il ne nous en eût fallu pour vivre, à la diligence de noz meuniers.¹ Le sieur de Poutrincourt en avoit fait saller deux bariques, & vne barique de Sardines, pour en faire montre en France, lesquelles demeurèrent à Saint Malo, à nôtre retour, entre les mains des marchans.

Parmi toutes ces choses ledit sieur de Poutrincourt ne laissoit de penser au retour. Ce qui étoit vn fait d'homme sage. Car il ne se faut jamais 348 tant fier aux promesses des hommes que l'on ne considere qu'il y arrive 581 bien souvent beaucoup de desastre en peu d'heure. Et partant dés le mois d'Avril il fit accommoder deux barques, vne grande, & vne petite, pour venir chercher les navires de France vers *Campseau*, ou la *Terre-neuve*, [le] cas avenant que [nous] n'eussions point de secours. Mais la charpenterie faite, vn seul mal nous pouvoit arrêter, c'est que nous n'avions point de bray pour calfeuster noz vaisseaux. Cela (qui étoit la chose principale) avoit été oublié au partir de la Rochelle. En ceste necessité importante, ledit sieur de Poutrincourt s'avisa de recueillir par les bois quantité de gommess de sapins. Ce qu'il fit avec beaucoup de travail, y allant lui-même avec vn garson ou deux le plus souvent : si bien qu'en fin il [en] eut quelques cent livres. Or apres ces fatigues ce ne fut encore tout. Car il falloir fondre & purifier cela, qui étoit vn point necessaire, & inconnu à nôtre Maitre de marine, *Champ-doré*, & à ses matelots, d'autant que le bray que nous avons vient de *Norvvege*, *Suede*, & *Danzic*. Neantmoins ledit sieur de Poutrincourt inventa le moyen de tirer la quinte essence de ces gommess & écorcess de sapins : & fit faire quantité de briques, desquelles il façōna vn fourneau tout à jour, dans lequel il mit vn alembic fait de plusieurs chaudrons enchassez l'un dans l'autre, lequel il emplissoit de ces gommess & écorcess : puis étant bien couvert on mettoit

¹ Copy G 7092 has here: *car la mer étât haute venoit iusqu'au moulin, au moyē dequoy le haren allant s'égayer par deux heures en l'eau douce, étoit pris de bōne guerre au retour. Le sieur de Poutrincourt en fit saller, etc. : but omits all the words after, France.*

le feu tout à l'entour, par la violence duquel se fondoit la gomme enclose dans ledit alembic, & tomboit par embas dans vn bassin. Mais il ne falloit pas dormir à l'entour, d'autant que le feu se prenant à la matière tout étoit perdu. Cela étoit admirable pour vn personnage qui n'en avoit jamais veu faire : dont les Sauvages étonnés disoient en mots empruntez des Basques *Endia chavé Normandia*, c'est à dire, que les Normans sçavent beaucoup de choses. Or appellent-ils tous les François Normans (exceptez les Basques), par ce que
349 la plupart des pêcheurs qui vont aux Moruës sont de cette nation. Ce remede nous vint bien à point : car ceux qui nous vindrent querir étoient tombez en même faute que nous.

Or comme celui qui est en attente n'a point de bien ni de repos jusques à ce qu'il tienne ce qu'il desire : Ainsi en cette saison noz gens jettoient souvent l'œil sur la grande étendue du Port Royal pour voir s'ilz découvroient point quelque vaisseau arriver. En quoy ils furent plusieurs fois trompez, se figurans tantot avoir ouï vn coup de canon, tantot appercevoir les voiles d'un vaisseau : & prenans bien souvent les chaloupes des Sauvages qui nous venoiēt voir pour des chaloupes Françaises. Car alors grande quâtité de Sauvages s'assemblerent au passage dudit Port pour aller à la guerre cōtre les Armouchiquois, cōme nous dirōs au livre suivât. En fin on cria tant Noé qu'il vint, & eumes nouvelles de France le jour de l'Ascension avant midi.

583 *Arrivée des François : Societé du sieur de Monts rompuë, & pourquoy : Avarice de ceux qui volent les morts : Feux de joye pour la naissance de Monseigneur d'Orleans : Partement des Sauvages pour aller à la guerre : Sagamos Membertou : Voyages sur la côte de la Baye Française Trafic sordide : Ville d'Ouigoudi : Sauvages comme font de grands voyages : Mauvaise intention d'iceux : Mine d'acier : Voix de Loups-marins : Etat de Pile Sainte-Croix : Erreur de Champlain : Amour des Sauvages envers leurs enfans : Retour au Port Royal.*

CHAP. XVII

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LE Soleil commençoit à échauffer la terre, & œillader sa maitresse d'un regard amoureux, quand le *Sagamos Membertou* (apres noz prieres solennellement faites à Dieu, & le desieuner distribué au peuple, selon la coutume) nous vint avertir qu'il avoit veu vne voile sur le lac, c'est à dire dans le port, qui venoit vers nôtre Fort. A cette joyeuse nouvelle chacun va voir, mais encore ne se trouvoit-il persone qui eût si bonne veuë que lui, quoy qu'il soit âgé de plus de cent ans. Neâtmoins on découvrit bientôt ce qui en étoit. Le sieur de Poutrincourt fit en diligence appreter la petite barque pour aller reconoitre. *Champ-doré* & *Daniel Hay* y allerent, & par le signal qu'ils nous donnerent étans certains que c'étoient 584 amis, incontinent fimes charger quatre canons, & vne douzaine de fauconneaux, pour saluer ceux qui nous venoient voir de si loin. Eux de leur part ne manquerent à commencer la fête, & décharger leurs pieces, ausquels fut rendu le reciproque avec vsure. C'étoit tant seulement vne petite barque marchant souz la charge d'un jeune homme de Saint-Malo nommé Chevalier, lequel arrivé au Fort bailla ses lettres au sieur de Poutrincourt, lesquelles furent leuës publiquement. On lui mandoit que pour ayder à sauver les frais du voyage, le navire (qui étoit encor le *JONAS*) s'arreteroit au port de *Campseau* pour y faire pecherie de Moruës, les marchans associez du sieur de Môts ne sachans pas qu'il y eût pecherie plus loin que ce lieu : toutefois que s'il étoit necessaire il fit venir ledit navire au Port Royal. Au reste, que la societé étoit rompuë, d'autant que contre l'honneteté & devoir les *Holandois* (qui ont tant d'obligations à la France) conduits par vn traître François nommé 351 La Jeunesse, avoient l'an precedent enlevé les *Castors* & autres pelletteries de la grande Riviere de *Canada* : chose qui tournoit au grand detrimement de la societé, laquelle partant ne pouvoit plus fournir aux frais de l'habitation de dela, comme elle avoit fait par le passé. Joint qu'au Conseil du Roy (pour ruiner cet affaire) on avoit nouvellemēt revoqué le privilege octroyé pour dix ans au sieur de Monts pour la traicte des *Castors*, chose que l'on n'eût iamais esperé. Et pour cette cause n'envoyoient persone pour demeurer là apres nous. Si nous eumes de la joye de voir nôtre secours assuré, nous eumes

aussi vne grande tristesse de voir vne si belle & si sainte entreprise rompuë : 585
que tant de travaux & de perils passez ne servissent de rien : & que l'esperance
de planter là le nom de Dieu, & la Foy Catholique s'en allât evanouie. Neant-
moins apres que le sieur de Poutrincourt eut long temps songé sur ceci, il dit
que quand il y devoit venir tout seul avec sa famille, il ne quitteroit point
la partie.

Ce nous estoit, di-ie, grand dueil d'abandonner ainsi vne terre qui nous
avoit produit de si beaux blez, & tant de beaux ornemens de jardins. Tout ce
qu'on avoit peu faire jusques là ç'avoit été de trouver lieu propre à faire vne
demeure arretée, & vne terre qui fût de bon rapport. Et cela étant fait, de
quitter l'entreprise, c'étoit bien manquer de courage. Car passée vne autre
année il ne falloit plus entretenir d'habitation. La terre étoit suffisante de
rendre les necessitez de la vie. C'est le sujet de la douleur qui poignoit ceux
qui étoient amateurs de voir la Religion Chrétienne établie en ce pais là.
Mais d'ailleurs le sieur de Monts & ses associés étans en perte, & n'ayans point
d'avancement du Roy, c'étoit chose qu'ilz ne pouvoient faire sans beaucoup
de difficulté, que d'entretenir vne habitation pardela.

Voila les effects de l'envie, qui ne s'est pas glissée seulement és cœurs des
Hollandois pour ruiner vne si sainte entreprise, mais aussi des nôtres propres,
tant s'est montree grande & insatiable l'avarice des Marchans qui n'avoient
352 part à l'association du sieur de Monts. Et sur ce ie diray d'abondant, que
de ceux qui nous sont venus querir en ce pais là il y en a eu qui ont osé 586
méchamment aller dépouiller les morts, & voler les Castors que ces pauvres
peuples mettent pour le dernier bien-fait sur ceux qu'ils enterrent, ainsi que
nous dirons plus amplement au dernier livre. Chose qui rend le nom François
odieux & digne de mépris parmi eux, qui n'ont rien de semblable, ains le cœur
vrayement noble & genereux, n'ayans rien de particulier, ains toutes choses com-
munes, & qui font ordinairément des presens (& ce fort liberalement, selon leur
moyen) à ceux qu'ils aiment & honorent. Et outre ce mal, est arrivé que
les Sauvages, lors que nous étions à *Campseau*, tuerent celui qui avoit montré
à noz gens les sepulcres de leurs morts. Ie n'ay que faire d'alleguer ici ce
que recite Herodote de la vilenie du Roy Darius, lequel pensant avoir trouvé
la mere au nid (comme on dit), c'est à dire des grands thresors au tombeau
de Semiramis, Royne des Babylo niens, eut vn pié de nez, ayant au dedans
trouvé vn écriteau contraire au premier, qui le tenoit aigrement de son avarice
& méchanceté.

Revenons à noz tristes nouvelles & aux regrets sur icelles. Le sieur de
Poutrincourt ayant fait proposer à quelques vns de notre compagnie s'ilz
vouloient là demeurer pour vn an, il s'en presenta huit, bons compagnons,
ausquels on promettoit chacun vne barrique de vin, de celui qui nous restoit,
& du blé suffisamment pour vne année : mais ilz demanderent si hauts gages
353 qu'il ne peût pas s'accommoder avec eux. Ainsi se fallut resoudre au
retour. Le jour declinant, nous fimes les feuz de joye de la naissance de
Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, & recommençames à faire bourdonner les 587
canons & fauconneaux, accompagnez de force mousquetades, le tout après
avoir sur ce suiet chanté le *Te Deum*.

Ledit Chevalier apporteur de nouvelles avoit eu charge de Capitaine au
navire qui étoit demeuré à *Campseau*, & en cette qualité on lui avoit baillé
pour nous amener six moutons, vingt-quatre poules, vne livre de poivre, vingt

livres de ris, autant de raisins, & de pruneaux, vn millier d'amandes, vne livre de muscades, vn quarteron de canelle, demie livre de giroffles, deux livres d'ecorces de citrons, deux douzaines de citrons, autant d'orenges, vn jambon de Majence, & six autres jambons, vne barique de vin de Gascogne, & autant de vin d'Hespagne, vne barique de bœuf salé, quatre pots & demi d'huile d'olive, vn iarre d'olives, vn baril de vinaigre, & deux pains de sucre : Mais tout cela fut perdu par les chemins par fortune de gueule, & n'en vimes pas grand cas : neantmoins i'ay mis ici ces denrées afin que ceux qui voudrôt aller sur mer s'en pourvoient. Quant aux poules & moutons, on nous dit qu'ils étoient morts durant le voyage : ce que nous crumes facilement : mais nous desirions au moins qu'on nous en eût apporté les os. On nous dit encore pour plus ample resolution, que l'on pensoit que nous fussions tous morts. Voila sur quoy fut fondée la mâgeaille. Nous ne laissames toutefois de faire bonne chere audit Chevalier & aux siens, qui n'étoient pas petit nombre, ni buveurs semblables à feu Monsieur le Marquis de Pisani. Occasion qu'ilz ne se deplaisoient point avec nous : car il n'y avoit que du cidre bien arrousé d'eau dans le navire où ils étoient venus pour la portion ordinaire. Mais quant audit Chevalier, dès le premier jour il parla du retour. Le sieur de Pourtrincourt le tint quelques huit jours en esperance : au bout desquels [cetui-ci] voulant s'en aller, ledit sieur mit des gens dans sa barque, & le retint sur quelque rapport que ledit Chevalier avoit dit qu'étant à *Campseau* il mettroit le navire à la voile, & nous lairroit là.

A la quinzaine ledit sieur envoya vne barque audit *Campseau* chargée d'une partie de nos ouvriers, pour commencer à detrapper la maison. Au commencement de Juin les Sauvages en nôbre d'environ quatre cens partirent de la cabanne que le *Sagamos Membertou* avoit façonnée de nouveau en forme de ville environnée de hautes pallissades, pour aller à la guerre contre les Armouchiquois, qui fut à *Chouïakoet*, à environ quatre-vingts lieuës loin du Port Royal, d'où ilz retournerent victorieux, par les stratagemes que ie diray en la description que i'ay faite de cette guerre en vers François. Les Sauvages furent près de deux mois à s'assembler là. *Membertou*, le grand *Sagamos*, les avoit fait avertir durant & avant l'hiver, leur ayant envoyé hommes exprés, qui étoient ses deux fils *Actaudin* & *Actaudinech*, pour leur donner là le Rendez-vous. Ce *Sagamos* est homme des-ja fort vieil, & a veu le Capitaine Jacques Quartier en ce païs là, auquel temps il étoit des-ja marié, & avoit enfans, & neantmoins ne paroît point avoir plus de cinquante ans. Il a été fort grand guerrier & sanguinaire en son jeune âge & durant sa vie. C'est pourquoy on dit qu'il a beaucoup d'ennemis, & est bien aise de se tenir auprès des François pour vivre en seureté. Durant cette assemblée il fallut lui faire des presens & dons de blé & fèves, même de quelque baril de vin, pour fétoyer ses amis. Car il remontroit au sieur de Pourtrincourt : "Ie suis le *Sagamos* de ce païs ici, i'ay le bruit d'être ton ami, & de tous les Normâs (car ainsi appellêt-ilz les François, ainsi que i'ay dit), & que vous faites cas de moy : ce me seroit vn reproche si ie ne montrois les effects de telle chose." Et neantmoins, soit par envie ou autrement, vn autre *Sagamos* nommé *Chkoudun*, lequel est bon ami des François [& sans feintise], nous fit rapport que *Membertou* machinoit quelque chose cõtre nous, & avoit harangué sur ce sujet. Ce qu'entendu par le sieur de Pourtrincourt, soudain il l'envoya querir pour l'étonner, & voir s'il obeiroit. Au premier mandement, il vint seul avec noz gens, &

ne fit aucun refus. Occasion qu'on le laissa retourner en paix apres avoir receu bon traitement, & quelque bouteille de vin, lequel il aime, parce (dit-il) que quand il en a beu il dort bien, & n'a plus de soin, ni d'apprehension. Ce *Membertou* nous dit au commencement que nous vimmes là qu'il vouloit faire vn present au Roy de sa mine de cuivre, par ce qu'il voyoit que nous faisons cas des metaux, & qu'il faut que les *Sagamos* soient honêtes & liberaux les vns envers les autres. Car lui étant *Sagamos*, il s'estime pareil au Roy, & à tous ses Lieutenans : & disoit souvent au sieur de Poutrincourt qu'il lui étoit grand 590 ami, frere, compagnon, & égal, montrant cette égalité par la ionction des deux doigts de la main que l'on appelle *Index*, ou le doigt démonstratif. Or iaçoit que le present qu'il vouloit faire à sa Maiesté fût chose dôt elle ne se soucie, neâtmoins cela lui partoît de bon courage, lequel doit être prisé comme si la chose étoit plus grâde, ainsi que fit ce Roy des Perses qui receut d'aussi bonne volonté vne pleine main d'eau d'vn paisan comme les plus grâds presens qu'on 356 lui avoit fait. Car si *Membertou* eût eu davantage il l'eût offert liberalement.

Le sieur de Poutrincourt n'ayant point envie de partir de là qu'il n'eût veu l'issuë de son attente, c'est à dire la maturité des blés, il delibera apres que les Sauvages furent allés à la guerre, de faire voyages le¹ long de la côte. Et pource que Chevalier desiroit amasser quelques Castors, il [l']envoya dans vne petite barque à la riviere Saint-Iean, dite par les Sauvages *Oigoudi*, & l'île Sainte-Croix : & lui Poutrincourt s'en alla dans vne chaloupe à ladite mine de cuivre. Je fus du voyage dudit Chevalier : & traversames la Baye Françoise pour aller à ladite riviere : là où si tôt que nous fumes arrivez nous fut apportée demie douzaine de Saumons frechement pris : & y seiournames quatre jours, pendant lesquels nous allames és cabanes du *Sagamos Chkoudun*, là où nous vîmes quelques quatre-vingts ou cent Sauvages tout nuds, hors-mis le brayet, qui faisoient Tabagie des farines que ledit Chevalier avoit troqué contre leurs vieilles pannes pleines de pous (car ilz ne lui baillerent que ce qu'ilz ne vouloient point). Ainsi fit-il là vn trafic sordide que ie prise 591 peu. Mais il peut dire que l'odeur du lucre est suave & douce de quelque chose que ce soit, & ne dedaignoit pas l'Empereur Vespasien de recevoir par sa main le tribut qui lui venoit des pissotieres de Rome.

Etans parmi ces Sauvages, le *Sagamos Chkoudun* nous voulut donner le plaisir de voir l'ordre & geste qu'ilz tiennent allans à la guerre, & les fit tous passer devant nous, ce que ie reserve à dire au dernier livre. La ville d'*Ouigoudi* (ainsi i'appelle la demeure dudit *Chkoudun*) étoit vn grand enclos sur vn tertre fermé de hauts & menus arbres attachez l'vn contre l'autre, & au dedans plusieurs cabannes grandes & petites, l'vne desquelles étoit aussi grande qu'vne halle, où se retiroient beaucoup de menages : & quant à celle où ilz faisoïent 357 la Tabagie, elle étoit vn peu moindre. Vne bonne partie desdits Sauvages étoient de *Gachepé*, qui est le commencement de la grande riviere de *Canada*, & nous dirent que de leur demeure ils venoient là en six jours, dont ie fus fort étonné, veu la distance qu'il y a par mer : mais ils abregent fort leurs chemins, & font des grands voyages par le moyen des lacs & rivières, au bout desquelles quand ils sont parvenus, en portant leurs canots trois ou quatre lieuës, ils gaignent d'autres rivières qui ont vn contraire cours. Tous ces Sauvages étoient là venus pour aller à la guerre avec *Membertou* contre les Armouchiquois.

Or, d'autant que j'ay parlé de cette riviere d'*Ouigoudi* au voyage du sieur 592

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *du*.

de Monts, ie n'en diray ici autre chose. Quād nous retournames à nôtre barque qui étoit à demie lieuë de là à l'entrée du Port, à l'abri d'une chaussée que la mer y a fait, noz gens (& particulièrement Champ-doré, qui nous conduisoit), étoient en peine de nous, & ayans veu de loin les Sauvages en armes, pensoient que c'étoit pour nous mal faire; ce qui eût été aisé, pource que nous n'étions que deux: Et par ainsi furent bien aises de nôtre retour. Après quoy le lendemain vint le Devin du quartier crier comme vn desesperé à l'endroit de nôtre barque. Ne sachans ce qu'il vouloit dire, on l'envoya querir dans vn petit bateau, & nous vint haranguer, & dire que les Armouchiquois étoient dans les bois, &¹ les venoient attaquer, & qu'ils avoient tué de leurs gens qui étoient à la chasse: & partant que nous descendissions à terre pour les assister. Ayās ouï ce discours qui ne tendoit à rien de bon selon nôtre iugement, nous lui dimes que noz journées étoient limitées, & noz vivres aussi, & qu'il nous convenoit gagner païs. Se voyant éconduit, il dit que devant qu'il fût deux ans il faudroit qu'ilz tuassent tous les Normans, ou que les Normans les tuassent. Nous-nous mocquames de lui, & lui dimes que nous allions mettre nôtre barque devant leur Fort pour les aller tous saccager. Mais nous ne le fimes pas. Car nous partimes ce iour là: 353 & ayans vent contraire, nous nous mimes à l'abri d'une petite ile, où nous fumes deux jours: pendant lesquels l'un alloit tirer aux Canars pour la provision: l'autre faisoit la cuisine: Champ-doré & moy allions le long des rochers avec marteaux & ciseaux cherchans s'il n'y auroit point quelques mines. Ce que faisons nous trouvames de l'acier en quantité parmi les roches, dont nous fimes provision pour en faire montre au sieur de Poutrincourt.

De là nous allames en trois journées à l'île Sainte-Croix, étans souvent contrariés des vents. Et pource que nous avions mauvaise conjecture sur les Sauvages que nous avions veu en grand nôbre à la riviere de Saint-Jean, & que la troupe partie du Port Royal étoit encore à *Menane* (île entre ledit Port Royal & Sainte-Croix), desquelz [nous] ne nous voulions pas fier, nous faisons bon guet la nuit: pendant lequel nous oyions souvêt les voix des Loups-marins, qui ressembloient préque celle des Chats-huans: Chose contraire à l'opinion de ceux qui ont dit & écrit que les poissons n'ont point de voix.

Arrivez que fumes dans ladite île de Sainte-Croix, nous y trouvames les batimens y laissez tout entiers, fors que le magasin étoit découvert d'un côté. Nous y trouvames encore du vin d'Hespagne au fond d'un mui, duquel nous beumes, & n'étoit guere gâté. Quant aux jardins, nous y trouvames des choux, ozeilles, & laictuës, dont nous fimes cuisine. Nous y fimes aussi de bons patez de tortres, qui sont là frequentes dans les bois. Mais les herbes y sont si hautes, qu'on ne pouvoit les trouver quand elles étoient tuées & tombées à terre. La court y étoit pleine de tonneaux entiers, lesquels quel- 359
ques matelotz mal disciplinez brulerent pour leur plaisir, dont i'eü horreur quand ie le vi, & jugeay mieux que devant que les Sauvages étoient (du moins civilement) plus humains & plus gens de bien que beaucoup de ceux qui portent le nom de Chrétien, ayās depuis trois ans pardonné à ce lieu, auquel ilz n'avoient seulement pris vn morceau de bois, ni du sel qui y étoit en grande quantité dur comme roche.

Je ne sçay à quel propos Champlain en la relation de ses voyages imprimée l'an mille six cens treize, s'amuse à écrire que ie n'ay point été plus loin que

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 have, *qui*.

Sainte-Croix, veu que ie ne di pas le cōtraire. Mais il est peu memoratif de ce qu'il fait, disant là même (pag. 151) que dudit Sainte-Croix au port Royal, n'y a que quatorze lieuës, & en la pa. 95. il avoit dit qu'il y en a 25. Et si on regarde sa charte geographique il s'en trouvera pour le moins quarante.

Au partir de là nous vimmes mouiller l'ancre parmi vn grand nombre d'iles confuses, où nous ouïmes quelques Sauvages, & criames pour les faire venir. Ilz nous r'envoyerent le même cri. A quoy vn des nôtres repliqua *Oïen kirau*, c'est-à-dire qui êtes-vous ? Ilz ne voulurent se declarer. Mais le lendemain *Oagimont*, Sagamos de cette riviere, nous vint trouver, & conumes
360 que c'étoit lui que nous avions ouï. Il se dispoit à suivre *Membertou* & sa troupe à la guerre, en laquelle il fut grièvement blessé, comme i'ay dit en mes vers sur ce sujet. Ce *Oagimont* a vne fille âgée d'environ onze ans, bien agreable, laquelle le sieur de Poutrincourt desiroit avoir, & la lui a plusieurs fois demandée pour la bailler à la Royne, lui promettant que iamais il n'auroit faute de blé, ni d'autre chose : mais onques il ne s'y est voulu accorder.

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Etant entré en nôtre barque, il nous accompagna iusques à la pleine mer, là où il se mit en sa chaloupe pour s'en retourner, & de nôtre part tendimes au Port Royal, à l'entrée duquel nous arrivames avant le iour, mais fumes devant nôtre Fort iustement sur le point que la belle Aurore commençoit à montrer sa face vermeille sur le sommet de noz côtaux chevelus. Le monde étoit encore endormi, & n'y en eut qu'un qui se leva au continuel abbayemēt des chiens ; mais nous fimes bien reveiller le reste à force de mousquetades & d'éclats de trompettes. Le sieur de Poutrincourt étoit arrivé le iour de devant de son voyage des mines, où nous avons dit qu'il devoit aller : & l'autre iour precedent étoit arrivée la barque qui avoit porté partie de nos ouvriers à *Campseau*. Si bien que tout assemblé il ne restoit plus que de preparer les choses necessaires à nôtre embarquement. Et en cette affaire nous vint bien à point le moulin à eau. Car autrement il n'y eût eu aucun moyen de preparer assez de farines pour le voyage. Mais en fin nous en eumes de reste, que l'on bailla aux Sauvages pour se souvenir de nous.

596 *Port de Campseau : Partement du Port Royal : Brumes de huit iours. Arc-en-ciel paroissant dans l'eau : Port Savalet : Culture de la terre exercice honorable : Regrets des Sauvages au partir du sieur de Poutrincourt : Retour en France : Voyage au Mont Saint-Michel : Fruits de la Nouvelle-France presentez au Roy : Voyage en la Nouvelle-France depuis le retour dudit sieur de Poutrincourt : Lettre missive dudit sieur au Saint Pere à Rome.*

CHAP. XVIII

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SVR le point qu'il fallut dire Adieu au Port Royal, le sieur de Poutrincourt envoya son peuple les vns apres les autres trouver le navire à *Campseau*, qui est vn Port entre sept ou huit îles où les navires peuvent être à l'abri des vents : & là y a vne baye profonde de plus de dix lieuës, & large de trois : ledit lieu distant dudit Port Royal de plus de cêt cinquante lieuës. Nous avions vne grande barque, deux petites & vne chaloupe. Dans l'une des petites barques on mit quelques gens que l'on envoya devant. Et le trentième de Juillet partirent les deux autres. J'étois dans la grande, conduite par Champ-doré. Mais le sieur de Poutrincourt voulant voir vne fin de noz blez semez, attendit la maturité d'iceux, 597 & demeura encore onze iours apres nous. Cependant nôtre premiere iournée ayant été au Passage du Port-Royal, le lendemain les brumes vindrent s'étendre¹ sur la mer, qui nous tindrèt huit iours entiers, durent lesquels c'est tout ce que nous sceumes faire que de gagner le cap de Sable, lequel ne vîmes point.

En ces obscuritez Cymmeriennes ayans vn iour ancré en mer à-cause de la nuit, nôtre ancre ruza tellement qu'au matin la marée nous avoit porté parmi des îles, & m'étonne que ne nous perdîmes au choc de quelque rocher. Au reste pour le vivre le poisson ne nous mâquoit point. Car en vne demie heure nous pouvions prendre des Moruës pour quinze iours, & des plus belles & grasses que j'aye iamais veu, icelles de couleur de carpes : ce que ie n'ay onques apperceu qu'en cet environ dudit cap de Sable : lequel après avoir passé, la marée (qui vole en cet endroit) nous porta en peu de temps iusques à la Héve, ne pensans être qu'au port du Mouton. Là nous demeu- 362 rames deux iours, & dans le port même nous voyions mordre la Moruë à l'ameçon. Nous y trouvâmes force grozelles rouges, & de la marcassite de mine de cuivre. On y fit aussi quelque troquement de pelleteries avec les Sauvages.

De là en avant nous eumes vent à souhait, & durant ce temps avint vne fois qu'étant sur la prouë ie criay à nôtre conducteur Champ-doré que nous allions toucher, pensant voir le fond de la mer : mais ie fus deceu

¹ The edition of 1609 has, *se repandre* : that of 1611-12, *se prendre*,

par l'Arc-en-ciel qui paroissoit avec toutes ses couleurs dedans l'eau, causé 598
 par l'ombrage que faisoit sur icelle nôtre voile de Beaupré opposé au Soleil,
 lequel assemblant ses rayons dans le fond dudit voile, ainsi qu'il fait dans la nuë,
 iceux rayons étoient contraints de reverberer dans l'eau, & faire cette merveille.
 En fin nous arrivâmes à quatre lieües de *Campseau*, à vn Port où faisoit sa
 pêcherie vn bon vieillard de Saint-Jean de Lus nommé le Capitaine Savalet,
 lequel nous receut avec toutes les courtoisies du monde. Et pour autant que
 ce Port (qui est petit, mais tres-beau) n'a point de nom, ie l'ay qualifié sur
 ma Charte géographique du nom de Savalet. Ce bon personnage nous dit
 que ce voyage étoit le quarante-deuxième qu'il faisoit pardela, & toute-
 fois les Terre-neuviens n'en font tous les ans qu'un. Il étoit merveilleusement
 content de sa pêcherie, & nous disoit qu'il faisoit tous les iours pour cinquante
 escus de Moruës ; & que son voyage vaudroit dix mille francs. Il avoit seze
 hommes à ses gages : & son vaisseau étoit de quatre-vingts tonneaux, qui
 pouvoit porter cent milliers de moruës seches. Il étoit quelquefois inquieté
 des Sauvages là cabannez, lesquelz trop privément & impudemment alloient
 dans son navire, & lui emportoient ce qu'ilz vouloient. Et pour éviter cela
 il les manaçoit que nous viendrions & les mettrions tous au fil de l'épée s'ilz
 lui faisoient tort. Cela les intimidait, & ne lui faisoient pas tout le mal
 363 qu'autrement ils eussent fait. Neantmoins toutes les fois que les pêcheurs
 arrivoient avec leurs chaloupes pleines de poissons, ces Sauvages choissoient 599
 ce que bon leur sembloit, & ne s'amusoient point aux Moruës, ains prenoient
 des Merlus, Bars, & Fletans qui vaudroient ici à Paris quatre écus, ou plus.
 Car c'est vn merveilleusement bon manger, quand principalement ilz sont
 grands & épais de six doigts, comme ceux qui se pêchoient là. Et eût été diffi-
 cile de les empêcher en cette insolence, d'autant qu'il eût toujours fallu avoir
 les armes en main, & la besogne fût demeurée. Or l'honnêteté de cet homme
 ne s'étendit pas seulement envers nous, mais aussi envers tous les nôtres qui
 passerent à son Port, car c'étoit le passage pour aller & venir au Port Royal.
 Mais il y en eut quelques vns de ceux qui nous vindrent querir, qui faisoient
 pis que les Sauvages, & se gouvernoient envers lui comme fait ici le gen-d'arme
 chez le bon homme : chose que j'ouy fort à regret.

Nous fumes là quatre iours à-cause du vent contraire. Puis vîmes à
Campseau, où nous attêdîmes l'autre barque, qui vint dix iours après nous.
 Et quant au sieur de Poutrincourt, si-tôt qu'il vit que le blé se pouvoit cueillir, il
 arracha du segle avec la racine pour en montrer pardeça la beauté, bonté &
 demesurée hauteur. Il fit aussi des glannes des autres sortes de semences,
 froment, orge, avoine, chanvre, & autres, à même fin : ce que ceux qui sont
 allez ci-devant au Bresil, & à la Floride n'ont point fait. En quoy j'ay à me
 rejouir d'avoir été de la partie, & des premiers culteurs de cette terre. Et
 à ce ie me suis pleu d'autant-plus que ie me remettoy devânt les yeux nôtre
 ancien pere Noë, grâd Roy, grand Prêtre, & grand Prophete, de qui le métier 600
 étoit d'estre laboureur & vigneron : & les anciens Capitaines Romains *Serranus*,
 qui fut trouvé semant son champ lors qu'il fut mandé pour conduire l'armée
 364 Romaine : & *Quintus Cincinnatus*, lequel tout poudreux labouroit quatre
 arpens de terre à tête nuë & estomach decouvert, quand l'huissier du Senat
 lui apporta les lettres de Dictature : de sorte que cet huissier fut contraint
 le prier de vouloir se couvrir avant que lui declarer sa charge. M'étant pleu
 à cet exercice, Dieu a beni mon petit travail, & ay eu en mon iardin d'aussi

beau froment qu'il y scauroit avoir en France, duquel ledit sieur de Pourtincourt me donna vne glanne quand il fut arrivé audit Port de *Campseau*, laquelle (avec une de segle) ie garde avec son grain dès il y a dix ans.

Il étoit prêt de dire Adieu au Port Royal, quand voici arriver *Membertou*, & sa compagnie, victorieux des Armouchiquois. Et pource que i'ay fait vne description de cette guerre en vers François, ie n'en veux ici remplir mon papier, étant desireux d'abreger plutôt que de chercher nouvelle matiere. A la priere dudit *Membertou* il demeura encore vn iour. Mais ce fut la pitié au partir, de voir pleurer ces pauvres gens, lesquels on avoit toujours tenu en esperance que quelques vns des nôtres demeureroient auprès d'eux. En fin il leur fallut promettre que l'an suivant on y enverroient des ménages & familles pour habiter totalement leur terre, & leur enseigner des métiers pour
601 les faire vivre comme nous. En quoy ilz se consolèrent aucunement. Il y restoit dix barriques de farines qui leur furent baillées avec les blez de notre culture, & la possession du manoir, s'ilz vouloient en user. Ce qu'ilz n'ont pas fait. Car ils ne peuvent être constans en vne place vivans comme ilz font.

L'onzième d'Aoust, ledit sieur de Pourtincourt partit lui neuvième dudit Port-Royal dās vne chaloupe pour venir à *Campseau*: Chose merveilleusement hazardeuse de traverser tāt de bayes & mers en vn si petit vaisseau chargé de neuf personnes, des vivres necessaires au voyage, & [d']assez d'autres bagages. Etans arrivés audit port de ce bon homme Savalet, [il] leur fit tout le bon accueil qu'il lui fut possible: & de là nous vindrent voir audit *Campseau*, où
365 nous demeurames encore huit iours.

Le troisième de Septembre nous levames les ancrs, & avec beaucoup de difficultez sortimes hors les brisans qui sont aux environs dudit *Campseau*. Ce que noz mariniers firent avec deux chaloupes qui portoient les ancrs bien avant en mer pour soutenir notre vaisseau, à fin qu'il n'allāt donner contre les rochers. En fin étans en mer on laissa à l'abandon l'vne desdites chaloupes, & l'autre fut tirée dans le Ionas, lequel outre notre charge portoit cent milliers de Morués, que seches que vertes. Nous eumes assez bon vent iusques à ce que nous approchames les terres de l'Europe. Mais nous n'avions pas tout le bon traitement du monde, par ce que, comme i'ay dit, ceux qui nous vindrent
602 querir, presumans que nous fussions morts, s'étoient accommodés de noz rafraichissemens. Nos ouvriers ne beurent plus de vin depuis qu'ilz nous eurent quittés au Port-Royal: Et nous n'en avions gueres, par ce que ce qui nous abondoit fut beu joyeusement en la compagnie de ceux qui nous apporterent nouvelles de France.

Le vingt-sixième Septembre nous eumes en veuë les iles de Sorlingues, qui sont à la pointe de Cornuaille en Angleterre. Et le vingt-huitième pensans venir à Saint-Malo, fumes cōtraints de relacher à Roscoff en la basse Bretagne [faute de bon vent], où nous demeurames deux iours & demi à nous rafraichir. Nous avions vn Sauvage qui se trouvoit assez étonné de voir les batimēs, clochers, & moulins à vent de France: mêmes les femmes qu'il n'avoit onques veu vêtues à notre mode. De Roscoff nous vimmes avec bon vêt rendre graces à Dieu audit Saint-Malo. En quoy ie ne puis que ie ne loue la prevoyante vigilāce de notre Maitre de navire Nicolas Martin, de nous avoir si dextrement conduit, en vne telle navigation, & parmi tant d'écueils & capharées rochers dōt est remplie la côte d'entre le cap d'Ouessans & ledit Saint Malo. Que si cetui ci est louable en ce qu'il a fait, le Capitaine

Foulques ne l'est moins de nous avoir mené parmi tant de vent contraires en des terres inconnues où nous-nous sommes efforcés de jeter les premiers fondemens de la Nouvelle-France.

366 Ayans demeuré ou quatre iours à Saint-Malo, nous allames, le sieur de Poutrincourt, son fils, & moy, au Mont Saint-Michel, où nous vîmes les Reliques dudit lieu, fors le Bouclier de ce saint Archange. Il nous fut dit que le sieur Evêque d'Avranches depuis quatre [ou cinq] ans avoit deffendu de le plus montrer. Quant au batimêt, il merite d'être appelé la huitième merveille du monde, tant il est beau & grand sur la pointe d'une roche seule au milieu des ondes, la mer étant en son plein. Vray est qu'on peut dire que la mer n'y venoit point quand ledit batiment fut fait. Mais ie repliqueray, qu'en quelque façon que ce soit il est admirable. La plainte qu'il y peut avoir en ce regard est, que tant de superbes edifices sont inutiles pour le jourd'hui, ainsi qu'en la plupart des Abbaies de France. Et à la mienne volonté que par les engins de quelque Archimede ilz peussent être transportés en la Nouvelle-France pour y être mieux employés au service de Dieu & du Roy. Au retour nous allames voir la pécherie des huitres à Cancale ; & delà à Saint-Malo : où après avoir encore sejouré huit iours, nous vîmes dans une barque à Honfleur : & en cette navigation nous servit de beaucoup l'expérience du sieur de Poutrincourt, lequel voyant que nos conducteurs étoient au bout de leur Latin, quand ilz se virent entre les îles de Jerzey & Sart (n'ayans accoutumé de prendre cette route, où nous avions été poussez par un grand vent d'Est-Suest accompagné de brumes & pluyes), il prit sa Charte marine en main, & fit le Maître de navire, de manière que nous passames le Raz-Blanchart (passage dangereux à des petites barques) & vîmes à l'aise suivant la côte de Normandie audit Honfleur. Dont Dieu soit loué éternellement.

Amen.

Estans à Paris, ledit sieur de Poutrincourt presenta au Roy les fruits de la terre d'où il venoit, & specialement le blé, froment, segle, orge & avoine, comme étant la chose la plus precieuse qu'on puisse rapporter de quelque país que ce soit. Il eût été bien-seant de vouër ces premiers fruits à Dieu, & les mettre 367 entre les enseignes de triôphe en quelque Eglise, à trop meilleure raison que les premiers Romains, lesquels presentoié à leurs dieux & deesses champestres *Terminus, Seia, & Segesta*¹ les premiers fruits de leur culture par les mains de leurs sacrificateurs des châps institués par *Romulus*, qui fut le premier ordre de la Nouvelle-Rome, lequel avoit pour blason un chapeau d'épics de blé.

Le même sieur de Poutrincourt avoit nourri une douzaine d'Outardes prises au sortir de la coquille, lesquelles il pensoit faire toutes apporter en France, mais il y en a eu cinq de perduës, & les autres cinq il les a baillées au Roy, qui en a eu beaucoup de contentement, & sont à Fontaine-bleau.

368 Et d'autant que son premier but est d'établir la Religion Chrétienne en la terre qu'il a pleu à sa Majesté lui octroyer, & à icelle amener les pauvres peuples Sauvages, lesquels ne desirent autre chose que de se conformer à nous 369 en tout bien, il a été d'avis de demander la benediction du Pape de Rome, premier Evêque en l'Eglise, par une missive faite de ma main au temps que 605 i'ay commencé cette histoire, laquelle a esté envoyée à sa Sainteté avec lettres de sadite Majesté, en Octobre, mille six cens huit, laquelle comme servant à nôtre sujet, i'ay bien voulu coucher ici.

¹ Pline, liv. xviii, chap. 2.

BEATISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO

PAPÆ PAVLO V

PONTIFICI MAXIMO

BEATISSIME Pater, divinæ Veritatis, & veræ Divinitatis oraculo scimus¹ Evangelium regni cœlorum prædicandū fore in vniverso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, antequam veniat consummatio. Vnde (quoniam in suum occasum ruit mundus) Deus his postremis temporibus recordatus misericordiæ suæ suscitavit homines fidei Christianæ athletas fortissimos viriusque militiæ duces, qui zelo propagandæ Religionis inflāmati per multa pericula Christiani nominis gloriam non solū in vltimas terras, sed in mūdos novos (vt ita loquar) deportaverunt. Res ardua quidem : sed

Invia virtuti nulla est via...

inquit Poëta quidam vetus. Ego IOANNES DE BIENCOVR, vulgò DE POVTRINCOVR 370 à vitæ religionis amator & assertor perpetuus, vestræ Beatitudinis seruus minimus, pari (ni fallor) animo ductus, vnus ex multis devovi me pro Christo & salute 606 populorum ac silvestrium (vt vocant) hominum qui Novæ Franciæ novas terras incolunt : eoque nomine iam relinquo populum meum, & domum patris mei, vxorēque & liberos periculorū meorum consortes facio, memor scilicet quod Abrahamus pater credentiū idem fecerit,² ignotāque sibi regionē Deo duce peragravit, quā possessurus esset populus de femore eius veri Dei, veræque religionis cultor. Non equidem peto terram auro argentōque beatam, non exteris spoliare gentes mihi est in animo : Sat mihi gratia Dei (si hanc aliquo modo consequi possim) terræque mihi Regio dono concessæ, & maris annuus proventus, dummodo populos lucrifaciam Christo. Messis quidē multa, operarij pauci.³ Qui enim splendide vivunt, aurumque sibi cōgerere curant hoc opus negligunt, scilicet hoc sæculum plus æquo diligentes. Quibus verò res est angusta domi tātæ rei molē suscipere nequeūt, & huic oneri ferēdo certē sunt impares. Quid igitur ? An deserendū⁴ negotiū verē Christianū & planē divinum ? Ergo frustra sex iam ab annis tot sustinuius labores, tot evasimus pericula, tot vicimus (dum ista meditamur) animi 607 perturbations ? Minimè verò. Cum enim timentibus Deum omnia cooperentur in bonum,⁵ non est dubium quin Deus, pro cuius gloria Herculeum istud opus aggredimur, adspiret votis nostris, qui quōdam populum suum Israelē portavit super alas aquilarum,⁶ & perduxit in terram melle & lacte fluentem. Hac spe fretus, quicquid est mihi seu facultatum, seu corporis vel animi virium, in re tam 371 nobili libenter & alacri animo expendere non vereor, hoc præsertim tempore quo silent arma, nec datur virtuti suo fungi munere, nisi si in Turcas mucrones nostros convertertimus. Sed est quod vtilius pro re Christiana faciamus, si populos istos latissimè patentes in Occidentali plaga ad Dei cognitionem adducere conemur. Non enim armorum vi sunt ad religionem cogendi. Verbo tantū & doctrina est opus, iuncta bonorum morū disciplina : quibus artibus olim Apostoli, sequentibus signis, maximam hominum partem sibi, Deoque, & Christo eius concilia

¹ Matt. xxiv, vers. 14.

² Matt. ix, vers. 37.

³ Rom. viii, vers. 28.

⁴ Genes. xii.

⁵ The edition of 1617-18 has, *deferendū*.

⁶ Exod. xix, vers. 4.

*verunt: itaque verum extitit illud quod scriptum est: Populus quem non cognovi servivit mihi, in auditu auris obedivit mihi, &c. Filij alieni mentiti sunt mihi, &c.*¹ *Filij quidem alieni sunt populi Orientales iam à fide Christiana alieni, in quos propterea torqueri potest illud Evangelij quod iam adimpletū videmus: Auferetur à vobis regnum Dei, & dabitur gēti faciēti fructus eius.*² *Nunc autem ecce tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis, qua Deus visitabit & faciet redemptionem plebis suæ, & populus qui eū non cognovit serviet ipsi, sed & in auditu auris obediet, si me indignū servum tantī muneris ducem esse patiatur. Qua in re Beatitudinis vestræ charitatem per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri deprecor, auctoritatem imploro, adiuro sanctitatem, ut mihi ad illud opus iam-jam properanti, uxori charissimæ, ac liberis; necnon domesticis, sociisque meis, vestrā benedictionem impertiri dignemini, quā certa fide credo nobis plurimum ad salutē non solum corporis, sed etiā animæ, addo & ad terræ nostræ vberitatē &*³
³⁷² *propositi nostri felicitatē, profuturum. Faxit Deus Optimus Maximus, Faxit Dominus noster & Salvator Iesus Christus, Faxit vnā & Spiritus sanctus, ut in altissima Principis Apostolorū puppi sedentes per multa sæcula Ecclesiæ sanctæ clavum tenere possitis, & in diebus vestris (quæ vestra sanè maxima gloria est) illud adimpletū videre quod de Christo à sancto Propheta vaticinatū est: Adorabunt eū omnes Reges terræ: omnes gentes servient ei.*³

Vestræ Beatitudinis filius humillimus
ac devotissimus,

JOANNES DE BIENCOVR.

¹ Psalm xvii, vers. 45.

² Matt. xxi, vers. 43.

³ Psalm lxxi, vers. 11.



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